“KNOW MORE, KNOW NOW”: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE RE-DESIGN OF CBC NEWS, 2009-2011

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis addresses the manner in which the re-design of CBC's English news service in 2009 is shaped by the broadcaster's *interrelations* with the journalistic, political, and economic fields. It draws on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of field theory to analyze how changes to the CBC's structure of journalistic production alters the distribution of *capitals* (cultural, economic, symbolic) the broadcaster possesses, and subsequently, the strategies the CBC employs to pursue its particular stakes as a public broadcaster in the journalistic field. This thesis claims that the latest round of *CBC News* re-structuring, into a "content company" or integrated news operation, reflects the CBC's new strategy as a public broadcaster to offer on-demand content and be interactive with audiences, as encapsulated in the re-design motto, "know more, know now" (CBC, 2009h). Further, this articulation of the CBC's renewed role functions to *disavow* the increased political and economic pressures on the broadcaster to be financially efficient with mandated funds and generate revenues to fund expanding operations. Thus, the CBC's articulation of its new public broadcasting role during the 2009 re-design demonstrates how the CBC *refracts* demands from external fields into its 'prism of interests' by balancing mandated objectives with external demands (Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008, p. 19).

The first part draws on three moments of structural transformation at the CBC

since its inception in order to illustrate how the CBC, from the outset, has participated in multiple fields and its structural changes reflect that throughout its history. The second part maps out the structural changes to news production in the 2009 re-design by drawing on CBC, government, and related documents in order to show how official articulations of the re-design function to *disavow* political and economic pressures the broadcaster is attempting to *refract* into its mandate. The final part employs a case study to analyze how the "content company" news structure operates during a large-scale Canadian news event, the death of Jack Layton, including how interactive and on-demand elements are incorporated into news production.

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This work would not have been possible without the benign guidance of a particular professor at the University of King's College, Dr. Gordon McOuat, who first encouraged me in early 2007 to explore journalism as a realm of scholarly study and not just as a practice of inquiry. If it wasn't for his openness to accepting students at all hours of the day, and the intimate class sizes of the program itself, I would have never mustered the courage to consider journalism as an academic endeavour and would not have sought out Concordia's journalism studies program either.

I owe much to Dr. Mike Gasher. As my thesis supervisor, Dr. Gasher first suggested the *CBC News* re-design as a dissertation topic after he read a research paper I had written for his *Political Economy of Journalism* course, in the first year of the MA program. Despite the newness of the program, Dr. Gasher allowed me to roam freely beyond its boundaries—and beyond a few deadlines—in order to cobble together a constellation of government reports, strategic documents, and even Twitter feeds with field theory and political economy. When the terrain seemed unstable, especially when pouring over decades of Canadian broadcasting history, Dr. Gasher was able to steer me in the direction of concision. He allowed me the space to formulate my own ideas, but used his veto powers to save me from my own curiosity, and from a Factiva database full of CBC articles. I am sure that he has wondered what I have been doing, quietly over in the maritimes for the past few months, and I hope this thesis makes him proud.

I must thank Dr. Chantal Francoeur, who offered to lend her wisdom to this

project and helped me craft a case study. Dr. Francoeur also pointed me in the direction of some internal CBC files she had gained access to through her PhD dissertation, which inspired me to consider other CBC documents, beyond official reports and press releases, in my analysis.

I thank Dr. Greg Nielsen for lending his interest and experience in Pierre Bourdieu to this project. As I was writing, I often thought about a piece of advice he had given me, to "think through Bourdieu" in my analysis. His comments encouraged me to continue studying field theory and the journalistic field.

I must thank a number of people to whom this project owes its current form. The bulk of my thoughts on Bourdieu were formed over conversations with my partner, Jesse Hiltz, who lobbied for theoretical rigour throughout my thesis as well as study breaks to collect my sanity. I thank my friend, Kate MacKeigan, for reading and editing the bulk of this thesis, with an inquisitiveness and thoroughness that helped me greatly in the final months. Finally, I would like to thank my grandfathers, Frank Tlalka and A. Ivan Hall, whose unconditional support allowed me to approach this project with a clear mind.

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CHAPTER 1:

METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Objectives

This thesis investigates the institutional logic behind the current structural changes to the CBC's news operations in light of the 2008 recession and wider changes to the news industry. This investigation is not limited to an organizational analysis, but takes into account interrelations that shape how the CBC operates, including internal relations (radio, televisions, and online journalists; particular programming changes) and external relations (government relations, economic pressures). This project takes up the thesis put forward by Bourdieu (2005) that just as the journalistic field's autonomy is decreasing due to increased economic and political demands, its “influence” and “pervasiveness” within other fields is increasing (Benson, 1998, p. 463). The issue of the effects of a less autonomous journalistic field with increasing influence across fields will be discussed more thoroughly in the literature review, but at this junction serves to emphasize that analysis of the CBC must expand beyond a passive account of how the journalistic field is weakening due to external economic or political pressures. It must take into account the particular constellations of relations that shape how an agent in the journalistic field responds to external demands and how that response alters both the structure of journalistic production and the meaning of the product produced.

This thesis positions the CBC within the journalistic field in order to analyze how the re-design of news production expresses the CBC's relationship with other fields and

can indicate how institutional shifts serve the broadcaster's journalistic, economic, and political goals. Analysis takes a structural approach, informed by Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualization of field theory, as well as political economy more generally, in order to investigate how the CBC's news re-design changes the broadcaster's journalistic practices, and how its multi-platform journalism—introduced through new organizational structures and routines—is textured by the opportunities, constraints, and demands the CBC faces as a public broadcaster. Further, analysis of programming and changes to journalistic practices is accomplished by a case study of how *CBC News* functions as a multi-platform news outlet with an integrated newsroom.

Through the combination of field theory and political economy, this thesis analyzes how alterations to the journalistic field shape the position agents can occupy and the distribution of capitals they possess (cultural, economic, symbolic), capitals whose accumulation allows agents to pursue the particular stakes of the field.[1] In studying the CBC's history of re-structuring, and the subsequent content company structure of the broadcaster in the 2009 re-design, it becomes clear that the most recent re-design represents a moment where the CBC must translate external demands, or, *refract* them "through the prism of its specific interests" by balancing external demands with mandated objectives (Embirbayer & Johnson, 2008, p. 19). In the process of translating external interests into field-specific interests, the CBC attempts to maintain or increase its symbolic capital, or, its reputation, which resides in its public broadcasting mandate and allows the CBC to act as a consecrator of journalistic works within the journalistic field.

[1] The distribution of capitals an agent accumulates is not the only factor that determines their strategy within a field, but the *habitus* of individual agents as well. *Habitus* will be discussed briefly within the literature review and thesis itself, but it plays a secondary role to analysis of capital accumulation and interrelations between the CBC within the journalistic field, and the political and economic fields.

Thus, the 2009 re-design exemplifies the CBC's latest attempts to translate political and economic pressures into field-specific interests in order to maintain its position in the journalistic field by expanding its mandated responsibilities as Canada's public broadcaster while becoming the number one website for breaking Canadian news.

The theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis serves three purposes. One, it allows for the study of an unexplored moment in the broadcaster's history by considering how the CBC's altered structure of journalistic production—from a conventional broadcaster with three separate media lines to a *content company,* multi-platform broadcaster with integrated media lines—is a *response* to its interrelations with other fields. Two, it takes a mezzo approach to studying *CBC News* both theoretically and empirically by bridging macro and micro aspects of the CBC as an agent within the journalistic field; from administrative hierarchies and corporate literature that describes the re-design, to micro aspects of internal struggles between journalists and programming, which allows various and competing accounts of the re-design to be circumscribed. Three, it allows for those various accounts to be juxtaposed with actual moments of re-designed news coverage, to see how articulations of re-design particulars (i.e. how the CBC is interactive and on demand for audiences) take form in news coverage.

The research questions for the project are:

RQ 1: How have recent changes to the news industry (i.e. shortfalls in conventional advertising; the rise of the Internet as a new, central news platform; social media) influenced the CBC's (re)positioning of itself within the journalistic field?

RQ 2: How have political pressures, created by the CBC's politically and economically-dependent relationship with the federal government, influenced the broadcaster's

(re)positioning within the journalistic field, and also its (re)positioning in relation to the political field?

RQ 3: What does the CBC mean by the transition of a traditional broadcaster to a content company? Further, how does this translate into changes to journalistic practices?

These questions, combined with my theoretical and methodological approach, will generate an examination of how *CBC News* is structured, taking into consideration the interrelations between the journalistic, economic, and political fields that influence the re-design, and the effects of the re-structured news production on the product produced.

The combination of political economy and field theory

Political economy of communication analyzes the cooperation of networks involved in communication that form power hierarchies and how social relations are bound up in the production, distribution, and consumption of communication resources (Mosco, 2009, p. 24). Political economic analysis prioritizes the vantage point of the *processes* mobilized by networks of power, and how these processes are utilized by capitalist entities. For example, turning news stories into films and other marketable products, or in this case, making public broadcasting economically viable by increasing advertising revenues, ratings, and re-purposing journalistic content in order to sustain operations.

For Bourdieu and his successors in news media research, however, economics is only a subcategory of human action; a field among a plurality of other fields. Thus, field theory has a much broader scope of power than political economic analysis. It can trace and describe how specialized realms of human action are transformed or re-configured in

moments of history; within the journalistic field, how the production practices and work routines of a journalistic organization are changed by power relations emanating from different spheres of human action that come into contact with one another and vice versa (Benson and Neveu, 2005, p. 6). While political economy is interested in the co-operation of networks that form power hierarchies and contribute to the reinforcement of capital gain, Bourdieu looks at the specific social context where cooperation takes place, but he does not understand hierarchies as forming solely for the pursuit of economic benefit. Agents, that is, individuals or organizations within a field, do not simply act to increase economic capital or pursue economic interests. Instead, the interests and struggles that agents participate in are shaped by their location in a particular field, including the positions available to occupy. Agents are bound by the stakes (particular interests and goals) of their field through their membership and *habitus*, which requires them to accumulate certain skills alongside economic viability in order to act within the field.[2] As will be discussed, Bourdieu also theorizes of capital beyond the economic sense, in terms of a capital that exists within individual fields that agents can compete for and attempt to accumulate (i.e. cultural capital, symbolic capital). Thus, Bourdieu's theoretical

[2] Along with *habitus*, the position of agents within the journalistic field, and within the field of cultural production more generally, determines the types of capital they are interested in pursuing. For instance, agents within the field of large-scale production are interested in the bottom line and produce products for mass consumption. Agents within the field of small-scale or restricted production are not interested in economic capital but forms of symbolic profit and produce products for other producers. Although these two poles of the field maintain different structures of hierarchization, Bourdieu argues the *disavowal* of economic capital remains at the heart of the field and guides its functioning. To explain, in order for agents to pursue field-specific interests and play the game of the particular field, they must maintain an interest in *disinterestedness* (as *disinterested* in economic or non-field specific capital). This does not mean agents forgo economic capital, but they must translate economic capital into field-specific or *symbolic capital* in order to continue functioning within the field and pursuing the stakes of the field.

framework allows for a more nuanced understanding of how individuals and organizations act and react in powerful networks, beyond the accumulation of economic capital. As such, field theory is particularly appropriate for analysis of the *CBC News* re-design, as it shows how the CBC has to earn capital in the journalistic, political, and economic fields in order to reproduce itself.

Broadly then, political economic analysis allows this project to consider how social relations become bound up in power hierarchies, while field theory allows analysis to delve into the discourses, practices, and struggles within the CBC as a journalistic institution, and how the CBC's relationship with individuals, departments, and agencies inside and outside of the journalistic field influence aspects of the re-design. The *CBC News* renewal can be considered as the broadcaster refracting external demands into its prism of interests, paying attention to the ways in which external demands are translated into field-specific interests.

Methodology

The methodology for this study combines political economic analysis and field theory, supported by qualitative textual analysis in a triangulated approach. Field theory and political economic analysis will be conducted on government and corporate documents regarding the re-design, including memos and reports created by individual journalists, such as the *National Radio News Reporter Survey*, blogs, and Twitter accounts. These documents will allow me to plot the journalistic, political or economic capitals at work in the re-design. Further, analysis of these documents will allow me to

trace and compare competing discourses about the CBC's imperatives, including its role as a public broadcaster, the changing business model for journalism, and how to increase efficiency through altered journalistic practices.

This approach is similar to a limited organizational ethnography in that it considers internal and external documents, memos, and official communication as the written discourses of powerful elites involved in the operations of the public broadcaster (Radway, 1989). However, this approach differs from a limited organizational ethnography in that observation of institutional operations and comments from individuals involved are limited to these documents. In a sense, I will only "overhear" the conversations through the paper trail of CBC and government officials, which will tell me something about their work, relations with other fields, their stakes, and the struggles they are involved in (p. 9). Drawing primarily on field theory, the aim of analysis is to locate the re-design of *CBC News* as an object in its specific context (historical, national, relational context) and interrogate ways that knowledge about the object has been generated (Thomson, 2008, p. 67). Between policy documents, annual reports, press releases, internal memos, etc., there is ample documentation to indicate how the re-design re-structures news operations, the reasons given for changes, and reactions from different individuals within and beyond the CBC. The voice of the journalist will be accounted for through a similar paper trail of blogs, interviews,[3] and news stories, relating specifically to journalists' reactions to the re-design and the changing role of the journalist in the re-

[3] When I employ the term *interview* here, I am referring to interviews with CBC journalists and not CBC journalists interviewing other individuals. For instance, journalists are interviewed and quoted in *Online News Fundamentals*, the CBC's online news manual. The *Survey of National Radio News Reporters* stands as an example of journalists providing comments on their altered work routines and relationships.

design of *CBC News*. Further, the case study accounts for how journalistic production functions in the content company structure.

The case study will analyze *CBC News* coverage of the death of NDP and opposition leader, Jack Layton. Layton died of cancer on 2011 August 22, a month after he claimed a leave of absence due to an undisclosed form of cancer. Layton's death serves as a significant moment in Canadian history, as the NDP had gained official opposition status for the first time only months before in the 2011 May federal election. Additionally, the last federal political leader to die in office was Andre-Gilles Fortin in 1977. For the public broadcaster, then, Layton's death is an important news event and will serve to illustrate the broadcaster's multi-platform strategy for covering news events. Further, there is sparse scholarly discussion of the broadcaster's new multi-platform strategy at this point in time, apart from Chantal Francoeur's PhD thesis, an ethnography of news integration in Radio-Canada's Montreal newsroom, and the upcoming PhD thesis of Errol Salamon, on public broadcasters and the 2008 recession. The Layton case study will include programming that the re-design applies to, including *The National, World Report*, the *CBC News Network* and newly-created shows such as *Connect with Mark Kelley* and *Power & Politics* (along with blogs and content featured on CBC's new online *Political Portal*), and The *Lang & O'Leary Exchange*.

Interpretive analysis will be applied to content on 2011 August 23, the day following Layton's death, in order to capture more of the CBC's planned news coverage as opposed to breaking news coverage. The purpose of the case study is not to trace the daily news flow of radio, television or online reporting, but to use selected programming

as an exemplar of a larger point, as instances that highlight how *CBC News* operates in its new integrated and multi-platform structure and, more specifically, how the broadcaster serves various institutional goals through integrating content from different news platforms. This analysis is guided by a series of questions (see Appendix A) to discern the ways in which news items reflect altered journalistic practices, and how they indicate a changed understanding of the CBC's public broadcasting role.

The case study is based on an interpretive textual analysis of a selection of stories from *CBCNews.ca* that appear on the website in audio, video, and text formats. This includes podcasts, websites of radio and television programmes, as well as live-blogging and Twitter accounts. The choice of selecting content from *CBCNews.ca* is preferred over taping and archiving content directly from each platform for three reasons: first, full shows and audio and video clips are already available online; second, analyzing content as it appears on *CBCNews.ca* allows for a more dynamic analysis of how the three platforms (radio, television, online) work together in an integrated news structure. For instance, featured clips on the *CBC News Network* from the morning are helpful to show how coverage progresses over the day and how stories are covered by different shows. Further, following television clips as they appear in a sidebar on *CBCNews.ca* can indicate how shows recycle news and/or provide their own angle or "spin," which can be indicated through the websites of particular shows, in their "about" section. Third, retrieving video and audio from the CBC, as opposed to capturing the content myself, proved to be both costly and inaccessible.[4]

[4] To explain, I had previously considered a case study of *CBC News* coverage of the 2010 G20 Summit in Toronto. I sent a list of radio and television shows to the CBC archives, which consisted of about ten shows or newscasts in total. I was informed that it would cost over $1,000 to get these items because archive staff would have to search both radio and television archives, then transfer the content onto

Literature Review: a structural approach

The theoretical approach to this thesis considers news organizations as structured entities. It understands *structure* to refer to the physical structure of news production and the structure of the organization in the Bourdieusian sense, that of agents occupying spaces within a field and possessing a distribution of capitals (journalistic, political, economic) based on this position. A structural approach is interested in analysis of journalistic institutions from the perspective of how resources (workforce, finances) and relationships within and beyond the organization structure the stakes and struggles the institution participates in. For journalistic organizations, the journalistic content itself is indicative of the stakes and struggles. Thus, analysis focuses on how the structure of journalistic production (i.e. altered work flows and news practices) and the agents' available positions are structured by how the broadcaster responds to external demands through a process of translating external capital into field-specific or *symbolic* capital—the only legitimate form of accumulation within the field of cultural production.

Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of the field, along with aspects of political economic analysis, this literature review will accomplish three things: 1) It will identify the key struggles and relationships that structure the journalistic field generally, touching on the interrelations between the journalistic, economic, and political fields, 2) It will elaborate on how the imperative to gain capital in each field is doubly so for the CBC as a public broadcaster, and 3) Drawing on literature about the CBC's history of serving multiple masters (via increased political and economic imperatives), the review will

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DVDs. I was also informed that viewing content at a CBC location in Montreal or Toronto was not possible, as both locations did not have the staff or facilities for public viewing of CBC materials.

demonstrate how the re-design is a response to long-term struggles and indicates the CBC's repositioning in each field order to gain (and regain) capital in all of them.

The Journalistic Field

Bourdieu (1993) views economic imperatives to be one of many imperatives of an institution. In other words, a journalistic institution has an economic structure, but is also a mediated organization that exists in, and is structured by, other fields of specialized human action, such as the literary, political, scientific, economic, etc. (Neveu, 2007, p. 336). Bourdieu and scholars who apply field theory to news media research conceptualize the journalistic field as a semi-autonomous sphere of human action that exists and interacts with other spheres in order to study how relations of power structure human action. For Bourdieu, institutions are envisioned as one among many agents operating within fields that come into contact with other agents, within or outside of the journalistic field. More precisely, these agents are comprised of groups or individuals attempting to differentiate themselves, a typical characteristic of the structure of all fields generally. Benson (1998) notes that within the journalistic field, distinction occurs between "relatively large-scale" and "relatively small-scale" production within the field, within each medium, and within each media enterprise (p. 469).

For Bourdieu, each field is an arena of struggle for distinction, where agents differentiate themselves via capitals valued in the field, their degree of autonomy from each other, and the field's relationship to the broader field of power (Benson, 1998, pp. 464-5). Within a field, dominant and dominated agents organize and compete according

to their interests in relation to their positions. Within the political and journalistic fields, for instance, agents compete to impose a legitimate vision of the social world. Implicit in this framework is a *broader understanding of power* than political economy: power is not only the gain of economic but cultural capital, where the social world is structured by the opposition between the two (Benson and Neveu, 2005, p. 4). For instance, economic capital in the journalistic field can appear as newspaper circulation, advertising revenues, and ratings, while cultural capital appears as valorized knowledges and competencies, such as accuracy, intelligent commentary, and in-depth reporting (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 24). Together, the accumulation of capital structures how agents function in the journalistic field: the positions available to occupy, their interests in the field, and the struggles they participate in. Further, those agents who successfully transfer one type of capital into another are able to gain prestige, or s*ymbolic power*, which means they have the ability to transform power relations in the field; they become dominant agents. *The New York Times* is an example of an agent with symbolic power in the journalistic field because it maintains a mass audience while producing serious journalism on both national and international topics, and its stories are often taken up by other news publications. Symbolic power has a legitimating function, on the tastes and values of society generally, but also the "qualitative differences in *forms* of consciousness" in different social groups (Moore, 2008, p. 102). Those media organizations who gain prestige, then, are capable of shaping public discourses about events, issues, etc.

Since Bourdieu has written little about journalism as a field, Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu (2005) have attempted to fill this gap through their consideration of the

journalistic field as a way to theorize about the processes and constraints involved in news media production (p. 1). For example, how the media attention following the HIV contaminated blood scandal in the 1980s reflects and brings about "a new discursive order" on medical information and its coverage in the news (Champagne & Marchetti, 2005, p. 14). In another example, Duval (2005) looks at how the media mergers of the 1990s changed the position of economic journalists in France towards conserving and legitimizing the economic world instead of critiquing and transforming it (pp. 135-6).

Analysis considers both internal and external struggles the CBC takes part in, as an agent of the journalistic field. More significantly, as will be discussed later, analysis considers the CBC as a unique agent within the journalistic field, as its stakes and struggles are so closely *bound to* and *bound up in* the political and economic fields due to its financially hybrid status as a broadcaster with a public mandate who sustains its operations through a parliamentary appropriation and advertising revenues.

Critics of Bourdieu discuss the irreconcilability of his theory and practice. Barbie Zelizer (2004) critiques structural approaches to journalism theory for oversimplifying journalistic practices to the point of divorcing them from the "real world of news" (p. 80). She argues that the focus on organizational and institutional structures has "reduced journalists to one kind of actor in one kind of environment" because it focuses too heavily on the strategy of journalists working in tandem with an institution, as opposed to the non-strategic aspects of journalistic practice (p. 80). Instead, field theory is interested in highlighting how structural alterations cause tangible changes to journalistic practices, and what informs those structural alterations. Additionally, Zelizer's understanding of

news production falls prey to oversimplification, as she argues that true analysis of news begins with the news itself: “News begins before journalists negotiate all the contexts—cultural, historical, political, economic—in which journalism exists” (p. 80). Zelizer is more interested in scholars treating both journalists and journalistic pieces as fully autonomous entities that must be encountered first before being mediated by context or theory. In contrast, Bourdieu argues journalists and journalistic pieces are semi-autonomous and structured by the possible positions that can be taken in the field. Thus, it is necessary to investigate how the context for journalism presents possibilities for specific actions or strategies. Further, agents operate unconsciously in regards to the *habitus* they acquire within their respective fields, and thus would not “negotiate” their contexts as Zelizer argues. For Bourdieu, to theorize about news-making outside of this context can only produce an objective and therefore limited knowledge, detached from the framework where social relations—actual news production and routines—are established. What we understand “news” and “journalism” to be is well-established before we even enter a newsroom. In a similar vein of thinking, Vincent Mosco (2009) argues that even the most banal social interactions occur within a cultural, historical, political, and economic context.

While Zelizer seems to write off structuralist approaches to journalism entirely, Nick Couldry (2003) critiques field theory on a more particular level. He questions the compatibility of field theory with the general thesis regarding the media's ability to categorize the social world—the media's symbolic power. Couldry critiques scholars for overemphasizing the inner-workings of the journalistic field while providing little

elaboration on the influence of media on society, yet manage to draw broad conclusions about the power of media on society. Perhaps against Couldry's wishes, this project concentrates on the inner-workings of the journalistic field as it pertains to the CBC because its aim is to trace the structural changes of the broadcaster since the 1920s. A project that also accounts for the CBC's effects on broader social spaces would be much larger, and is thus out of my purview. Further, the usage of field theory within this project does not fully take up Bourdieu's (2005) thesis regarding the media's impact on other fields of social action, as mentioned in the introduction to the chapter, that the consecratory powers of the journalistic field have proliferated into the fields it interacts with due to the most heteronomous pole of the journalistic field expanding its reach across the entire field and affecting those fields it comes into contact with. Instead, this analysis is interested in *part* of Bordieu's thesis, that is, how the most heteronomous sub-fields within the journalistic field have penetrated the entire field. To put it differently, this project is not interested in applying field theory to the recent changes to news production at the CBC in order to draw conclusions about the media's impact on the social world. Instead, it is interested in the impact of commercial television—and more broadly, external economic and political pressures—on the journalistic field, taking the CBC as a particular case of the heteronomizing of journalism that Bourdieu (2005) and other scholars have elaborated upon (Benson, 1998; Benson & Neveu, 2005). However, this project does take into account of one aspect of society affected by the media: audiences. Audiences, not in terms of their behaviours towards or receptivity of media works, but how audiences are discussed in re-design documents, or, the rhetorical tricks

of symbolic authority the CBC employs to describe audiences within renewed institutional imperatives (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170). In other words, how dominant agents within the CBC and agents interrelated to the CBC describe audiences within the prism of the broadcaster's interests in the re-design. Further, this project is not so much interested in drawing conclusions about media power, as Couldry and others are, but is instead interested in tracing the structural transformations of the CBC and its journalistic production—a project that remains under-theorized. That said, Couldry's questioning of the bold statements made by Patrick Champagne (2005)[5] and others about media power being theoretically compatible with the field theory brings important questions to bear on the limitations of field theory in terms of conclusions that can be drawn about the media's pervasiveness, and missing theoretical aspects from field theory more generally, such as the avoidance of general accounts of the impacts of media representation on social spaces and accounts of mass media audiences (Couldry, 2003, p. 655).

The journalistic field maintains a weak autonomy, yet its "influence" and "pervasiveness" have increased (Benson, 1998, p. 463). This becomes problematic in regards to the journalism field's primarily role, that of mediating between other fields (Benson, 1998). Through its "unique mandate," the journalistic field enters and explores other fields and then publicly shares its findings (p. 466). While this dynamic allows contemporary society to "actively influence relations of power," it also has the effect of influencing those fields it enters when large-scale changes take place within the

[5] In *Le Double Dependence,* Patrick Champagne (1995) points out that although the journalistic field exerts powerful effects on other fields, the journalistic field maintains an "ambiguous position" in the field of power because its power is attributed to the field's strong domination by the economic and political fields (p. 217, quoted in Benson, 1998, p. 446). Indeed, Bourdieu positions the journalistic field mostly within the field of large-scale production, closer to the heteronomous pole of economic and political power.

journalistic field, such as the entrance of commercial television (p. 466). To briefly summarize an argument put forward by Bourdieu (2005) and further elaborated on by Benson (1998), television offers "a competing definition of good journalism," where success is measured in audience ratings[6] (pp. 471-2). Benson demonstrates how commercial television imposes its logic on other fields of cultural production, specifically philosophy, the judiciary field, and the medical research field. Benson argues television provides the journalistic field with a wider reach and capacity to transform other fields it interacts with because it draws on ratings and external logics of economics to ensure its success. Thus, in order to know what stakes are generated in the journalistic field, analysis must go beyond locating and describing the positions taken in the journalistic field. Bourdieu notes that "the amount that can be explained by the logic of the field varies according to the autonomy of the field" (2005, p. 34). If the journalistic field maintains a weak autonomy yet increasingly influences other fields of cultural production, it is necessary to understand its relationship to other fields, specifically, other fields that exert demands upon it and vice versa.

Journalism and the Economic Field

Bourdieu observes that the journalistic field is a heteronomous field, meaning that it maintains a dominated relationship to the field of power and thus functions with a weak

[6] To quote Benson, television journalism "has broken down the old dichotomy between 'serious' and 'popular' journalism, undermining the power of old intellectual standards to guide the behaviour of journalists" (p. 471). Thus, when Benson argues that television has introduced a new definition of good journalism, he compares television to print journalism and its established standards of accuracy and balance. Commercial television, on the other hand, utilizes ratings to adjust programming to audience demands. For instance, Compton (2004) elaborates on how commercial television, when integrated with print and other media assets, pushes the news agenda to focus on popular, spectacle-like stories.

autonomy. The journalistic field is often not able to follow its own logic—its stakes, its position as mediator among other fields, and its claim of presenting a legitimate picture of the social world—without being subject to external demands, the most prominent being demands from the economic field. For example, demands from the economic field appear overtly in the journalistic field as advertising, subscription rates, circulation numbers or ratings, and generating programming to attract audiences. Diffusely, economic demands can appear as censorship, through job losses and precarious employment in the field generally. Bourdieu (1993) argues that economic logic penetrates fields at their weakest pole, which maintains a different level of hierarchization than its opposite pole. To explain, the field of cultural production, where the journalistic field resides, contains its weakest pole (the sub-field of large-scale production) and its purest pole (the sub-field of restricted production). Whereas the sub-field of restricted production is highly autonomous from economic demands and agents seek symbolic forms of capital, the hierarchization of the sub-field of large-scale production (journalism resides here as an industrial art) appears as economic capital or "the bottom line" (p. 15). Further, works produced in the field of large-scale production have a different cultural value than works produced in the restricted field. This is because cultural producers aim their works at different publics. The field of large-scale production, for instance, aims products at a more general, mass audience. Thus, economic sanction can play a strong role in the production of goods, by reinforcing their cultural consecration, in other words, their ability to stand as legitimate works within the field (p. 113). In this context, it is significant to discuss how economic factors structure news outlets: how outlets are

organized in terms of resources, works produced, and tensions between the business logic of a media enterprise and the professional idealism of journalists producing the cultural goods (Compton, 2004).

Robert Picard (1989) observes that the economic behaviour of the media is "impelled and constrained" by influences on media markets, the market consisting of sellers providing a similar good or service to a group of consumers (pp. 16-7). Media organizations are organized differently from each other, and therefore participate in the media market in different ways. The media market itself is determined by the number of media organizations, where they operate geographically, and if the products of one organization can be substituted for another—these factors affect the competition and concentration of media markets. Picard further observes that media industries are unusual, in economic terms, because they operate in a *dual product market*, meaning they produce content for an audience to consume, and they also sell their audience to advertisers (p. 17). Further, he notes that "performance in each market affects performance in the other," meaning the quality of media products is also dependent on how they are received by the audience—for broadcast media, a ratings system, and for print, circulation numbers (p. 17).

Media scholars discuss how in the process of participating in media markets, the logic of supply and demand factors into how news is created (Smythe, 1981; Garnham, 1990; Schiller, 2000). Speaking strictly about private media organizations, Hamilton (2004) argues that the market drives reporting, which affects the quality of journalism produced. The process of putting together the first copy of a newspaper involves high

costs that need to be covered. At the same time, reproducing that information is comparably lower in price, depending on how many units are produced. Therefore, there is a pressure to attract a stable and expanding audience in order to keep production costs down. This scenario best describes the dilemma facing private media organizations. But the CBC is a public broadcaster, whose operation relies on government support and advertising revenues. The CBC has a public mandate that requires it to fulfill certain standards for its audiences, beyond operating simply in a way that makes financial sense. While both private and public news organizations compete for audiences, they are structured by a different logic. The logic of the former is to operate in a way that generates steady and increasing profits, whereas the latter puts the premise of public service before commercial interests (Scannell, 1992; Neville, 2006).

Paul Nesbitt-Larking (2007), discussing both private and public news outlets, argues news is part of a production process that involves a chain of decision-making, including "people, crews, hardware, transportation, schedules, cooperation, planning, and timing" (p. 161). This also includes financial resources, such as budgetary and government constraints, and attracting an audience. In other words, the news is also shaped by the structure of the organization itself, in terms of budgets, resources, particular work flows for journalists, etc. Thus, the process of news-making involves not only journalistic factors but economic factors. Similar to Nesbitt-Larking (2007), Mosco (2009) understands that media enterprises are conditioned by the socio-economic and political systems they operate in. Mosco, however, argues that studying the organizational structure of a media enterprise is far too limited to analyze the dynamic relationships and

networks that mobilize and are mobilized by communications in a capitalist society. Mosco argues this "co-operation of networks" (economic, social, cultural, political) is mobilized by economic entities in order to reduce risks and eliminate constraints in profit-making (pp. 68, 129). For Mosco, then, an analysis of the economic structure of a news organization must be placed within the political, economic, social, and cultural processes in the society it is integral to.

Economic factors also impact editorial resources. Schulman (1990) describes how, within a news organizations, those at the top of the hierarchy are the gatekeepers who decide what is worthy of news coverage and the editorial tastes of the new organization. In this structure, cub reporters are lowest in the hierarchy and are interested in gaining the respect of their peers and thus must work within the gate established by their editors, senior executives, publishers, and corporate boards who have particular stakes in preserving the profitability of the organization (pp. 113, 116). At the same time, Schulman does not point to the individuals at the top of the organization as forcing journalists to write in particular ways, but emphasizes that censorship appears in the way journalists are socialized to learn what stories are worthy of coverage, their deadlines, and how many publications they are expected to file stories to (Compton, 2004). Further, spending substantial funds on editorial resources can have negative effects for media companies. For instance, when discussing the Kent Commission, Skinner and Gasher (2005) note that one of the commission's conclusions about editorial content and newspaper ownership was that media companies who spent more on editorial content than their competition were "vulnerable to takeover" by other media companies (p. 63).

Gallagher (1995) argues that the problem of media control is a "problem of survival": media companies must negotiate and bargain with the dominant social order, which is not necessarily explicit, but maintains certain prescriptions for how a mass media organization can stay in business (p. 154). For instance, the creation of the BBC and the CBC addressed the technical problem of broadcast scarcity, and the advent of commercial television in the 1950s can be attributed to pressures from governments to expand advertising with the view that television "was a great marketing device" (p. 157). Gallagher points to these developments as a changed purpose in communication that lead the way for network broadcasting to become interested in expanding audiences or "buyers" for products advertised (p. 159). Herman and Chomsky (1998) make a similar argument, that mass media organizations and the news they produce are mediated by external factors and pressures. They set out five filters through which the "raw materials of news" pass through prior to reaching the public, among them: the size of ownership, government and businesses who act as "experts" or primary sources for stories, and advertising as a primary source of income (p. 2). Public broadcasters like the CBC, whose main source of funding comes from Parliament, are still affected by these filters because they compete for audiences with private media and the CBC itself is able to survive as a media company because it generates advertising revenues. In a similar way to public broadcasters, Herman and Chomsky argue that in general private media depend on the government for funding and support via policy.

Research on news organizations and the media indicate that the media industry has faced steady declines in advertising revenues and high technological change

(Compton, 2004; Garnahm, 1990). One of the most notable technological changes emerging in the 2000s is that "formerly differentiated distribution systems," such as newspapers by newsstand and radio and television signals over the air, are "being merged onto the Internet's common platform" (Schiller, 2000, p. 97). Large media companies are re-structuring to provide online platforms as an extension of services, which also serves to increase their "market power" by attracting audiences and advertisers globally and by concentrating programming across networks to the point of eclipsing the market power of conventional broadcasting industries (p. 114). At the same time, Williams and Delli Carpini (2000) argue that mainstream news organizations no longer have the monopoly on news because individual websites, revenue-generating or not, have arrived on the scene as alternative information sources that are also capable of breaking news. They discuss how *The Drudge Report,* a news aggregation website, broke the Monica Lewinsky scandal and the mainstream media followed. Thus, the mass audience no longer pays attention to a few media organizations, but has fragmented over many different information sources, and traditional news media are turning to the multiple information available online to find stories. As a result of these economic and technological changes, major media organizations that were once profitable are now following advertisers and audiences to the online world in order to stake out a position and find new ways to keep audiences within the brand domain (Schiller, 2000). McChesney (1999) observes that media ownership in this climate is "dominated by a handful of massive firms, advertisers and the firms' billionaire owners" (p. 119). McChesney argues that despite the emergence of alternative information websites and the

perceived belief in an unprecedented communication “openness” that can be achieved online, the actors who are most successful online are the “usual corporate suspects” (p. 183). Further, McChesney argues that the perceived “openness” of the Internet cannot compensate for failed policy and that the type of journalism being produced online, under the ownership of a few, is “hypercommercial [...] with little trace of public service, or public accountability” (pp. 183, 119). In terms of media ownership policy in Canada, cross-media consolidation was a major trend in 1996, when broadcasting regulations were altered in support of convergence, allowing for the aggregation of audiences across platforms, the increasing of a media company's market power and increased efficiency in news production by re-using programming and editorial content (Skinner & Gasher, 2005, p. 5). In terms of media ownership, the alteration of broadcast policy in Canada towards supporting competition and flexibility of economic capital allowed media companies to re-structure and expand their economies of scope and scale. Media ownership became monopolized by a few companies: by 1999, Hollinger controlled almost 50 per cent of all dailies in Canada. The relaxing of convergence regulations was intended to address industry uncertainties experienced in Canada and the United States, mainly falling advertising revenues, technological convergence, and the introduction of online media. As we have seen, those problems continue to plague the industry and monopolies on media ownership have increased, as well as their strategies for expanding their economies of scope and scale to address financial problems.

If Smythe (1981) argues that audiences are the commodity in news, while the news itself is intended to lure audiences to view advertising, then economic factors also

arise in the way audiences are circumscribed by media companies, as consumers and/or as members of the public. Garnham (1990) argues that the technological determinants of new forms of communication technologies, such as those companies advocating that a multichannel universe can provide greater choice for consumers, undermines the economic determinants of new technologies—that the ultimate reason why technology is promoted is the economic opportunity it will afford (p. 126). Garnham argues that the struggle characterizing the rise of new technologies is one that pits the economic logic of commercial media against the public service logic of non-commercial media through the struggle "to turn all information into private property" rather than "provide information widely and cheaply to all" (p. 127).

Like Garnham, Paddy Scannell (1992) argues that giving people more choices for consumption, and catering to their desires, does not translate into public service. Scannell argues that public broadcasters are supposed to contribute to the "democratization of everyday life" by bringing public life to all citizens through broadcasting events as they happen in communities—events that were once exclusive to those who could afford to attend the galas and soccer games (p. 318). The universal distribution of broadcasting (everyone can listen) and mixed programming (everyone will want to listen) means public broadcasters attempt to deliver the full spectrum of political, social, religious, and cultural life to their audiences. However, if public broadcasting shifts from general interests to individual interests, Scannell warns that broadcasting would revert back to a two-tiered system, where programming is determined by a few, and for those who can afford it.

While Garnham and Scannell argue that new technologies do not provide more choice for consumers but more opportunities for media companies to grow profits, Harvey (2001) argues that "the drive for capital accumulation" does not lead to more of the same, but leads to diversity of population, cities, etc., and that capital growth actually requires "the production of difference" such as different technologies, lifestyles, and "gimmicks" in order to stimulate that growth (pp. 121, 123). At the same time, growth, including growth in audiences and revenues, is essential to capital accumulation. In this way, audience ratings and demographics become essential broadcasting tools, for monitoring audience preferences and expanding audiences. Demographics are a form of audience measurement, allowing media companies to gather information about audience preferences across different programming, different viewing times (the afternoon, prime time), and different age, gender, and ethnic groups. One way demographic research allows media companies to expand their audiences and profitability is by targeting particular groups to sell to advertisers. For instance, new research indicates that baby boomers are a profitable target because they have substantial disposable incomes, they frequent popular websites, and are willing to switch products (Consoli, 2011). Another target group is youth, who are more adept with online technologies and represent a long-term investment if media companies are able to appeal to their interests and consuming habits (Murray, 2009).

Demographics do not only serve to attract advertisers, but can allow media companies to alter their strategies to encompass audiences that are underserved. For instance, demographics are beneficial for public broadcasters because they can serve as

evidence that the broad population is being served, as well as niche markets around particular interests, languages, and age groups. Bélanger and Andrechek (2005) note how the introduction of CBC Radio 3, an online radio station devoted to Canadian music and arts, represents the CBC attempting to provide programming for a subset of youth audiences, noting youth audiences are not often reflected in CBC programming.

Changes in the News Industry: The Internet, Convergence, and multi-platform journalism

Besides economic factors, other determinants external to the journalistic field can affect how the field functions. This thesis understands that the advent of online news, media convergence, and the rise of multi-platform journalism plays a significant role in the re-structuring of how news organizations produce and deliver their products. Many media scholars discuss the Internet as a new platform for delivering news, which is viewed in both positive and negative ways (Paterson and Domingo, 2008; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000; Debrett 2009; Garcia, 2009; Calwey, 2008; Quandt, 2008; McChesney, 1999). Convergence occurs when media properties under one owner are restructured to work together. For instance, in a converged newsroom, reporters from radio or television can move freely between platforms, producing and re-producing their work for multiple platforms (Klinenberg, 2005: 53). With the dawn of the Internet as a platform for news delivery, convergence strategies have proliferated, and they are discussed through case studies and ethnographies of media convergence in different news organizations (Cottle & Ashton, 1999; Compton, 2004; Klinenberg, 2005; Paterson and Domingo, 2008).

Scholars have pointed out that technological change has consequences for the

production of journalism. Catherine McKercher (2002) viewed technological change and corporate convergence as “complementary features of the capitalist system of manufacturing” (p. 38). Technical change compresses the production process and eliminates jobs (“the goal was to displace workers with equipment”), which transforms the editorial desk into a production hub (p. 52). Cottle & Ashton (1999) studied BBC's newly-created editorial hub in Bristol and its convergence technologies to analyze the institutional rationale behind the changes and how journalists coped with the multi-tasking (or multi-skilling) required. Attempting to defend against more technological deterministic arguments circulating about the relationship between media and new technologies, the authors argue that the implementation of technologies into broadcast journalism is context-specific. In this case, they observed that the implementation of converged technologies at the BBC came on the heels of revenue shortfalls, and were instated as part of a solution to maintain its position as a major corporate player within an intensely competitive and extended national and global broadcast industry. Cottle & Ashton also conclude that the multi-skilling of reporters contributed to a de-skilling, where heavier workload pressures encumbered the possibilities of reaping the promised benefits of the new technologies. Instead of the promise of new technologies supporting better programming and the sharing of resources between platforms, bi-medial reporting consequently requires more time versioning stories for news outlets and less time for in-depth reporting (p. 40). Interviewing journalists from *The BBC, The Guardian, Sky News*, and *The Financial Times*, Saltzis and Dickinson (2007) argue that the multimedia journalist has not arrived yet, despite a decade-long implementation of converged

technologies and work routines, and it is the newcomers who are asked to do the most multimedia work. They also argue that multi-media technologies will allow news to become a "medium-neutral commodity" (p. 226).

Other scholars are interested in how the power hierarchies at work in re-structured news organizations have effects on the content produced. More specifically, discussion focuses on the convergence of media platforms and the integration of newsroom resources as strategies adopted by news organizations to increase profits and combat market declines in the industry (Compton, 2004; Klinenberg, 2005; McLean, 2005; Nesbitt-Larking, 2007). It is the next step in concentration: news organizations with multiple journalistic platforms restructure themselves internally so that those resources can be made useful across all platforms. Generally, journalists working nine-to-five, writing one or two stories per day, are now filing for websites, producing television and audio reports, and collaborating with other media outlets on stories. James R. Compton (2004) argues that multi-platform journalism has led to the valorizing of non-newsworthy and profit-motivated elements in the news agenda of Western news organizations. To explain, Compton argues that the integration of journalistic resources in multi-platform reporting leads to the prioritizing of spectacular stories. Exploring the tension between the professional idealism of journalists and the business logic of news organizations, Compton argues that convergence is central to the promotion of spectacular media events because it mobilizes the institutional structure of news organizations alongside economic and symbolic "synergies" to extend the shelf life of media products while increasing advertising dollars (p. 5). He identifies three types of multi-platform convergence:

repurposing resources, cross promotion, and the creation of new synergistic business opportunities. Touching on the economic pressures created by digital media, Compton views the new media atmosphere as a consequence of high competition and uncertain market conditions: media organizations owning newspapers, television, radio stations, and websites cross promote their different journalistic assets to keep audiences within their brand domain and team up with businesses to offer synergistic opportunities such as providing links to Amazon after reading a book review. As a result, the news agenda has "become hostage to spectacular media events" that fit across all journalistic platforms and appeal to the "libidinal energies" of the audience over their intellectual energies (p. 4). Compton's approach involves analyzing spectacular media events such as the Gulf War news coverage and the death of Princess Diana. While his theoretical position is staunchly located in political economy, he does not distinguish between different institutional imperatives of private and public news organizations. This orientation becomes problematic when Compton situates his analysis within Bourdieu's structural sociology in order to discuss the "sacred values" of each field and portray televised news events as moments where social agents act within historically situated social structures (Compton, 2004, p. 27). Compton does not mention that Bourdieu understands different journalistic outlets to occupy different positions within the field, which means they have different levels of autonomy and therefore occupy different roles and relationships in relation to each other. As a result, his analysis overlooks the unique position and stakes of public broadcasters over private broadcasters and privately-owned media. However, Compton also concludes his book by observing that newsroom integration is in its

infancy. Thus, an analysis of the *CBC News* re-design can contribute to a further understanding of how the transition to integrated media lines can lead to spectacle-like reporting and/or fulfil purposes that are not entirely journalistic.

Journalism and the political field

The political field and the journalistic field are both engaged in presenting the legitimate vision of the social world, and both appeal to groups or forces outside of the field for legitimation. Politicians appeal to the public for votes, journalists require a readership for their stories. Just as aspects of some fields can be homologous with other fields, the political field is similar to the journalistic field in that both participate in the struggle over representing the social world. As noted previously, this is one among many stakes in the journalistic field. The political field, however, functions as a site where agents are constantly engaged in representation, where words literally preserve or transform the organization of the field, through slogans, mottos, policies, commentaries, etc. That is because the "products" of the political field consist of "instruments for perceiving and expressing the social world" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 172). The ability to participate in the struggles of the political field is characterized by an agent's interests within their class position and the agent's capacity to express those interests. Language plays a prominent role in Bourdieu's theory of the field. The editor's introduction to Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991) explains:

> [Bourdieu] portrays everyday linguistic exchanges as situated encounters between agents endowed with socially structured resources and competencies, in such a way that every linguistic interaction, however personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of the social

> structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce. (p. 2)

The linguistic exchange between agents is theorized as fields coming into contact with one another. For example, when a journalist interviews a politician, it can literally be taken as the journalistic field and political field communicating with one another. The interaction can serve to express the structure of the relationship between the journalistic field and the political field (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 31).

Bourdieu (2005) argues the most striking feature of the relationship between the two fields is the ability of the journalistic field to exert effects on the political field. He argues that the increasing heteronomy of the journalistic field has effects on the heteronomous poles of other fields. This is possible because fields are not only semi-autonomous spheres, but their oppositions and general structures parallel each other (Benson, 1998, p. 464). For instance, a dynamic has occurred where journalism, especially television journalism, provides a venue for dialogue with politicians, however, this dialogue takes place under the pressures and limitations of the journalistic organization itself. Regardless of those pressures and limitations, the journalistic field provides notoriety for the political field. Those politicians who frequent the media roster gain capital in their own field. This is also evident for researchers, where drawing media attention can lead to funding opportunities. Looking towards the effect on the journalistic field, the increasing heteronomy of the journalistic field—through the proliferation of external demands of economics and politics—has effects on the entire composition of the field. As audience ratings and economic concerns dominate in the most heteronomous pole of the journalistic field (again, television's entrance into the field and its new definition of good journalism creating this effect), these external demands are

increasingly valourized within the field, and affect even the purest (non-commercial) regions of the field. This becomes evident when the CBC promotes its re-design as being completed alongside the largest audience research project in the corporation's history, including the involvement of Frank N. Magid Associates, a media consulting company whose practices include re-structuring how news is presented in order to attract more audiences. Bourdieu argues that the increasing power of the commercial pole in the journalistic field pulls the entire field closer to itself. He refers to this effect as the "audience ratings mentality" pervading the journalistic field and others fields as well (p. 43).

Benson (1998) notes that one problem with field theory is the merging of economic and political interests and the varying conceptions of the state within field theory and Bourdieu's work more generally. Drawing on the argument of the journalistic field's increasing heteronomy, Benson argues that the political field cannot be subsumed with the economic field into a "heteronomous power" that compete with the "autonomous power" of the journalistic field (p. 483). To complicate this, Couldry (2003) argues that field theory cannot properly encompass its own claims about the symbolic power of media outlets. He draws on Bourdieu's thoughts on the *meta-capital* of the state over other fields to describe how media institutions increasingly affect a large number of fields. While Couldry's project suggests large additions to field theory that are inappropriate for this project, the addition of Bourdieu's earlier writings about the state allows him to emphasize an important role of the state: it sets the *rules of the game* for other fields and maintains influence over education and key entry points to fields of

production.

Public Broadcasting and the journalistic field, economic field and political field

Whereas journalistic organizations in general must hold capital in the journalistic, economic, and political fields in order to reproduce themselves, the imperative is doubly so for public broadcasters. Public broadcasters operate with a public mandate, created and maintained by the government, whereas private broadcasters have a general mission to be of service to the public, but they are for-profit entities whose operating logic ultimately follows the market. To put this in context with field theory, private broadcasters adjust to pre-existing demands from audiences in order to secure success, whereas journalistic agents in the field of small-scale production, of which public broadcasting is part of through its *disinterest* in profit, maintain prescriptions or mandates that guide its interactions with audiences and that to some extent *lead* audiences instead of catering their tastes (Benson, 1998). While public broadcasters follow their mandate, which acts as a criteria for products produced *beyond* market imperatives, public broadcasters are also subject to the market. As explored in the previous section on convergence, public broadcasters are also adjusting to large-scale industry changes, and in a similar fashion to private media. Hallvard and Syversten (2008) observe a "massive reorientation" of public broadcasting due to technological and political transformations (p. 401). The authors observe changes occurring in two waves: the first in the 1980s and 1990s, with the deterioration of public broadcast monopolies and increased competition with private broadcasting; and the second in the late 1990s and early 2000s, around digitization and

convergence characterized by competition on all platforms that prompted public broadcasters to look into new markets and services beyond radio and television. To situate the CBC in this analysis, the broadcaster is moving in the direction of the multimedia conglomerate structure that authors identify, although not entirely. The authors argue that public broadcasters "remained more concerned about establishing services where audiences could participate also in a non-commercial setting" (p. 403). This emphasis on non-commercial interactive spaces remains to be seen, as the CBC's 2015 strategy points to more advertising-generating efforts alongside public interaction.

More broadly, Hallvard and Syversten note there is no concise theoretical term for *public service broadcasting*, and put forward a general definition as "forms of political intervention into the media market with the purpose of ensuring that broadcasters produce programs deemed valuable to society" (p. 398). This "political intervention" takes the form of a mandate with objectives that must be fulfilled in some fashion in order to receive the government's financial support. Debrett (2009) identifies the core qualities of public service broadcasting as: providing universal service, independence from government and vested interests, serving minority and mainstream audiences, reflecting national culture and identity, quality programming, preparedness to innovate, and to not be driven to maximize audiences (p. 809). Public broadcasters are driven by a general purpose to inform the public, which situates them closer to the purest pole of the journalistic field than private broadcasters because their assessment of products produced includes more than the bottom line (economic factors). Generally, being closer to the purest pole of the journalistic field means public broadcasters can follow their own logic

(pursue their own stakes) and refract external demands into the field's logic. This means that public broadcasters pursue and compete primarily for symbolic capital (prestige) as opposed to economic capital. Because public broadcasters are publicly-funded, there is a profit in disinterestedness, a profit in not seeing oneself as interested in profit (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 15). Public broadcasters even present themselves as a quality alternative to commercial broadcasters. Raboy (2008) notes that in the face of corporate convergence and increased commercial imperatives in journalism, public broadcasters are positioned to do what the private news media cannot: "put aside the interests of the state and commercial investors and work to promote democratic processes" (p. 364). Fulfilling a public mandate is not without its challenges, including political and economic pressures. Both Compton (2004) and Debrett (2009) note a specific dynamic with public broadcasters: giving into pressures, such as adopting new technologies or new economic strategies, in order to maintain a position as a mainstream media player. This can take the form of public broadcasters translating economic and political imperatives into public service imperatives. For instance, Garnham (1990) studied the licensing and regulation of satellite television in the UK, and argues that the struggle around new information technologies is a struggle between public and private models of cultural production and consumption. He notes that the public service role of media enterprises can become skewed in times of high technological change, that what counts as democratic in times of technological change often becomes prey to mythical thinking of abundance and cultural freedom—that new technology has an inherent ability to produce new freedoms by providing more options for audiences, and is therefore more democratic. Garnham argues

that increased consumer choice is not the expansion of democratic potential, but the expansion of price and profit "at the expense of the public sphere" (p. 120). Nesbitt-Larking (2007) makes a similar point, arguing that new technology is constantly being introduced into the news media in order to reduce the costs of production (p. 166). Debrett (2009) argues that new digital platforms provide an opportunity for public broadcasters to re-invent themselves, in ways that would address problems that have plagued public media for a quarter century (fragmenting audiences, increased competition with private broadcasters, the increased populist, or elitist sentiment in coverage, etc.). Analyzing the digital strategies of six public broadcasters from around the world, Debrett views their respective online re-invention as multimedia platforms or "media content companies," beyond the simple re-purposing of content across multiple platforms (p. 819). She sees opportunities for public broadcasters to engage with the public in new and more interactive ways, such as encouraging user-generated content, interactive stories, and customizable features. However, the ethnographies of Quandt, Garcia, and Cawley suggest that online newsrooms lack the financial and labour resources necessary to produce the multimedia content that Debrett considers essential for public broadcasters to stay relevant to their audiences. Debrett acknowledges this:

> As they reconfigure themselves as media content companies, public service broadcasters enter new territory with regard to their audience, their content, their relations with producers and their status in the marketplace, invoking more exacting requirements for governance and accountability, and with new commercial enemies (p. 807).

She observes that public broadcasters put themselves in the position of gambling their non-commercial distinctiveness in order to experiment with digital innovations, but also

that these media content companies “serve a vital new social role as developers of cohesive portals to reliable information online,” which validates the effort to explore new revenue streams (p. 822). In Debrett's view, the problems that new media technologies and online platforms pose for journalism in general can be viewed as opportunities for public broadcasters to carry out their mandates in new ways. She concludes that the success of public broadcasters' transition to the content company structure depends on increased government funding (or a hybrid revenue system), alongside public desire to keep these companies in the public domain.

Nesbitt-Larking (2007) argues that despite the differences between public and private media companies, all media enterprises in a capitalist society are businesses, and are driven by an imperative to be profitable and to satisfy their shareholders (p. 159). He argues it has become “politically necessary” even for a public corporations to “sustain profitability” through demonstrating economic efficiency. If they do not, their private-sector counterparts will complain that the public sector is inefficient and using taxpayer monies inappropriately. Thus, all news media in Canada are subject to market principles, and are required to act in a “businesslike manner” to demonstrate their economical viability and accountability to politicians, lobbyists, and “interested publics” (pp. 165, 159).

The CBC and the journalistic, political, and economic fields

Literature on the history of the CBC (Raboy, 1996; Skinner, 1988) has described the corporation as having difficulty attempting to balance its mandated objectives with

commercial objectives, even careening “like a corporate titanic on the verge of capsizing” due to changing broadcast policy and increased interaction with the private sector (Raboy, 1996, p. 106). While Debrett (2009) argues public broadcasters gamble their non-commercial distinctiveness when they invest in digital innovation, the CBC remains in a unique situation because it has never been fully non-commercial. The CBC's parliamentary appropriation has never fully covered its television services, and the CBC utilizes commercial revenues to sustain its television operations, and most recently, a portion of its online services.

The CBC is mandated to “contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression in Canada” by providing distinctive Canadian programming and offering “a quality alternative” to commercial broadcasters (Mandate Review Committee, CBC, NFB, Telefilm, 1996, p. 93). The CBC must also serve the interests of a broad audience and attend to the specialized needs of minority audiences. At the same time, the CBC's economic imperatives have increased, beginning with an increase in advertising on television in the 1970s, followed by cuts to its parliamentary appropriation in the mid 1980s and 1990s. The corporation explains that increased economic imperatives have “fundamentally compromised” the CBC's public broadcasting role and notes that as a public broadcaster that sustains itself through commercial revenues, the CBC makes programming choices that have the potential to baffle public broadcast advocates and the commercial sector alike (p. 93). It is significant to emphasize here that the CBC serves multiple masters, including the government, the public, its audiences, and the private sector. To elaborate briefly, the broadcaster receives its mandate and the majority of its

funding from Parliament, which requires the CBC to serve the public with a breadth of Canada-wide programming but also efficiently adapt services to reflect how Canadians are consuming news. This requires the CBC to adjust to industry changes—something the CBC is attempting to accomplish in part by increasing its commercial revenues. The CBC's unique institutional structure comes from serving political and economic masters while attempting to balance these demands within its mandate. Immersing itself in revenue-generating imperatives would compromise the government funding the CBC receives for providing distinctively Canadian programming. Field theory allows this thesis to explore the CBC as a mediated institution, operating at an intersection of varying and often contradictory demands that influence how the broadcaster positions itself for survival.

To situate the historical context in which the CBC has missed key opportunities to fulfill its public mandate, Marc Raboy (1990) poses a different understanding of the public/private broadcast divide. He argues the CBC is not simply a public broadcaster operating in the public interest, but understands the CBC to have a *national* mandate, as opposed to a *public* mandate. Citing J. E. Hodgets, Raboy writes that the CBC has nurtured public interest through setting up a communications structure only achievable through a government corporation. However, this is exactly where the problem occurs. Raboy points out that public broadcasting in Canada was a national project and by emphasizing national considerations, including the threat of U.S. cultural domination, and later, threats of Quebec sovereignty, the CBC “camouflages” issues such as public versus private models of ownership, the effects of policy like CRTC regulations, and the efforts

to resolve these issues (pp. 339-40). By positing the main interest of the organization in nation-building, the tensions within Canada and its media structure are obscured. Additionally, Raboy defines the CBC as an "administrative broadcaster" in that "the CBC appears to be a model in which the public interest often ends up being poorly served in exchange for the interests of the state, the government of the day, or the institution itself" (p. 11). In other words, the public is treated as a network of the media's own interests, where public opinion is meant to be controlled and manipulated; individuals and issues are portrayed according to an agenda set by the media and creates "monopolies of knowledge that rob the public of legitimacy in the interpretation of its own experience" (pp. 340-1). Thus, public broadcasting does not reflect individuals in the public sphere, but reflects back onto the organization itself. The CBC creates its own idea of publics; public interest and national interest become synonymous and unquestioned. Raboy argues that the CBC needs to shift its focus from a single, national identity to encompass multiple actors and their social relations.

Bill Neville (2006), a member of the CBC board of directors from 1986 to 1994, does not question the CBC's mandate in the same way. He is concerned if the CBC is able to carry out its public mandate with the amount of financial support it has received from the government. He argues that if the CBC does not receive more support, the broadcaster should narrow its mandate to reflect its lack of resources. Brian O'Neill (2006), discussing the CBC through its online domain, *CBC.ca,* understood the broadcaster to be fulfilling its public service mandate by offering broadcasting in a new format to stay relevant to Canadians. In addition, O'Neill argues that the CBC's foray into the online

world in the mid-1990's was not an attempt to be a pioneer in online journalism, but to locate and defend a spot for the CBC brand online in light of the CRTC's 1999 decision that it would not regulate the Internet. In this way, O'Neill argues *CBC.ca* can be viewed as a "far-sighted strategic decision that provided the appropriate response" to the changing media technologies and a declining market. However, O'Neill's analysis falls short in discussing the significance of *CBC.ca* for the broadcaster's radio and television services. He views *CBC.ca* as a "potential third arm of broadcasting," complementary to radio and television formats (p. 180). However, the re-design of *CBC News* positions *CBC.ca* as a key portal where its multiple news platforms will be hosted, and where news forms of audience interaction and participation will occur.

Further, while O'Neill argues that the CBC is attempting to defend a spot for itself online, Paterson and Domingo's (2008) analysis of online newsrooms indicate that, prior to the re-design, *CBC.ca* was still a primitive news website, with minimal multimedia options and most of its content a copy-and-paste version of radio and television stories. Further, regional newsrooms still lack appropriate resources for their online newsrooms to do actual reporting. At the same time, the *CBC News* re-design shows that O'Neill's predictions concerning the role of *CBC.ca* are incorrect. The website is not complementary to the other news platforms as he suggests, but acts as the central portal where multi-platform journalism is hosted and where news breaks first (Friends, 2008); it is the core of the content company, so to speak. As Debrett (2009) observes in her discussion of public broadcasters in the digital era, the CBC is looking towards the Internet to fulfill its public service objectives—and falling prey to the myth of abundance

and the democratizing force of the Internet that Garnham (1990) and McChesney (1999) observe. Similar to Raboy (1990), this thesis is critical of the CBC's position as a public service broadcaster when its economic structure is a hybrid between public and private imperatives. Following this, a study of the re-design of CBC news must take into consideration program and production changes as indicators not only of fulfilling journalistic imperatives, but economic and political imperatives as well.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CRBC/CBC AND THE JOURNALISTIC, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FIELDS, 1928-PRESENT

Overview

From its inception, the CRBC/CBC has interacted with multiple fields. This chapter will show how the CBC's structural changes *respond* to those interactions between the journalistic, political, and economic fields. In order to provide context for the next chapter's discussion of the CBC's news re-design, I will address three key structural transformations of the CRBC/CBC: the establishment of public broadcasting in the 1930s; the addition of television services to the CBC in the 1950s; the recessions of the 1980s and 1990s, and the CBC's subsequent alterations to its news services. Further, this chapter claims that the inception of the CRBC in the 1930s represented an intervention of the political field into the journalistic field. This intervention altered the goal, or, stakes of broadcasting away from strictly market-oriented objectives towards cultural objectives, as the political field described broadcasting not as an industry but a national cultural project. Additionally, this field alteration endowed the CRBC/CBC with a degree of symbolic capital, as the broadcaster was implemented in part to produce Canadian programming and was mandated to unite the country via a coast-to-coast radio network, harnessing federal funds to complete this project—a project that private broadcasters were unable to accomplish because Canada's sparse population could not pay for the high

costs of implementing a national network (Benson, 1998; Vipond, 1992). As the CBC expanded its responsibilities to include a nation-wide television network in the 1950s, and later, with decreased financial support from the federal government in the 1970s, the CBC increased its interest in economic capital in the forms of revenue-generating imperatives and news production efficiency measures.

A. The CBC as an intervention into the journalistic/broadcasting field

New to the broadcasting field, the CRBC represented the result of an intervention of the political field into the journalistic field. The federal government had sought to implement a national public radio network in order to address its own interests in broadcasting. At the outset, the political field utilized the journalistic field to prevent the United States, a close neighbour and a large cultural producer, from dominating the Canadian broadcasting industry. The changes the federal government made to broadcasting policy through the 1930s, leading to a mixed public/private Canadian broadcasting system, served to stave off both cultural and economic domination from the United States by providing funds for Canadian programming while keeping Canadian broadcasting in Canadian hands (Skinner, 2005). Thus, one solution to the perceived threat of the Americanization of Canada's underdeveloped broadcasting industry in the late 1920s was a federally-funded, coast-to-coast network airing Canadian programming (Skinner, 2005).[7] The introduction of an entity like the CRBC/CBC altered the structure of the journalistic field by introducing external interests from the political field, altering the

[7] Canadian programming, alongside programming from other public broadcasters and programming from the United States.

value of capital distributed across the journalistic field.

In Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice* (1980), a *field* is defined as a structured space of positions where those positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different types of *capital*. *Agents* or actors operating within these fields work to maximize their position by employing improvised strategies, semi-structured by their disposition (*habitus*) and their position in the field (the accumulation of different types of capitals). By introducing public broadcasting into the journalistic field, the political field altered the circulation of capital from strictly economic to cultural (i.e. Canadian programming). Further, the political field endowed the CRBC/CBC with symbolic capital, in that the broadcaster had mandated public service objectives, modelling its public broadcast structure on that of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and at the outset, by positioning the CRBC as the regulator of all broadcasting in Canada. The three key structural transformations considered here demonstrate how the CBC's re-structuring *responds* to its evolving relationship with the political field, and specifically, how the broadcaster's relationship with the federal government orients its relationship to both the journalistic and economic fields.

B. The establishment of public broadcasting in the 1930s: The Aird Commission (1929)

Prior to the Aird Commission, Canadian radio was managed by local and privately-owned stations. Many of these stations were affiliated with electrical appliance dealers or newspapers (Vipond, 1992). Broadcasting developed as a commercial media (Peers, 1969). As authorized by the 1913 Radio-Telegraph Act, the Ministry of Marine

and Fisheries granted radio licenses, and the first Canadian station to obtain a license was XWA Montreal in 1919. A decade later, more than 60 radio stations were operating across Canada, leading to an issue of over-crowded airwaves in some urban areas. Disputes erupted over signal interference and the content of radio broadcasts—since programming content fell outside the purview of the 1913 Radio-Telegraph Act, stations had "full discretion in what was broadcast" (p. 29). The solution to these disputes came from the political field, in the form of broadcasting policy. P.J. Arthur Cardin, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, called on ministry officials to prepare recommendations for federal broadcasting policy. Submitted 15 November 1928, the ministry officials recommended establishing a royal commission with an agenda to "examine into the broadcasting situation in the Dominion of Canada and to make recommendations to the Government as to the future administration, management, control and financing thereof" (Bird, 1988, p. 37). The report also discussed the popularity of U.S. stations among Canadian listeners and suggested the federal government play a role in combating American influence with its own powerful network of Canadian stations, and with funds focused on program production.[8] Broadcast scarcity was also addressed, as the report recommended further consideration of how "available channels can be most effectively used in the interests of Canadian listeners in the national interests of Canada" (Canada, 1929b, p. 2306 in Gasher, 1998). This strategy re-oriented the broadcasting field away from the strict economic logic of private broadcasting

[8] The Aird Report was not specific on the kinds of programs that would promote national unity in Canada. Peers (1969) finds only one paragraph of the report concerning networks: "Chain broadcasting has been stressed as an important feature. We think that an interchange of programs among different parts of the country should be provided as often as may seem desirable, with coast to coast broadcasts of events or features of national interest, from time to time" (Canada 1929a, p. 10)

towards a political logic of national interest, in the name of staving off those cultural threats from Canada's neighbour. Indeed, this neighbour had already expressed a desire to integrate Canada into its network: officials from the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) relayed their intention to Aird during the commission's visit (Potter, 2009; Gasher, 2012).

The creation of the national radio network recommended by the Aird Commission should be understood as a new entrant into Canadian broadcasting—a field previously autonomous from the political field other than its minimal regulation by Marine and Fisheries. Canadian Broadcasting was also a field operating according to an economic logic, in that the dominant structure of broadcasting included the airing of popular U.S. programming and advertising. Therefore, this section must consider the importance of the Aird Commission in order to outline how it was possible for a national radio network to introduce a new circulation of capitals within the broadcasting/journalistic field, altering not only the production of broadcasting within Canada, but ultimately, the positions occupied by those agents already operating within the field.

In short, the Aird Commission was the first blueprint for a pan-Canadian radio network. It also represented the first large-scale Canadian governmental intervention into the cultural sphere, intended to make broadcasting policy more coherent in light of the scarcity of broadcasting during the 1920s, and the dominance of U.S. stations on Canadian airwaves. Officially titled the “Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting,” this commission is recognized in the history of communications policy as the first commission to hold public consultations. In the end, the committee recommended the

establishment of a publicly-owned national broadcasting network. Through the commission's recommendations, the federal government would alter the general structure of Canadian broadcasting by creating a high-powered national network across the country. Marc Raboy (1990) describes the history of broadcasting in Canada as being dominated by "privileged arenas of struggle over conflicting and competing notions of Canadian society, the Canadian nation, and the Canadian public" (p. xxi). Such a large-scale, national broadcasting system could serve as a powerful instrument for nation-building; a project which private broadcasters were not in a position to accomplish.

The Commission was chaired by Sir John Aird, president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, along with two other commissioners: Charles A. Bowman, editor of the Ottawa *Citizen,* and Augustin Frigon, the director of École Polytechnique in Montreal and director-general of technical education for Quebec. Among the commission's goals was an investigation of other broadcast network models, including NBC and the BBC, as well as consulting the Canadian public on the potential structure of a radio network. Public sessions were held in 25 Canadian cities between 17 April and 3 July 1929. During this time, private broadcasters argued primarily for the independence of broadcasting from political influences—in short, to maintain the field as it was. Yet the commission's strategy remained to legitimate the public broadcasting model on nationalistic grounds, as a defence against American cultural domination, and to villainize private broadcasters as contributing to the Americanization of Canadian airwaves. As Gasher (1998) notes, Aird himself was highly critical of the private broadcasters' strategy to compensate for revenue losses by increasing advertising across

the airwaves and to cluster together in large urban markets, leaving less populous areas without service. Aird was also wary that the majority of programming being enjoyed by Canadian audiences came from across the border because it was less expensive to import programming, programming that had already proved itself popular in the Canadian market. This practice reflected the inequitable division of the broadcasting spectrum and a culturally powerful force which would "mould the minds of young people in the home to ideals and opinions that are not Canadian" (Canada 1929a, p. 6 in Gasher et. al, 2012, p. 196). Thus, for Aird, private broadcasters were potentially harmful to what the commissioned defined as Canadian interests. The solution to this threat, to ensure Canada's interests were protected and that Canadians received programming that reflected their own county and its regions, was to create a publicly-owned system.

Aird proposed a radio network structure with some form of government intervention, laying out a structure for broadcasting in which the political field would play a direct role in the broadcasting field. The options provided to Canadians who participated in the public hearings were as follows, 1) privately-owned stations with government subsidies, 2) federally-owned and operated stations, or 3) provincially-owned and operated stations (Gasher, 1998).

However, the commission was misleading in its portrayal of public support for public broadcasting, which illustrates yet again how the CRBC/CBC reflected political interests within the journalistic field. While the commission reported support amongst the population for the prospective national broadcaster, claiming that "Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting" (Canada 1929a , p. 6 from Gasher et. al, 2012, p.

195), Gasher's (1998) study of the Aird commission's public hearings indicate that, of the 176 oral and written submissions the commission received during the hearings, only 34 individuals expressed a positive position towards government control and ownership of radio. Indeed, Gasher discusses how the commission overemphasized the unanimity of public reception to a national radio framework, and also notes that those who participated in the public sessions were mainly interested parties, such as the Canadian Radio League (CRL) and the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB). Vipond (1992) describes how the nationalization of radio was largely preordained by both the dispositions of the commission members and the agenda put forward by the Ministry of Marine and Fisheries.

The structure of this new Canadian public broadcaster was taken mostly for granted. When the CRBC was established a few years after the Aird commission in 1932, there was no institutional mechanisms in place to evaluate its practices or guidelines as to how the CRBC would operate alongside its private counterparts. As Gasher (1998) and Vipond (1992) argue, the CRBC's public service model was largely an opportunistic approach—and as Simon J. Potter observes, an opportunistic approach between a few interested groups in Canada and BBC officials, as opposed to an official recommendation made by the commission.

Potter argues that media historians discussing Canadian radio policy written in the late 1920s and 1930s often focus on the national perspective and portray public broadcasting as a way to limit transnational influence, highlighting the aforementioned tensions between Canadian and American programming. For Potter, this body of

literature often ignores the British-Canadian tensions at play through British influence on the CBC's public broadcasting model: “Such accounts tended to play down the fact that the idea of public broadcasting was closely connected with the model provided by the BBC and that it thus had transnational and imperial implications of its own” (p. 79). Looking at Canadian and British documents,[9] Potter analyzes specifically how British influences shaped the Canadian broadcasting debate of the late 1920s and 1930s. By analyzing the individuals and lobby groups, their actions and motivations, and how it led to the creation of the CRBC, Potter determines that Canada's public broadcasting model was shaped not only by the Aird Commission but also by lobby groups appealing to the BBC precedent. By invoking the BBC model in the broadcasting debates during the1920s, interested parties could “reassure those worried by the departure from the long-established principle of private ownership and control of the mass media that public broadcasting would involve (p. 81).” The BBC/British intervention into Canadian public broadcasting was opportunistic in that it was instigated by a few interested groups in Canada, mostly the Canadian Radio League (CRL), who continued to push for a BBC model after the government established the CRBC in 1932. Thus, the resultant public model of the CBC was loosely tied that of the BBC, endowing the young Canadian broadcaster with its public broadcasting precedent and prestige. *Prestige*, as Bourdieu describes it, is sought after by those agents situated in the purest or non-commercial poles of the field of cultural production. Their particular stakes within the field include the authority to determine the definition of literary work (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 20, 75). Within

[9] This includes policy documents, messages exchanged between the CRL and the BBC, and written speeches, etc., of individual lobby groups.

the journalistic field, prestige appears in the form of consecrating forms of good journalism, including public service journalism.

Although Aird was impressed with the BBC model, there was still no grand impetus within the commission to fashion the Canadian national network in the image of the BBC model. Instead, the form of the CBC's public mission would be derived mostly from the commission's recommendations. Writing on the public service aspects of the Aird Commission, Raboy (1990) expresses concerns about the truly "public" nature of the public service the CBC could provide because the commission often made *public interest* synonymous with *national interest*. For instance, when Aird elaborated on the potential educational components of broadcasting, he expressly described them as "informing the public on questions of national interest" (Canada 1929a, pp. 6-11 in Gasher et. al, 2012, p. 195). Raboy argues the Aird commission fused public interest with national interest, and that the unique component of the Canadian public broadcasting was its nation-building imperative, distinguishing it from the British, German and U.S. broadcast systems. Raboy argues that this "unique component" of the Canadian broadcasting system highlighted the grandest shortcoming of the Canadian conception of public broadcasting (p. 8); he argues that it was Aird specifically who made public interest synonymous with national interest. In forming the Canadian broadcasting system in the late 1920s, cultural sovereignty trumped public interest and questions over major tensions in broadcasting—public and private ownership, different broadcast models—were pushed to the margins in favour of a blended system that posited public service under the state, alongside a flourishing commercial broadcasting sector (p. 339). As

Skinner (2005) notes, broadcast policy fused public and private broadcasting bodies into one system and concern over the implementation of a broadcaster with a national vocation was prioritized over regulation and concrete strategies that would allow a public broadcaster to thrive.[10] Thus a public broadcaster, with specific national ends, would serve to stave off external and internal threats to the country: externally, the cultural imperialism of U.S. programming; internally, issues with Canada's bilingual and bicultural reality. In *Missed Opportunities* (1990), Raboy concludes that Canadian public broadcasting is ultimately characterized by an exclusion of the public from the decision-making process, that "the CBC appears to be a model in which the public interest often ends up being poorly served in exchange for the interests of the state, the government of the day, or the institution itself" (p. 11). This attitude can be gleaned from the CRBC establishing itself by taking stations and frequencies out of (non-CRBC-affiliated) public hands and incorporating them into the national infrastructure. Recently, this attitude is reflected in the CBC holding its first annual public meeting in 2009, well after re-design particulars were implemented. The CBC's public broadcasting role is largely symbolic, in that it consists of a blend of political and economic demands. Indeed, the establishment of the CRBC in the Radio Broadcast Act of 1932 provided little guidance on how a public broadcaster should operate. The terms "culture" or "national unity," so heavily employed by Aird, were ultimately non-existent in the Act (Bird, 1988, p. 115). The CRBC was generally mandated to provide national programming, which comprised mainly of establishing a constellation of Canada-wide stations, distributing programming to private

[10] Skinner calls the Canadian broadcasting system "peculiar" in the 1930s, in that private broadcasters and the CRBC worked together to ensure Canadian broadcasting continued ("albeit filled with Americans programs") although they operated under different elements: the CBC with a programming mandate, and its private broadcaster affiliates, focused on maximizing audiences (p. 151).

stations, and regulating the entire broadcasting system (Skinner, 2005). The Act mentioned little about the purposes of broadcasting; it was mostly the Aird commission that elaborated on how the new public broadcaster would distinguish its offerings from that of private broadcasters, that programming would not only be an instrument for entertainment but education, reflecting Canada and its regions. Despite the lack of concrete guidelines on what public broadcasting was intended for, or what public broadcasting would look like, the Act established the CRBC as the regulating authority of Canadian broadcasting: it could control programming and advertising on private and public stations. Thus, we can begin to see how the CRBC represented a political intervention into the journalistic field, an intervention that provided a new definition of broadcasting based on political concerns as well as economic.

The structure of CRBC allotted one station per province, offering two program services with a provincial and federal division in representatives. The authority structure was problematic; there was no guidance regarding the appointment of the board of 12 directors, to whom they were accountable, or who would manage the corporation generally (Peers, 1969, pp. 48-50). Indeed, the CRBC structure received criticism from one key source: the founder of public broadcasting itself and the man who had opened the doors of the BBC to the Aird commissioners, Sir John Reith. As Potter elaborates, Reith was concerned that the Aird Report:

> ...did not state clearly how the envisaged public broadcasting authority would relate to the federal or provincial governments, or where ultimate responsibility for broadcasting would lie. Reith was worried by this and warned Aird that he could not see in the report 'one real authority anywhere.' (Potter, 2009, p. 84).

The Aird Commission and the journalistic field

Despite the issue of equating the CRBC's public mission with nationalistic ends, and the commission's misleading portrayal of Canadians' support for a publicly-owned broadcaster, the CRBC was still a new entrant within the broadcasting field and represented a large-scale transformation of the field in that its establishers attempted to subvert the primarily economic order in which the field previously operated. It could be argued that the federal government worked to subvert the logic of the field entirely, re-positioning the field itself and opening up new spaces for agents to occupy. Despite the infusion of political stakes into the broadcaster, the CRBC represented a move away from the heteronomous pole of the broadcasting field wherein economic logic dominated, towards a pole where cultural and symbolic capital was valued in the form of Canadian programming, coast-to-coast broadcasting capabilities, and connections to the BBC. The restructuring of broadcast policy weakened the dominance of private broadcasters. Not only did the commission portray private broadcasters as potentially harmful to Canada, it set to work weeding out parts of the private system's infrastructure. Since private stations maintained little infrastructure for broadcasting across the country, the CRBC would intervene and run high-powered stations, beginning with seven stations at a cost of approximately $3 million and included the take-over or partnership with existing private stations (Peers, 1969, p. 46). This project could not be completed all at once, so the CRBC took over an existing private station in the area until the larger stations were up and running. Aird also recommended that private stations that duplicated a service be shut down (p. 45). Those stations would be compensated for the take-over through a

parliamentary appropriation.

It would be misleading to suggest that the CRBC was the only broadcaster in Canada capable of developing a nation-wide network; “national networking” was in practice before the CRBC was established, mainly in the form of nation-wide broadcasts of particular programs accomplished by the Canadian National Railways Radio Department and Ralph Ashcroft's Trans-Canada Broadcasting Company (Vipond 1994). Vipond (1994) notes how “national networking” ceased in 1931 because “private networks ran up against the cost/profit problem”: Canada's sparse population could not offset the high cost of wirelines across the country. A federally-funded broadcaster was financially more capable of establishing a national network and in the process also supported the development of the private system, for instance, as private broadcasters became CRBC affiliates (Skinner, 2005).

The estimated annual cost of the CRBC's operations was a minimum of $ 2.5 million. Aird recommend a $3 license fee (to bring in around $ 900,000 *per annum*) and advertising revenues of $700,000 (p. 46). Revenues from the license fee and “indirect” advertising[11] would not meet the $2.5 million operating expenses, so the commission proposed a government subsidy of $1 million a year for five years. Despite Aird's arguments against the excessive commercialism in broadcasting, the commission settled on indirect advertising for the CRBC and private broadcasters because interested parties had expressed a desire to continue advertising through broadcasting to compete with the

[11] “Indirect” advertising describes the form of advertising whereby a company would announce, at regular intervals throughout a program, that they paid for its production. This form of advertising began in 1924 to offset production and operating costs (Marine and Fisheries, 1924). “Direct” advertising, or the selling of products and services over the air, was banned in Canada in the 1920s.

U.S market. (p. 46). The commission's recommendations, to some extent, subverted the economic logic of the broadcasting field by weakening the operational abilities of private broadcasters. However, the commission's concern with the excessive commercialism of private broadcasters was more potent as a rhetorical strategy—to justify the foundations of a public broadcaster, that only such a structure could defend Canada's interests and identities against the U.S.—than an actual operational strategy, as both private and public stations continued to carry advertising. The re-shaping of broadcast policy, strong in the rhetoric but weak in concrete policy recommendations, further underscores Raboy's arguments about the CRBC's national imperatives eclipsing concrete questions of how public broadcasting would operate in Canada.

Despite lumping together national interest and public interest within a general definition of public broadcasting, the Aird commission and the federal government succeeded in transforming the broadcasting/journalistic field by opening a space for a structure of broadcasting that directly challenged major assumptions about broadcasting as best produced by a number of stations competing in a given location, sustained by advertising. At the same time, the implementation of the CRBC worked to develop the private components of the broadcasting system. Indeed, the 1936 Broadcasting Act worked to further solidify the mixed broadcasting system by articulating the CBC's relationship to private broadcasters in terms of licensing or acquiring stations (Bird, 1988, p. 143).

After the Broadcasting Act of 1936, the CRBC became the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The CBC maintained its regulatory powers over all

broadcasting in Canada and the Act increased the autonomy of the CBC from the government, allowing the corporation to hire staff without reference to governmental bodies (Peers, p. 188).

C. The addition of television services in the 1950s

In the 1950s, the CBC expanded its broadcasting services to include television programming. Its introduction changed the structure of the broadcaster because television production required substantially more funds than radio, funds that the federal government would not fully provide. The CBC would offset those high production costs with advertising revenues. Although CBC radio maintained commercial aspects, including advertising and partnerships with private affiliates, the introduction of television advertising represented a large-scale effort to gain economic capital in order to sustain the CBC's operations. Further, as *CBC Radio* became commercial-free in the 1970s, the structure of the CBC would develop into two opposing poles: *CBC Radio* in the non-commercial pole and CBC television in the commercial pole. I shall discuss how this structural opposition altered the circulation of capital within the broadcaster.

As the Massey-Lévesque and Fowler commissions determined, television would follow the public model set out by *CBC Radio*, although it would participate fully in the growing and lucrative television advertising market in order to offset the high costs of television services. Bird (1988) notes that television was a “daunting challenge” because of its ability to attract audiences and dominate radio and film industries, while its cost was astronomical in comparison to to radio, “about 10 times more expensive per house

than radio to produce and transmit" (p. 209).

Massey-Lévesque Commission (1949-1951)

The Massey-Lévesque Commission further entrenched broadcasting as a state responsibility, not just an industry. The report portrayed *CBC Radio* as a unifying cultural force that protected Canadian identity from the United States' cultural domination and suggested that the government support more cultural institutions. The CBC was not the only public agency in the 1930s: in 1939, the National Film Board (NFB) was established, and as a result of the Massey-Lévesque Commission, cultural activity was further incorporated into the political sphere. The federal government staked out territory in the field of cultural production more generally, and Massey-Lévesque portrayed the CBC as the precedent for other governmental cultural agencies. Thus, the cultural capital put into circulation by the Aird Commission would expand into other fields of cultural production. Indeed, Massey-Lévesque was the most sweeping commission within the Canadian cultural field, with its recommendation scope spanning from museums, archives, and libraries to monuments, scholarships, crafts guilds, and the mass media. One of the most substantial recommendations of the Massey-Lévesque Commission was the creation of another commission to enquire into Canadian television broadcasting and whether or not it should follow the public model set forth by the CBC.

The Massey-Lévesque Commission was similar to the Aird Commission in that its agenda situated its investigation of cultural activity within the purview of national interest. Indeed, this commission credited Aird for envisioning a nationalization project

and endorsed Aird's recommendation of a national radio system: “The system recommended by the Aird Commission to the nation has developed into the greatest single agency for national unity, understanding and enlightenment” (Canada, 1951, p. 279). Whereas the Aird Commission attributed its recommendations for a national public radio network to the participation of citizens in its public hearings, the Massey-Lévesque Commission took for granted the relationship between citizen and culture, describing cultural activity as a state responsibility. Yet what the commission described as national interest or Canadian culture remained vague, attributing its essence to the “certain habits of mind and convictions which its people shared and would not surrender” (pp. 4-5). Further, the commissioners pointed to a “Canadian spirit,” a unifying bond that defined Canadians regardless of their race, language or ethnicity, and described *CBC Radio* as an example of a unifying cultural force. For Massey-Lévesque, the national imperative expanded beyond broadcasting to all other facets of culture. Perhaps in relation to past charges from CAB, the commission stressed that cultural institutions would not be under government control, yet would receive government support. Concerns about cultural annexation from the U.S. were also at play in this commission and acted as the guiding logic behind situating culture within the national interest. The commission went on to claim that Canadian culture had been, in some ways, saved by the actions of the previous commission, noting “action taken on radio broadcasting” allowed Canada to “maintain her cultural identity” (p. 250). The Massey-Lévesque Commission's strategy was to argue that cultural institutions could play the same role that the CBC had in fostering Canadian-ness.

Like the Aird Commission, Massey-Lévesque placed publicly-owned institutions above privately-owned units. When discussing public radio, the commission stated that public radio could be held to a much higher standard because of its ability to reflect and nurture Canadian values in its programming, while private radio stations rendered Canada culturally dependent on popular programming coming from the U.S. Despite the support for private broadcasting provided by the CAB and others, the commission admonished the excessive commercialism of private radio and was firm that broadcasting should not be considered an industry. At the same time, the commission clearly stated that the CBC required advertising revenues to sustain its operations. The commission utilized fears of Americanization to justify the continued use of commercials—that if the broadcaster shirked the almost $2 million in advertising revenues it received each year its programming quality would deteriorate beyond that of programming from the U.S., and cultural annexation would again become a threat. The commission introduced finance into the cultural debate by recommending the establishment of stable, long-term funding for the CBC. By the 1950s, the CBC no longer held the position of regulatory authority over broadcasting. The government was considering whether the CBC should expand its services in another direction, into television.

The Fowler Commission (1956-7)

The 1957 Royal Commission on Broadcasting was a result of a recommendation from the Massey-Lévesque Commission. Like the preceding commissions, the agenda of the Fowler Commission, instated in the 2 December 1955 order in council, outlined once

again the government's central role in broadcasting, that "the broadcasting and distribution of Canadian programmes by a public agency shall continue to be the central feature of Canadian broadcasting policy" (Canada, 1957, p. 293 in Gasher et. al, 2010, p. 200). Television would follow the public model that had been set by radio.

The Massey-Lévesque Commission described an economic crisis for CBC funding and recommended stable, long-term funding.[12] Following this, the Fowler Commission claimed that its "primary duty" was "to deal with problems of business administration and finance" (Canada 1957, pp.1-2 in Gasher et, al, 2012, p. 202). The commission analyzed ten-year forecasts of cost estimates and suggested increased and stable multi-year funding for the CBC (pp. 265-6).

The addition of television services to the CBC required high costs to establish a network of stations, alongside the cost of producing and distributing programmes in comparison to radio.[13] For this reason advertising revenues would play a larger role in television than radio. By 1956, there were 38 television stations in Canada, four of which the CBC owned and operated while the rest were tied to the CBC's French and English networks (Gasher, 2012, p. 201). All stations carried both indirect and direct advertising (Canada 1957, p. 73).

The CBC phased out advertising from its radio services in the 1970s. Television services, however, continued to host advertising in order to offset production costs. This

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[12]By 1949, the CBC reported it was running a deficit due to rising costs and standards of broadcasting. Peers (1969) writes that Alistair Stewart, a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) MP, noted that "the CBC already owed the government $8,400,000 for advances made since 1946" (p. 421).

[13] As an example of the cost of television production and distribution in comparison to radio, in 1961 television costs were $65 million, compared to $16 million in radio. By 1965, the cost of production and distribution for television was $84 million, compared to radio at $20 million (Report of the Committee on Broadcasting, 1965, p. 288)

structure would introduce a clear opposition into the broadcaster, setting a division between radio as the "purest" pole of the CBC and television as the most heteronomous. The high costs of television advertising rendered the CBC dependent on the establishment of a mass audience to offset the costs and attract advertisers. The hybrid structure of the public broadcaster, as relying on a parliamentary appropriation and advertising revenues since its inception in 1932, would become problematic for the broadcaster's mandate in that television services introduced large-scale economic pressures into the broadcaster. The addition of television services and the increased commercial-generating efforts necessary to sustain television services deepened the structural opposition in the public broadcaster between its radio and television services. A brief elaboration of the structure of the field of cultural production will make clear how the structural opposition between radio and television established two different structural hierarchies at the CBC, in terms of capitals each side pursues in their respective strategies to fulfill mandated objectives and cope with external demands.

In *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), Bourdieu describes how the field of cultural production is structured by oppositions between sub-fields, the purest pole being the sub-field of restricted production and the most heteronomous pole being the sub-field of large-scale production.[14] This structure of the field of cultural production can be transposed onto the structure of the CBC itself. To explain, agents residing in the purest pole of the field are able to pursue their own stakes without external pressures, thus their

[14]Bourdieu argues that the range of positions within cultural production can be characterized in terms of its corresponding audience, as there is a homology (overlap) between the "positions occupied in the space of production" and "positions in the space of consumption" (p. 45). This homology between producers and audiences is not a self conscious determination of audiences but is structured by, for example, the writer or journalists' position in the field, and therefore cannot simply be explained by demands or external pressures (pp. 45, 94).

actions are pure in the sense that they are not subject to external demands. Small-scale production resides at this pole, such as high art and literature. As Bourdieu argues, there is an "interest in disinterestedness" within this pole as agents compete for different forms of symbolic profit (p. 75). Given this description of the purest pole of the field of cultural production, *CBC Radio* could be described as residing in the most pure pole of the broadcaster because it did not have to host advertising, which meant programming was not structured around commercials and attracting advertisers was not a concern. Ultimately, *CBC Radio* was not beholden to economic logic or capital. Radio could pursue its own stakes and interests, as the condition for success is based on the public mandate.

The heteronomous pole of the field of cultural production encompasses large-scale production of cultural goods, such as cinema, private TV, and radio. The heteronomous pole contains agents who are most subject to external pressures, be it economic or political, and thus are less able to pursue the stakes of the field. The hierarchy of this pole is characterized by "the bottom line" or economic interest as opposed to prestige (p. 15). CBC's television services, then, can be understood as residing in the most heteronomous pole of the broadcaster, in that external economic demands were exerted on programming through commercials. The conditions of the success for television services are different than radio services, specifically after radio became commercial-free in the 1970s. This is because television follows the public mandate but market imperatives as well.

Making this distinction, between commercial-free radio and commercial

television as part of the CBC's structure, is necessary for characterizing the hybrid nature of the broadcaster to which scholars often refer. As CBC services expanded into television in the 1950s, the CBC became a unique entity in that it sustained its operations on a Parliamentary appropriation and (increased) advertising revenues. The CBC was also a unique entity in that its functioning within the journalistic field, in television and radio, were structured by opposing hierarchies of capital accumulation. Further, it was the political field that determined the expansion of CBC's responsibilities. The political field also introduced economic demands into the broadcaster by requiring that it find alternate revenue sources to sustain its now-mandated television services.

CBC Television and private broadcasting: competition increases

The introduction of the public broadcaster's television services altered the relationship between the CBC and private broadcasters. While royal commissions had mentioned that private broadcasters could be phased out entirely, private broadcasters argued the single broadcasting system established by the federal government would not be complete without private affiliates. Competition between the CBC and private broadcasters increased as private stations were phased out to become part of the CBC infrastructure and as the CBC's television services participated in the advertising market alongside private counterparts.

Despite previous commissions, private broadcasters would not be deterred from making their case about the viability of private enterprise over government control of broadcasting. During the Fowler Commission, the Canadian Association of Radio and

Television Broadcasters (CARTB) argued that private stations provided a better alternative for a national network because they remained independent from the government. The CARTB also claimed that competition between private broadcasters would result in the kind of diverse programming Canadians desired. Like Aird beforehand, Fowler rejected CARTB's arguments on the grounds of broadcast scarcity and the already documented commercial excesses of private radio. Fowler argued the broadcast medium was too powerful for private interests to reign freely and that state-regulated broadcasting was the only way to ensure Canadian programming would exist throughout the country. In another act similar to previous commissions, Fowler recommended that broadcasting continue to operate as a national service, again equating national interests with that of the interests of the public.

As in the findings of previous commissions, Fowler also perceived that further privatization would contribute to the Americanization of Canadian broadcasting. However, it was established during the Massey Commission that the relationship between public and private broadcasters could be cooperative instead of competitive. In a 25-page brief to the Massey Commission, the CBC described how private broadcasters may provide ancillary services, providing community services where the CBC could not, and acting as outlets for national programming (Peers, 1969, p. 410). Before the Massey Commission established the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) to regulate broadcasting, the CBC argued that broadcasting regulation ought to remain in its hands. The CBC argued that private broadcasters would attempt to form their own network and connect with other broadcasters who did not share the CBC's mandate of broadcasting in

the public's interest. In response, CARTB gave examples to illustrate the CBC's competitive nature; that the CBC spent large sums of money to secure a market for its new station CJBC in the Toronto area, taking away advertising dollars from private broadcasters (Peers, p. 412). Further, private broadcasters denied the CBC's claim that there was a single national broadcasting system, instead claiming there was one old private system and one new public system (p. 411). For instance, Jack Kent Cooke, owner of CKEY Toronto, told the commission that of the 93 stations affiliated with the CBC network, only 18 of them were actually owned and operated by the CBC. Instead of arguing that the private system justifiably dwarfed the public system, Cooke highlighted the lack of services at some of CBC's stations and suggested that the CBC should focus on creating programs and allow private stations to circulate them on their transmitters (pp. 411-2). Also during the Massey Commission's public hearings, William Guild, the president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), argued that the Broadcasting Act of 1936 was drafted in such a way as to expect private broadcasters to be phased out of existence. Guild affirmed that private broadcasters would continue to exist and hinted at a private network in the future (p. 408).

As the CBC re-structured itself to establish television services and increased its interest in economic capital in order to sustain its now-expanded mandate, the changes served to increase competition between the CBC and its private counterparts. The uncritical assumptions made by the Massey-Lévesque Commission about national culture, and the conception of cultural production as a state responsibility, was not problematic for the CBC in the first few decades while it served as the standard for other

cultural agencies and maintained the dual role of regulator and broadcaster. However, this logic of cultural production would prove to be problematic in the future, when cultural production shifted away from the political sphere towards the economic sphere and broadcasting was again referred to by successive royal commissions as an industry.[15] If the CBC was mandated to foster national consciousness, to inform Canadians on matters of national interest, and provide coast-to-coast services, the economic recessions of the 1970s and 1980s would change the political field's thinking about how these initiatives would be carried out. These recessions, alongside the CBC's mounting financial problems, would also change the broadcaster's approach to fulfilling its mandate, now with expanded responsibilities in television and increased revenue-generating imperatives to offset television production costs.

D. 1980s-1990s Recession

In establishing a public broadcaster, the major *goals* of the federal government in the broadcasting/journalistic field (as outlined in royal commissions thus far) were to protect Canadian culture (and Canadian airwaves) from U.S. domination and to counterbalance the excessive commercialism of private broadcasters who made profits primarily by purchasing inexpensive U.S. programming and selling advertising. The major *outcomes* of the federal government's intervention into the broadcasting field included the counterbalance of the force of economic capital within the field and the

[15]This language, that of broadcasting as an industry and its purposes, again remained absent from subsequent broadcasting acts, as the 1968 and 1991 Broadcasting Acts at the outset define “broadcasting” widely as a means of transmitting programs via telecommunications and make no reference to broadcasting as an industry or public service.

introduction of new forms of cultural capital.

As Gasher (2012) notes, royal commissions from the CRBC/CBC's inception until the 1960s generally outlined how culture was a state responsibility. In terms of public broadcasting, the public was portrayed as desiring a broadcaster with some form of government intervention, in order to provide programming that would inform Canadians about themselves. By the late 1980s, the Applebaum-Hébert commission no longer described broadcasting in the same nationalistic terms as the Aird and Massey commissions had. Instead, broadcasting was once again described in terms of economic enterprise; that Canadian cultural products would compete with U.S. products in the marketplace. In the royal commissions, members of the public were described as clients and their satisfaction meant they would support Canadian cultural products.

As the federal government began to distance itself from the CBC, both financially and through cultural policy, accumulating economic capital became integral to the broadcaster's strategy in the journalistic field. As economic capital became increasingly valued by the broadcaster, interest in field-specific capital decreased, which introduced a growing tension between external demands and the CBC mandate. This decrease in field-specific capital and tension between political and economic demands and the mandate is evident in the CBC's strategies to cope with multiple rounds of budget cuts: cutting staff and programming and re-structuring its labour force towards multi-tasking. While CBC's news services are divided over radio and television, with radio at its purest pole and television at its most heteronomous pole, economic demands exerted themselves across the entirety of CBC, as both radio and television services were altered in the wake of

budget cuts.

Applebaum-Hébert Commission (1981-2)

Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's oft-quoted "We're open for business" illustrated the new, market-oriented approach taken by the government towards Canadian cultural institutions. As Gasher (2012) notes, this enterprise mentality was reflected in broadcast policy: the anti-U.S. and anti-commercial rhetoric of previous commissions was entirely absent from the Applebaum-Hébert Commission of 1981-2. Instead, the commission's report outlined a shrinking state role in the cultural sphere in favour of more financial independence for federal cultural agencies. The report reads: "If cultural life is to be autonomous and self-directed, it is important that it not become excessively dependent on once source of support—and especially on one government source" (Canada, 1982, p. 57 from Gasher et. al, 2012, p 203). In terms of the CBC's relationship to the federal government, Gasher describes how the report "advocated a retreat by the state" (p. 204). For instance, the commission recommended the CBC cease its television production activities—news programming exempted—and acquire shows from independent producers (pp. 202-204). Applebaum-Hébert recommendations for the CBC indicated that the federal government no longer maintained the same interest in public broadcasting it had at the outset. Raboy (1990) describes how the government began to distance itself from the CBC as the public broadcaster became less central to government initiatives and became an increasing economic burden. Indeed, Applebaum-Hébert rescinded the position taken by previous commissions that the government needed to protect culture and instead emphasized that Canadian agencies needed to participate in

the market and build audiences in order to increase public support. Instead of taking a protectionist stance towards all of Canada's cultural aspects, the report positioned the government as intervening only when cultural sectors were underserved by the market. This new supervisory role can be further evidenced in the creation of the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC), as recommended in the 1968 Broadcasting Act.[16] The CRTC was responsible for regulating broadcasting bodies, but saw its role as allowing the market to establish industry standards, intervening only when necessary.

Similar to the Fowler Commission, economics were prominent in the Applebaum-Hébert Commission, and the recessions of the mid-1970s and early 1980s shifted the tone of cultural policy away from state intervention towards embracing a free enterprise mentality. Under the Mulroney government, crown corporations like Air Canada and Teleglobe Canada were privatized. The CBC, a crown corporation itself, was considered less as an esteemed cultural icon and instead another player in the broadcast industry that had to adjust to industry standards, similar to private broadcasters. As the CBC's budget was cut by the federal government over the next few decades, it began the process of re-positioning itself away from a prestigious cultural force towards an economically-minded broadcaster that produced Canadian programming, emphasizing again the tension between the broadcaster's mandate and its economic viability. Although finances were always an aspect of CBC's operations, not just in terms of budgeting its parliamentary appropriation but also justifying new and continued costs to the federal government, the CBC faced a new kind of economic demand: cost-cutting. As multiple rounds of cuts

[16] The CRTC replaced the BBG in 1968 Broadcasting Act, and was replaced by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission in 1976 when it became responsible for regulating telecommunications carriers as well.

were implemented the government addressed the CBC as they would a governmental department. The CBC was charged with finding parts of its budget that were redundant or inefficient. The CBC mandate needed to be balanced with increased economic interests built into its structure, economic interests that were introduced by the political field through budget cuts. Increased economic imperatives for public broadcasters had become somewhat normalized within the journalistic field, as public broadcasters began considering commercial-generating exercises as their appropriations were trimmed (Hallvard & Syversten, 2008). The Thatcher-appointed Peacock Committee of 1985, for instance, considered whether the BBC should carry advertising. The recommendation was ultimately rejected and the world's first public broadcaster remained commercial-free. This development is telling considering that the origins of the CBC drew on the BBC's public service model (Potter, 2009). The continued commercialization of the CBC, after the BBC encountered similar political and economic pressures, indicated that the CBC was migrating away from the purest, commercial free regions of the journalistic field.

Budget cuts

The CBC received its first budget cuts in the 1970s under the Trudeau government. A series of budget cuts followed, under the Mulroney and Chrétien governments. In order to absorb the budget cuts, the CBC cut programming, stations, and integrated resources to find efficiencies in news production.

The CBC mandate, as detailed in the 1991 Broadcasting Act, stated that the

broadcaster ought to provide distinctly Canadian content, in both English and French, while reflecting national and regional audiences. It must also foster Canadian culture and identity, including Canada's multicultural and multiracial aspects. Additionally, the mandate requires that the CBC adapt to new technologies and that programming must "be made available throughout Canada by the most appropriate and efficient means and as resources become available for the purpose" (Broadcasting Act, 1991). The mandate is a collection of public service objectives that also require the broadcaster to stay current with industry standards. On top of this, there are non-public service aspects in the mandate, such as the term "efficient," which speaks to economic expectations from the government. The CBC mandate, then, represented a collection of cultural and economic objectives—that of supplying coast-to-coast services and adapting to industry standards. Budget cuts altered the CBC's strategy in fulfilling its mandated objectives, in that the circulation of cultural capital was weakened as journalists and programmes were scaled back as part of efficiency measures.

Federal government officials generally described the budget cuts as the trimming of non-essential services, or, "trimming fat" (Adilman, 1986; Stevens, 1990). However, the CBC's presidents, most notably Pierre Juneau, argued that essential services were being affected. For instance, in 1984, the CBC's budget was cut by $75 million and 1,500 jobs were eliminated. Those cuts continued into 1986, when the budget was cut by $85 million as part of a government-wide strategy to reduce the federal deficit (Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, 1986, p. 323). On top of this, crown corporations, including the CBC, would not see their budgets adjusted to meet inflation either

(Bawden, 1986, p. A1). In order to absorb the cuts, the CBC eliminated over 100 hours of television programming and 122 jobs. When, in 1987, Juneau announced a $65 million shortfall, he implicated the government's role in the loss: “The government will have to decide what must be cut because CBC can no longer trim around the edges” (Adilman, 1986, p. F1). After a decade of cuts, the CBC announced its largest deficit in December 1990, when stations were closed and some provinces saw their local CBC programming replaced with national programming. In order to respond to a $108-million shortfall, the broadcaster trimmed its regional resources by cutting three television stations and reduced eight stations to small news bureaus (Skene, 1993). It amounted to cutting 200,000 hours of programming and a loss of 1,100 jobs. The termination of one Windsor, Ontario station meant that the closest broadcast services available were across the border, in Detroit. Additionally, the cuts would translate into losing audience shares across Canada, which had economic repercussions, but also contradicted the CBC's mandate to provide Canada-wide programming.

Although the federal government did not direct the CBC on how to implement budget cuts, various government committees on broadcasting discussed budget cuts and strategies for absorbing the cuts and how the CBC should adjust to changes in the broadcasting industry in general. However, recommendations varied from providing more financial support for the CBC to reducing its operations. A June 1995 Heritage Committee Report concluded that the CBC should continue its television advertising, while six months later a Mandate Review Committee laid out blueprints for a commercial-free CBC. In the wake of cuts, and with government committees unable to

prescribe how the federal government should respond to the CBC's growing problems, the CBC was left to balance mandated objectives with increasing economic demands. The Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy of 1986, led by a committee designed to examine general broadcasting policy measures, affirmed this conflicted relationship between the CBC and the government. The task force cited ineffective financial controls over the CBC, such as "unpredictable annual budgets," which damaged the CBC's strategic planning. The committee also observed that although the CBC maintained an arms-length relationship with the government, there was no limit on how much the government could trim from its budget (p. 323). The task force did not suggest increased government control over the broadcaster—they argued that the CBC was too complex in terms of duties and resources for Parliament to take full responsibility—but more concrete forms of guidance. The report noted that the government provided direction to the broadcaster through broad policy mandates which did not speak to operational or programming decisions. They claimed it was through "closed-door" and "informal" meetings that the broadcaster was notified of cuts to its budget, leaving the CBC to make its own decisions on how to absorb them (p. 322). Thus, while the CBC was a crown corporation that spent public funds and operated on a public mandate, it was encouraged to operate more like a business. The committee also noted that the CBC served multiple masters in that it raised funds from different sources and had to be accountable to "commercial clients" in the economic field and "elected representatives" in the political field, who reported to taxpayers on how their funds were spent (p. 319). Indeed, the report noted that since the CBC was required to report to so many bodies

(Parliament, the CRTC, the Auditor General, etc.), it was “encouraged to behave as if it was answerable to none” (p. 320). The CRTC, for instance, granted the CBC's license, but could not revoke it (the CRTC could revoke private broadcast licenses). The task force argued that CRTC hearings had a “profound sense of unreality” because public scrutiny was rendered far less valuable and effective since the CRTC could not hold the CBC to the conditions of its license (p. 326). The CBC was also exempt from additions to the Financial Administration Act (specifically Bill C-24), designed to render governmental agencies more accountable through stronger ministerial control (p. 321).

The CBC's relationship with the government was often characterized by conflict. When the government changed from Conservative to Liberal hands in 1993, the CBC became part of the Liberal party's election platform. After winning the election, the Liberal government announced it would not implement any cuts to the CBC for five years, beyond those introduced by its Conservative predecessor (Corporate Summary Plan, 1995, p. 16). Yet, in 1995, the government announced it would cut $44.1 million from the corporation's appropriation for the following year, as a way to address the federal deficit. On top of culminated cuts from the Conservative government and target reductions for following years (1996-1997, 1997-1998), the CBC's budget shortfall amounted to $414 million by 1998-1999 (p. 16). A corporate strategy report described the amount as a combination of known cuts, target reductions, inflation, cost increases and expected losses in advertising revenues (p. i).

In 1993, Tony Manera agreed to be CBC President on the basis that funding remained stable. In his memoir, *A Dream Betrayed* (1996), Manera described a vagueness

to the 1995 cut announcement, harkening back to observations made in the 1986 Task Force Report that the government's relationship with the CBC was often too informal. Manera described in his memoir how CBC officials were left wondering if the cuts were part of Conservative cuts given in the past, or entirely new cuts. When it became clear that the latter was the case, Manera resigned. Adding to the conflict, in an interview on CBC Toronto's *Morningside,* Prime Minister Jean Chrétien claimed there was no promise between the government and the CBC about not implementing cuts (Speirs, 1995).

In sum, the CBC began experiencing increased demands from the economic field beginning in the 1970s in the form of budget cuts alongside the rising cost programming and new technologies in general. These economic demands were introduced largely through the political field. The broadcaster spent the next few decades cutting programming and staff in order to meet its budget, reduced by the government due to its own financial issues.

Efficiencies in journalism

Within the CBC, officials described how the CBC would become "a leaner, more effective public broadcasting organization, one much more attuned to the realities and challenges of Canadian broadcasting in the 21st century" (Corporate Plan Summary, 1995, p. i). Under the new CBC president, Perrin Beatty, efficiency plans were put into place. A"leaner" CBC would be achieved through a more flexible labour force, fewer administrative positions, and consolidation of some radio and television responsibilities to save costs. These efficiencies would be achieved through an internal review.

One major point in the 2001 Corporate Summary Plan is “Efficiency Reductions,” which described how savings could be achieved in programming by altering contracts with labour unions. The contracts would be altered so that workers could be more flexible in their duties, described in the report as “multi-tasking and reducing the input unit labour costs of programming and production staff” (p. 18). In other words, journalists who worked on one program could also file for other programs when needed. The report recommended a staff reduction of 2,800 positions, making it more likely that the broadcaster would require its journalists to take on a mix of responsibilities. Through job cuts and more flexible work force, the report noted that savings of $227 million were expected. However, while the CBC found ways to address funding shortfalls through this round of re-structuring, the CBC still required input and support from the federal government, as Beatty noted that another $279 million was required for downsizing costs related to staff, including severance costs (p. 20).

By 1996, *CBC Radio* news and current affairs were integrated, raising concerns for union officials about a multi-skilled workforce. The staff representative of the Canadian Media Guild was quoted in the press, saying: "We've always said we are not opposed to multi-skilling, as long as it doesn't turn out to be de-skilling” (Harris, 1997). The Mandate Review Committee[17] was also concerned about the merging of resources in the wake of cuts. The committee mentioned its concern over proposals it received about economizing the broadcaster by pooling radio and television news-gathering resources and work forces. They quote a portion of the Auditor-General's report, which expressed

[17] The Mandate Review Committee was chaired by Pierre Juneau, former CBC president in 1982 and chairman of the CRTC in 1968. The committee was tasked with reviewing the mandates of the CBC, the National Film Board and Telefilm Canada.

concern that a poorly-coordinated division between television and radio could lead to "duplication of certain costs and efforts" (p. 55). The committee recommended that radio and television not be integrated. It noted that the structure of radio and television differed too greatly: "different deadlines, different staffing and resource levels, and different production methods" (p. 55). Also, the committee mentioned a "real concern" from *CBC Radio* counterparts that integration would lead to domination of television over radio, because of higher production costs for television (p. 55). Further, the committee portrayed *CBC Radio* as the perfect embodiment of public broadcasting and a "role model for what CBC television should be," because television was pulling the broadcaster into more "a more commercial posture" (p. 37). By 1996, 50 per cent of television's revenues were in advertising, which the committee suggested underscored how significant advertising revenue was for the CBC to balance its budget. They attributed television's commercial-generating imperatives to a combination of economic problems mentioned previously: budget cutbacks from Parliament, increased competition from private broadcasters, which now included pay television and speciality channels, and a "difficult economy" prompting advertising losses (p. 37). The combination of problems, argued the committee, lead to the proliferation of commercial mentality into programming, as managers and programming staff adopted a "consciously commercial" mindset to win audiences and advertising from private broadcasters, although no examples are provided (p. 71). Past CBC administrators had also criticized the broadcaster's increasingly commercial leaning, with Pierre Juneau, former CBC president and the first CRTC chairman, calling the CBC a "publicly funded commercial

broadcaster" (Neville, 1996). Juneau also lead the 1996 Mandate Review Committee. William Neville, who served on the CBC board of directors from 1987 to 1996, published a column in the *Globe and Mail* criticizing the blanket corporate strategy to reduce cuts, calling on the broadcaster to make a firm declaration of its purpose.

Regarding the CBC's integration plans and suggestions about pooling resources, the committee observed: "One of the most remarkable things about this drift away from its public broadcasting mandate is that it has all taken place without any explicit statement by the CBC of a change in its strategic direction or programming policy" (p. 71). This comment underscores the position of the 1986 task force, that although the CBC had multiple masters, it was accountable to none.

Overall, the 1995 cuts indicated that the CBC responded to budget cuts by making its workforce more efficient, starting with alterations in labour contracts for more flexible workers, and then merging *CBC Radio* news and current affairs. These changes occurred during conflicting governmental reports about how the CBC should operate in regards to its mandated objectives. Thus, although the CBC served multiple masters, so to speak, and was required to carry out its public mandate, exactly which masters it adhered to and what strategies it exercised were largely opportunistic and justified by the economic conditions of the time. Scholars and government-mandated committees writing on the subject of the CBC's public service role and increasingly precarious economic situation prescribed trimming the mandate to reflect its financial realities; that in order to abide by its mandate, the CBC must be circumscribed to resources at hand (Mandate Review Committee, CBC, NFB, Telefilm, 1996; Neville, 2006). However, corporate documents

revealed that the CBC administration interpreted the mandate differently, not as a document by which the CBC must fully abide in order to guarantee its license renewal. Instead, the mandate was understood as a document whose implementation depended on a number of factors, including major policy positions of the government, inquiring committees and bodies of parliament, and financial resources, among other aspects (Corporate Summary Plan, 1995, p. 1). This interpretation of the mandate, as being implemented depending on a blend of ever-changing internal and external factors, serves as an important entry point for understanding corporate strategies implemented to keep the broadcaster viable.

Overall, the CBC's public mandate had to be balanced against political and economic demands. As such, the public mandate was sometimes strategically applied, as was the case during December 1990 when stations were closed. To leave Windsor, a city so close to the U.S. boarder, without local CBC programming could be viewed as one of the largest divergences in the CBC's public broadcasting initiatives. To Wayne Skene (1993), a former CBC manager, the CBC's strategy for the 1990 cuts underscored the CBC administration's shirking of its public service objectives. His observations on how the broadcaster operated serve to illustrate the point made by the 1986 task force, that the CBC was accountable to no one and in this way was able to mold its conception of public broadcasting as it went along:

> Public broadcasting, from its inception, has seldom enjoyed a consistently applied philosophy. It has been made up, largely, as we've gone along. Thousands of people have come and gone—politicians, board members, presidents, management, executives, employees, consultants, supporters—and all have moved the tuning knobs for public broadcasting one way or the other as they saw fit (p. viii).

Skene's comments underscore that although the CBC is a public broadcaster and follows a public mandate, other factors affect how the CBC pursues its mandate.

As broadcasting policy changed, first in support of a public broadcaster, then towards broadcasting as an industry, the CBC was also required to adapt and, in the process of adaptation, shifted its interests and thus the types of capitals it pursued.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter briefly touched on three structural transformations of the CBC in order to point out how the CRBC/CBC, from the outset, has participated in multiple fields and how its structural changes *respond* to the interrelations it has with the journalistic, political, and economic fields. Those interrelations altered the circulation of capital the CBC possessed and ultimately its strategy for pursuing its mandate. The chapter claims that the CBC, as a public broadcaster, was expected to accumulate capital in multiple fields in order to re-produce itself in the journalistic field. Further, the inception of the CBC represented an intervention by the political field into the journalistic field. As the federal government, in the political field, began to lose interest in the CBC and the broadcasting/journalistic field generally, broadcasting policy reverted the field back to its enterprise structure. The CBC, endowed at the outset with the symbolic role of cultural unifier following from its public mandate, became more interested in gaining economic capital over time. By the 1950s, there was a marked tension between the broadcaster fulfilling mandated objectives while coping with increased political and economic pressures.

To summarize, the inception of the CBC represented an intervention by the political field into the journalistic field and introduced a new purpose for broadcasting. The CBC's public broadcast role was symbolic in a Bourdieusian sense, in that the in-statement of a broadcaster unfettered by the market served the goals of a few groups, mainly, the federal government and its interests in protecting Canadian culture from domination. Further, by distinguishing the CRBC/CBC from the commercialism of private broadcasters, the federal government decreased the value of economic capital in the broadcasting/journalistic field and introduced forms of cultural capital—that of increased funding for programming and shirking advertising and excessive airing of U.S. programming.

When the federal government decided in the 1950s that television would follow the public model set out by radio, the CBC's responsibilities expanded. The CBC had already incurred deficits from establishing its radio network and the higher cost of a television network production would mean the broadcaster had to expand its advertising to offset costs. The introduction of television services signalled the introduction of an increased interest in economic capital. The structure of CBC's news services, with television as commercial and radio as non-commercial, altered the broadcaster in terms of television and radio pursuing different strategies to fulfil mandated objectives.

If the broadcaster had experienced a tension between its mandated objectives and external demands from the political and economic fields, the 1980s and 1990s represented an economic crunch period in the CBC's history. It is through the CBC's connection to the political field that it experienced increased economic demands, in the

form of budget cuts from the federal government, both Conservative and Liberal. In terms of the CBC's distribution of cultural and economic capital, its cultural capital was weakened by budget cuts—and the subsequent implementation of programming cuts—and the introduction of efficiencies into journalistic production.

As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the CBC began experimenting with online journalism in 1995. By 1999, the CRTC declared that since most websites were text-based, the Internet would not fall under the Broadcasting Act (CRTC, 1999). Of the components of the Internet that could be described as broadcasting, such as audio and video content, the commission determined these online spaces did not require regulation in the manner that conventional radio and television broadcasting did. Ultimately, it was argued that the market had already provided a space for Canadian content and demand for Canadian new media content already existed. A decade later, in 2009, the CBC set out to make *CBCNews.ca* a central news hub for the rest of its services.

CHAPTER THREE
"*KNOW MORE, KNOW NOW*"
THE 2009 RE-DESIGN OF *CBC NEWS*

Overview

The previous chapter considered three structural transformations of the CRBC/CBC over its history and how those transformations were a response to the relationship the broadcaster has with the journalistic, political, and economic fields. The previous chapter claimed that the CBC was an intervention from the political field into the broadcasting/journalistic field that worked to change the purpose of broadcasting away from primarily forms of economic capital (advertising, the importing of U.S. programming) to forms of cultural capital (creating Canadian programming, broadcasting services in rural/less populated regions). I elaborated on how the CBC played a symbolic role in a Bourdieusian sense in that the instatement of a national radio network with a public mandate unfettered by the market served the interests of a few groups—mainly the federal government and its dual interest in protecting Canadian culture from American domination while expanding the Canadian broadcasting industry (Skinner, 2005). Later, the government placed increased economic and political pressures on the CBC by expanding its responsibilities into television without providing the necessary funding. Further, as the government began distancing itself from its initial interests in broadcasting during the recessions, the distribution of capital within the field altered once again towards economic capital. The CBC increased its interest in gaining economic capital

through revenue-generating strategies and efficiency measures in its news production. As the CBC increased its revenue-generating imperatives in the wake of budget cuts, CBC administrators regarded the fulfilment of the public mandate as dependent on a number of shifting external factors, introducing tension between the CBC's public mandate and other (primarily economic) imperatives. Further, the structure of the CBC evolved into a non-commercial pole (radio) and a commercial pole (television), meaning the strategies the broadcaster pursued within the broadcasting/journalistic field were oriented by two opposing structural-authoritative hierarchies: tending to the bottom line and seeking prestige granted by fulfilling a *disinterested* public mandate. The government required the CBC to navigate these opposing strategies of operating in the journalistic field; in their view: the CBC must be interested in gaining economic capital, but must find a balance between commercial activities and its mandated role.

This chapter focuses on the 2009 re-design of CBC's English news services as a response to increased economic and political demands and expanding responsibilities. Utilizing re-design documents to plot out the CBC's new "content company" strategy for news production, the chapter claims that the 2009 re-design is the CBC's attempt to *refract* external demands into its prism of interests in the journalistic field, not just in terms of introducing efficiencies through an integrated news structure, but the introduction of new programming and investing in new media as well.

This chapter employs field theory in order to demonstrate how the CBC is able to balance increased economic and political demands within its publicly-mandated objectives. The chapter begins by returning to the CBC's symbolic role, with an

elaboration on the mechanism that allows CBC to gain economic capital while maintaining its *disinterested* public broadcasting mandate, and how market pressures inherent in these *disinterested* practices are unveiled due to the economic recession in 2008. It then touches on how field theory and political economy constitute the CBC within the re-design before delving into the entry points of analysis for re-design documents: CBC administrative strategies, the CBC's relationship with its audience, and the CBC's relationship with its journalists. This chapter claims that the broadcaster is able to maintain its position within the journalistic field by refracting external political and economic pressures into field-specific interests, or, mandated objectives. This is accomplished by the news re-design, which develops a new sense of public broadcasting that also addresses political and economic pressures but in such a way that they are translated into field-specific interests.

The CBC as prestigious cultural producer

In considering how the CBC's structure has altered since its inception towards an interest in gaining economic capital, I initially concluded that the CBC could not translate economic capital into a *disinterested* public service and therefore its mandated objectives were eroding in the face of external pressures. Field theory supports this conclusion in some ways. Bourdieu argues that the introduction of capital external to the field of cultural production weakens the autonomy of those agents most rich in field-specific capital. Thus, the accumulation of economic capital weakens the field-specific capital required by agents to pursue the particular stakes of the field. In terms of the CBC, my hypothesis was that the accumulation of forms of economic capital would weaken the

CBC's ability to pursue field-specific stakes as outlined in its public mandate. For instance, how could increased economic imperatives not affect a journalistic organization which in its "'purest' regions" to borrow the Bourdieusian term, is entirely non-commercial (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 42)? I am referring to *CBC Radio* here. Recall the last chapter's discussion of the CBC instating efficiency measures after budget cuts, including the integration of *CBC Radio* news and current affairs and the cutting of hundreds of hours of programming and some stations. The CBC's history easily lends itself to the conclusion that the broadcaster has, time and again, sacrificed its public mandate to cope with political and economic pressures.

The conclusion is ultimately short-sighted because it neglects how *all* agents within the field of cultural production require forms of economic capital in order to function, even those agents who are least interested in it and actually *disavow*[18] it, such as those residing in the field of restricted production where cultural producers compete for symbolic profits as opposed to economic profits. In the field of restricted production, the symbolic profits competed for require forms of economic capital, but economic capital cannot guarantee the prestige that is sought after unless it is translated into symbolic capital. In a similar way, the CBC, largely due to its mandated objectives, cannot simply craft strategies that appeal to the bottom line. Although the broadcaster, like all other producers in the field, requires economic capital in order to reproduce itself, its mandated

[18] In "The Field of Cultural Production" (1993), Bourdieu argues that the *disavowal* of economic capital is at the heart of the field of cultural production as "the principle governing its functioning and transformation" (p. 79). Those agents who disavow economic capital are able to *play the game* specific to the field by utilizing economic capital to maximize their positions but only in the form of a *disavowed* economic capital, that is, economic capital made to appear as something else—as the authority to consecrate literary or journalistic works, to make other agents *recognize* an object of cultural production as having value by belonging to a cannon or a constellation of prestigious cultural products.

objectives disallow it from being an entirely commercial entity. Its public mandate—although contested and subject to various interpretations—must be appealed to in its re-design efforts. Thus, if the CBC focused strictly on revenue-generating imperatives, without any reference to its mandate—essentially operating like a private broadcaster—the CBC would risk becoming a redundant service. At the same time, if the CBC were to shirk all economic demands and focus exclusively on mandated objectives, it would face the double risk of appearing as unaccountable, inefficient, or un-businesslike to its financial masters (the government, taxpayers) while alienating itself from the broadcasting industry (in which the federal government requires the CBC to participate) (Nesbitt-Larking, 2007, p. 159). Instead of concluding that economic demands weaken the CBC's ability to essentially produce its journalism, as I had initially considered, it is necessary to understand how the CBC's unique economic identity influences the strategies the broadcaster pursues in the journalistic field. The CBC straddles the boundaries between operating on government funds while sustaining its operations on revenue-generating imperatives such as television and online advertising. The multiple masters the CBC serves and its economic structure (part appropriation, part advertising) means the CBC operates between the fields of restricted and large-scale production, the two poles of the field of cultural production which oppose each other and have different principles of hierarchization. Although the CBC utilizes advertising in order to generate revenues, there is no surplus capital, or, profits. All revenues are translated back into the organization.[19] Thus, the CBC's *interestedness* fuels its *disinterestedness*; the CBC is

[19] Suzanne Morris, the vice president and chief financial officer of the CBC, explained in the 2009 annual public meeting that the CBC maintains reserve capital. She explains that the CBC ended 20008-09 with a surplus of $33 million, which included reserves from previous years too. She says: “maintaining a

interested in economic capital because economic capital is necessary to its journalistic production, some aspects of which are highly unprofitable (niche programming, serving rural regions), while others are highly profitable (television and online advertising, CBC services in large markets) and other aspects require large sums of money (commercial revenues and Parliamentary-appropriated funds) to invest in changing industry standards (i.e. new technologies and the changing consumption habits of audiences). Further, economic demands are not introduced solely through the economic field, but the political field as well. The federal government requires the broadcaster to maintain and even expand its mandated responsibilities without adjusting its financial support and has recently expressed its concern that the broadcaster's corporate objectives need to be refined to include better performance measurements and targets, better management of resources, and external reporting to the public (Auditor General, 2005, p. 2). Thus, to entirely encompass the CBC's unique economic identity in analysis, it is key to understand that economic demands also encompass political demands.

The CBC must balance its public mandate with economic and political demands, both of which have increased in particular ways around—although not entirely due to—the recession in 2008. After the recession, when the CBC announced it would cut 800 full time jobs in order to balance its $171-million budget shortfall, CBC president and CEO Hubert Lacroix noted, “our business model—the way in which we are financed—is broken” and because of this broken business model, the CBC could not adequately deliver the services “required from a public broadcaster” (CBC, 2009b, p. 2). This

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relatively modest level of reserve is necessary to manage unforeseen pressures and because CBC/Radio-Canada does not have access to normal lines of banking credit for its operation. This is how we were able to balance the budget for 08-09” (CBC, 2009i).

chapter will discuss the CBC's new business model, or, the new operating strategy for its news services, as indicated by re-design documents. This thesis is interested in analyzing how the re-design shows how the CBC's relationship between the journalistic, political, and economic fields requires it to gain capital in all fields in order to produce its journalism; and how the re-design reflects or diverges from the public mandate. However, measuring or indicating what aspects of the re-design reflect and diverge from mandated objectives is not clear cut, and, indeed, strategies for accumulating forms of economic capital can be translated into symbolic capital, or, can maintain the CBC's mandate, as well.[20] In order to elaborate on the various types of capital gained in the *CBC News* re-design and how it alters journalistic production, this chapter will first consider Bourdieu's discussion of the art dealer—an agent within the field of cultural production who translates economic and political capital into symbolic capital—in order to elaborate on the CBC's strategy of accumulating more economic capital while maintaining its mandate. This chapter begins by discussing the art dealer's ability to consecrate cultural products as works of art (or symbolic objects) for the purpose of drawing connections between the CBC and its interpretation of its mandate in the 2009 re-design as a moment of translating economic and political capital into symbolic capital.

CBC and the Art Dealer: Interested disinterestedness and symbolic capital

This section will begin by first elaborating on what the art dealer does and then what the

[20] To provide an example, repurposing radio and television shows into brief clips on *CBCNews.ca* allows the CBC to monetize off-air content and exposes radio programming to online advertising, but it also serves the CBC mandate in that hosting programming online makes it "available throughout Canada by the most appropriate and efficient means and as resources become available for the purpose" (Broadcasting Act, 1991).

CBC is attempting to do in the journalistic field, as translating economic and political capital into symbolic capital. Symbolic capital, as Bourdieu elaborates, is a *(mis)recognized* capital; it is political and economic capital that is made to appear as something else, something recognizable, by its spectators. These spectators (clients, members of the public) are those who believe in the value of the work and are capable of recognizing the work as prestigious through their own socialization. The agents within the field of cultural production who cultivate a belief of an object as a work of art are agents such as the art dealer, publisher, or critic. They achieve the translation of economic or political capital into field-specific capital through their mastery of the functioning of field. Bourdieu describes this phenomenon as *interested disinterestedness*, of making a business in a field where economic interest is disavowed by agents who seek recognition and prestige. Moreover, the process of transforming cultural products into symbolic objects endows agents with power and allows them to maximize their positions in the field. At the heart of collective beliefs, then, one will find the underlying political and economic demands (p. 81). Likewise, this chapter investigates how the news re-design is articulated by the CBC, in terms of how changes are connected to public broadcasting initiatives, in order to discover the underlying political and economic demands.

In order for the art dealer to make a business of art, he must navigate between the economic field and the sub-field of restricted production, where the circulation of capital is symbolic. Art dealers operate as a veil between the artist and the market, a "disavowed economic enterprise [...] in whom art and business meet in practice" (p. 75). This practice cannot succeed in simply economic terms but requires a knowledge of the *rules of the*

game pertaining to the field, a*"practical* mastery of the laws of the functioning of the field in which cultural goods are produced and circulate" (p. 75). This practice combines "implying minor concessions to 'economic' necessities that are disavowed but not denied and the conviction which excludes them" (p. 76). In other words, the art dealer's business transactions are covertly hidden and made to appear as something else, something *disinterested;* that the particular cultural product is a work of art and should be credited with the according prestige.

Bourdieu argues this disavowal of interests external to the field is necessary for those agents who want to participate in the interests of the field. Those agents within the field of cultural production who convert economic capital into symbolic capital are most capable of transforming the field successfully. However, the forms of economic capital required by all cultural producers are not useful to their interests unless they are veiled, or, converted into symbolic capital. By making cultural products appear as legitimate works of art, the art dealer makes a profit from this *disinterestedness* because it grants him consecratory powers, in the form of his reputation. The art dealer utilizes this process of *disavowal* to reproduce and maximize his position in the field. In short, the art dealer *disavows* economic capital in order to transform it into field-specific capital. This transformation takes place through the art dealer's ability to consecrate artistic works and give value to them, deeming them legitimate within the field.

Just as the art dealer navigates between the economic field and the field of restricted production, the CBC participates in a similar type of navigation. Unlike the art dealer, the CBC navigates between the economic field and the field of restricted *and*

large-scale production, as its products and audiences are dispersed across both sub-fields. Further, the CBC resides in the journalistic field, a field with its own particular interests, which will be elaborated on next. Although the art dealer remains apart from the work of art itself, and the CBC can be characterized as immersed in journalistic production and not apart from it, I draw parallels between the the art dealer and the CBC because the CBC does participate in this process of translating economic and political capital into symbolic capital because it is required to gain capitals in external fields while maintaining its *disinterested* public broadcasting mandate. I will first elaborate upon the particular stakes of the journalistic field before discussing the CBC mandate as a form of symbolic capital, and how the 2009 news re-design represents a process of translating economic and political interests into field-specific interests as encompassed in the CBC mandate.

Interested disinterestedness in the journalistic field, Bourdieu's heteronomy thesis and the political economy of communication

Bourdieu seems to contradict himself when he argues that the ultimate value of *disinterestedness* is at the heart of the field of cultural production, yet those cultural producers who "go commercial" forgo symbolic capital and cannot participate in the *game* specific to the field, that of deeming particular works legitimate (p. 75). This statement appears at first contradictory because it suggests that journalistic agents do not participate in any sort of symbolic production. Bourdieu describes journalism as an industrial art, mostly residing in the field of large-scale production and therefore more interested in the bottom line than prestige and forms of symbolic profit. At the same time,

there are particular stakes within the journalistic field that all agents share, despite their public or private structure. Putting aside for a moment that the CBC is not just a commercial entity and has deep connections with the political field, we must first consider what the particular stakes of the journalistic field are, generally, in order to get a sense of how *interested disinterestedness* functions within the field.

In "The Political Field, the Social Science Field, and the Journalistic Field" (2005), Bourdieu argues that what is at stake in the journalistic field is a legitimate portrayal of the social world, a stake it shares with the political field and the social science field. He writes: "they all lay claim to the imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, they have in common the fact that they are the site of internal struggles for the imposition of the dominant principle of vision and division (p. 36)." Focusing only on the journalistic field here, the professional job of the journalist is making "things explicit and producing discourses" by categorizing events and information in order to make them coherent. The journalist takes part in struggles to impose these discourses and the ability to define the social world (pp. 37, 38). To put it simply, a journalist plays a mediating role in society and can present to the public critical debates about aspects of the social world, and in this process, journalists work to define the categories in which the social world can be perceived. *Interested disinterestedness* in the journalistic field, then, appears both as consecrating literary or journalistic works as such and imposing a legitimate vision of the social world.

Beyond the particular struggles agents participate in, either to maintain or transform the field in order to maximize their position, external demands also come into

play. The particular interests of journalistic agents are fettered by external demands, primarily from the political and economic fields, due to precarious employment and pressure from advertisers through audience ratings, leading to forms of political and economic control (pp. 42-44). The result is an increased heteronomy in the journalistic field, bearing down on the most heteronomous pole of the field (television) and gaining ground over the rest of the journalistic field. Externally, this has the effect of strengthening the most heteronomous zones of other fields that the journalistic field interacts with "by valorizing what has most value in external markets, it affects the internal relations within the field" (p. 44). In short, increased political and economic pressures within the journalistic field introduce external demands onto the functioning of the field and affects internal relations within the field and those fields with which it interacts. Thus, although the CBC is subject to pressures from the political and economic fields, this is a structure the CBC shares with all journalistic agents generally due to the position of the journalistic field and cultural field generally in relation to the field of power. However, while commercial media outlets are generally able to shift their position to maximize profits, the CBC's re-design strategy is complicated by its mandated responsibilities. This is because the CBC has a complex relationship to the economy. First, it must translate economic gains into symbolic gains for the purposes of its mandate; second, it must contend with the increased heteronomy of the journalistic field more generally. I mention Bourdieu's heteronomy thesis because I think it will prove significant for the analysis of a broadcaster who is structured so that its products are dispersed across the heteromous pole and purest pole of the journalistic field (I am

referring here to CBC's commercial television services and non-commercial radio services). Bourdieu's heteronomy thesis would suggest that the CBC's shift to multi-platform news production would lead to the weakening of the CBC's non-commercial pole with the introduction of commercial-generating practices. In other words, the CBC's shift to multi-platform news production (or the new "content company" model of journalism, involving the integration of radio, television and online news), can be understood as an instance where television news (deeply heteronomous, focused on generating a mass audience for advertisers) is in a position to exert effects over other types of journalism (radio news, more rich in cultural capital or field-specific capital) based on the renewal strategies of a particular agent in the journalistic field.

If Bourdieu's hypothesis concerns itself with the heteronomizing effect of television journalism within the journalistic field and social space more generally, and, as I have stated, proves significant for the analysis of CBC as a re-structured, multi-platform agent within the journalistic field, the addition of political economy would allow for emphasis on the processes and networks involved in the commodification of cultural spaces. The central argument in *The Political Economy of Communications* (2009) is to place social relations and social processes in the foreground of study, as opposed to focusing on institutions or particular individuals, in order to describe and predict how capitalism mobilizes communications for its own ends and subsequently uses communications to encroach upon areas of society that were once beyond its boundaries. While this thesis focuses on one particular institution, field theory broadens the study as it shifts the focus from the institution to the institution's particular interrelations with

other fields. We can understand the CBC's own shift as responding to a constellation of shifts in the journalistic, political, and economic spheres.

Mosco's orientation lends itself to analysis in two ways. First, for the study of the CBC as a media institution with a unique economic identity based on public and private funding, which happens to be entering a moment of financial crisis. Second, for the study of complex relations involved in capitalist structures such as the North American broadcasting industry at large; the particular instances of how news media institutions re-organize or re-orient their relationship to content, competitors, and audiences in moments of financial instability.[21]

In sum, this chapter will look at how the CBC's multi-platform news strategy and its renewed public broadcasting purpose as being interactive and on demand serves to *disavow* particular political and economic pressures. I will speak to how the broadcaster refracts external demands into its prism of interests by translating economic and political capital into symbolic capital during a moment where financial crisis unveils the market pressures inherent in the structure of the broadcaster. This approach considers the CBC mandate—specifically the public service imperatives outlined in the mandate and how the mandate is interpreted in the news re-design—as the structure where symbolic profits are reaped.

[21] Political economy examines how capitalistic structures encroach on culture or other non-capitalistic spaces, and how, in the process, an object's use-value becomes exchange-value. For field theory, an object's use value is not entirely natural or neutral, but based on a series of arbitrary meanings assigned by particular groups, for whom they serve particular ends.

The CBC mandate as interested disinterestedness

The art dealer's technique parallels how the CBC is able to serve multiple and competing demands while appearing to follow its own logic, as entailed in its mandate. Further, the general strategy of the art dealer can help us understand the CBC serving multiple and conflicting masters as a structure that is already pervasive in the field of cultural production. The field occupies a dominated position to the field of power, a field that is structured by the relations of forms of power, or capital.[22] Thus, even cultural producers in the field of restricted production are subject to economic and political constraints, the only difference being that those demands are transmuted through those actors in the field who consecrate objects as symbolic (i.e., the art dealer, publisher). The art dealer allows external demands to be transmuted into symbolic capital through the regular functioning of the field, that of *disavowing* economic interest. In the process, the art dealer obtains a "credit" in the form of their reputation, as the only legitimate accumulation in the field is making a name for oneself (p. 75).[23]

The CBC mandate acts as this very source of "credit," which maintains or enhances the broadcaster's reputation (p. 75). The mandate is the criteria by which the broadcaster's products are measured; the mandate acts as an internal criteria for its products, beyond market conditions, which indicates that some of the CBC's products belong to the field of restricted production. The CBC needs to maintain its reputation

[22] Bourdieu (1993) writes: "whatever its degree of independence, it continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it, those of economic and political profit" (p. 39).

[23] To elaborate on the reason why some agents within the field of cultural production work to transmute economic capital: "For the author, the critic, the art dealer, the publisher or the theatre manager, the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects (with trademark or signature) or persons (through publication, exhibition, etc.) and therefore give value, and to appropriate the profits from this operation" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 75).

while navigating external pressures, which have increased in particular ways due to the 2008 recession and larger industry changes. However, there is a weakening of field-specific capital (the power to consecrate both journalistic works as such and to portray a legitimate vision of the social world) due to the increasing pull of the heteronomous pole of the journalistic field. Thus, analysis will show how *disavowal* plays a key role in re-design particulars, keeping in mind the economic and political goals being veiled or mis-recognized.

The following section will demonstrate the occurrences of *disavowal* in the re-design and how it achieves necessary economic and political ends. Also covered in this section are the business/economic practices introduced into the functioning of the broadcaster through these entry points: administrative strategies, the CBC and its relationship with audiences, and the CBC and its relationship with journalists.

1. Administrative Strategies: The CBC "content company" as strategy

The following section will provide an overview of the CBC re-design as a moment of re-positioning for the broadcaster within the journalistic, political, and economic fields. The following considers the recession as an unveiling of the economic and political demands the CBC faces due to its financial crisis. The re-design is also a re-veiling, and the section will demonstrate how the broadcaster's systematic adjustment to altered industry standards upholds the CBC mandate and how symbolic capital is produced or re-produced through a process of *disavowal*.

Beginning with a summary of the re-design, I will consider how re-design

documents illustrate the CBC's[24] own formulation of its *struggle* in the journalistic field; how the broadcaster articulates a problem for itself and a *responding* strategy that would secure its position within the field. Then, I will demonstrate how specific strategies employed as part of the re-design indicate journalistic, political, and economic goals sought; and how external demands are translated into the CBC's mandate and its sense of public broadcasting.

The 2008 recession and larger changes to the broadcasting industry affect the *space of possibles* within the journalistic field, that is, the position each agent occupies based on their *habitus* and accumulated capitals, which structure their strategies within the field. Bourdieu (1993) describes how agents within a particular field differentiate themselves from one another. Bourdieu's description implies a sort of negative relationship, that the positions taken by agents are determined by being delimited by other positions, that the "network of objective relations between positions" orients the strategies taken by agents in their "struggles to defend of improve their positions" (p. 30). This thesis does not aim to sketch out each position in the journalistic field and their relation to other positions, but it is significant to point out that the strategies taken by each agent are related to each other, if negatively, and the network of relations each participates in. For the CBC, this means that large-scale changes to the broadcasting industry, such as decreases to conventional advertising revenues and the migration of audiences to online news sources, alters its position in the journalistic field. To put it

[24] "The CBC" in this instance refers mainly to CBC executives, past and present, and what they have said in relation to budget problems, the CBC's finances, or the re-design in particular, as evidenced through documents collected on the re-design. I refer to the "The CBC" generally and not specific employees in order to encompass a range of quotes from past and present CBC administrations and also to encompass documents that are both published and unpublished, official and unofficial.

more plainly, these changes affect the way the CBC balances its mandates objectives with external demands. As Bourdieu elaborates, this position-change also changes the meaning of the works produced:

> a position-taking changes, even when the position remains identical, whenever there is a change in the universe of options that are simultaneously offered for producers and consumers to choose from. The meaning of a work (artistic, literary, philosophical, etc.) changes automatically with each change in the field within which it is situated for the spectator or reader (pp. 30-1).

The CBC's position, and its accumulated symbolic capital, is altered as the "universe of options" expands (p. 30). The *space of possibles* within which actors operate in the journalistic field, and the positions they take based on this space, is ultimately characterized by a struggle to maintain or transform the field. As the positions within the *space of possibles* changes and the struggle evolves, the meaning of works produced changes as well. The strategies the CBC undertakes to adapt to large-scale industry changes are related to the strategies of other actors (broadcasters, media outlets) and affect the meaning of the journalism produced—the meaning, which is developed in the processes of translating economic and political pressures into symbolic capital. An alteration in the *space of possibles* represents an alteration in the value of symbolic capital the broadcaster has accumulated.

The 2008 recession is a case in point of symbolic capital being unveiled along with the types of political or economic imperatives, explicit or diffuse, that present themselves. The "mastery" of the field that is required in order to translate economic and political demands into symbolic capital must change because the field itself has changed (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 75). The re-design presents an instance where economic and political

imperatives are unveiled. For the CBC, a problem is formulated as well as a recovery strategy that encompasses journalistic, economic, and political goals. Mosco's political and economic concerns are introduced in this section as well, in terms of how the CBC introduces or accelerates capitalistic mechanisms within its news production, or, how the CBC alters its process of news production to include promotional opportunities and revenue-generating imperatives.

The CBC News Re-design: summary

On 26 October 2009, CBC/Radio-Canada launched a re-design of its television, radio, and online news platforms. The news release for the re-design advertises new programming and new journalists "to keep Canadians well informed, now" (CBC, 2009e). The re-design was launched on the heels of a $171-million budget shortfall, when corporate executives said they would cut programming and jobs to balance the budget. Tim W. Casgrain, chair of the board of directors, said, "If the last year made one thing clear, it's that serious financial challenges are the reality for CBC/Radio-Canada and that we have no choice but to adapt" (CBC, 2009i). The re-design was not initiated based on the budget shortfall in 2008, as re-design planning and research began years earlier. However, the re-design addresses long-standing economic demands, such as a decreasing parliamentary appropriation, and budget cuts occur often enough that CBC officials could expect them again in the future.

As noted, the CBC operates primarily on a parliamentary appropriation, revenues from television advertising, and, more recently, revenues from online advertising. The

two distinct revenue streams pose a contradiction for the CBC: it is a public broadcaster that depends on commercial revenues to sustain itself. This funding structure has become increasingly problematic over the years as losses to conventional advertising continue, particularly since the parliamentary appropriation has steadily decreased since 1995-1996 (CBC, 2009b, p. 5).[25] In 2008-2009, the CBC received $1.1 billion in parliamentary appropriation and generated $356.2 million in advertising revenues (CBC, 2009b, p. 46). In 2009-2010, the CBC received $1 billion in parliamentary appropriation and generated approximately $309.2 million in advertising revenues (CBC, 2010a, p. 45). When ranked by Nordicity Group[26] amongst public broadcasters worldwide in terms of government support, the CBC ranked 15th place out of 18 countries. The average cost per capita for OECD[27] countries is $76 (Nordicity Group, 2006, p. 1). Per person, the corporation costs $34 per year, which amounts to less than 10 cents a day (CBC, 2009b, p. 47).

Past and current executives argue the CBC's accumulating financial problems are preventing the broadcaster from fulfilling its public mandate (Standing Committee on Heritage, 2008, p. 110). Robert Rabinovitch, former president and CEO of the CBC,[28] told the Standing Committee on Heritage in 2006 that the CBC's mandate should be reviewed because its funding did not meet the cost of living and was insufficient in fulfilling the CBC's broad mandate (p. 111). Based on Rabinovitch's statement, the committee drafted a report on the CBC's activities and finances (p. 4). The report notes

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[25] The only exception here is salaries, although the CBC 2009-2010 annual report notes that salary inflation was lower than anticipated (p. 46).

[26] Nordicity Group is a strategy consulting firm for media, culture and communication clients.

[27] OECD stands for Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Generally, the organization was founded in 1961 with 34 countries with the goal of stimulating world trade and economic progress.

[28] Shostakovitch was president and CEO of CBC/Radio-Canada from 1999-2007.

how CBC executives "said the Corporation was at a crossroads" because its appropriation was not keeping up with inflation, despite the broadcaster's efforts to find savings and generate non-advertising revenues (p. 112).[29] Rabinovitch is mentioned (although not quoted) as saying that budget restraints would force him to make "hard choices unless $150 million is invested in the near future" (p. 110). The committee recommended Parliament increase the CBC's per capita funding from $33 to $40, and like other committees in the past, noted that the CBC should have stable, multi-year funding. "We are asking the government for a clear commitment to preserve CBC/Radio-Canada," the report notes, in a section titled, "Committee's Position" (p. 112). Further, CBC executives admitted to the committee that the broadcaster needed to "take more risks in developing new programmes" but its resources were insufficient (p. 114).

Two years later, in mid-2009, the CBC announced a budget shortfall of $171 million. This amount comes from a predicted $94 million in television advertising revenue shortfalls, $64 million in cost increases such as fixed expenses and programs, and $13 million in strategic investments required to continue making "relatively modest" investments in *CBCNews.ca* and speciality channels (CBC, 2009b, p. 54). To make up for this shortfall, the CBC instituted a recovery plan with a target completion date of September 2009.[30] The plan includes eliminating 800 full-time jobs, permanent reductions in discretionary spending, freezes to certain salaries, and selling assets. The 2008-2009 financial report indicates more risks, including the loss of audiences in

[29] In the report, Rabinovitch refers to non-advertising revenues as sales from CBC merchandise and better use of real estate.

[30] The target completion appears to have changed to 11 March 2011, according to an interview with the current president and CEO, Hubert Lacroix on Cartt.ca with Greg O'Brien (O'Brien, 2011).

conventional television and radio formats; the transition to high-definition television by 2011 (mandated by the CRTC); the government's upcoming strategic review of the corporation[31] and the amalgamation of two funds that the CBC receives monies from: The Canada Television Fund and The Canada New Media Fund into The Canada Media Fund.

Hubert Lacroix, who became president and CEO of the CBC in 2008, has echoed his predecessor's warnings about the CBC's funding problems. Speaking at a public meeting on 23 September 2009, president and CEO Hubert Lacroix said, "I am compelled to report that unless we are able to develop a sustaining financial model in the near future, CBC/Radio-Canada's ability to fulfill its mandate will be at risk" (CBC, 2009i). Lacroix added that just as private broadcasters are suffering in the economic downturn, the CBC suffers similarly because of its dependence on advertising revenue.

Canadian cultural groups and other observers have taken issue with how much advertising is featured on CBC television, concerned that the commercial goals of the broadcaster are harmful to its programming. William Neville of the Public Policy Forum and a former CBC board member,[32] argues that the CBC is evolving into a commercial broadcaster; The Directors Guild of Canada has pointed out that in 2005-2006, more than 50 per cent of revenues from English-language television came from advertising, putting the CBC directly in competition with private broadcasters (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, 2008, p.119). Further, the CBC is recognized for its contributions to the broadcasting industry. The CBC was named the *2009 Media Player of the Year* by Marketing Magazine for the high ratings of some of its shows, like *Hockey Night in*

[31] Lacroix says the CBC has submitted proposals to the government incorporating the scenarios of a five per cent cut and the ten per cent cut. He expects to the review will occur in the spring of 2012 (Quill, 2012)

[32] Neville served on the CBC Board of Directors from 1986 to 1994.

Canada, Dragons' Den and *Battle of the Blades.* The award also recognized the CBC's exercise of "creative advertising opportunities" such as writing TD Bank Inc. into the scripts of *Being Erica* and *Little Mosque on the Prairie* (Broadcaster Magazine, 2009).

In terms of news production at the CBC, it appears that in the early phase of the re-design, around its launch, the corporation's executives had re-envisioned the CBC's broadcasting structure in order to counter financial losses. After announcing the $171-million budget shortfall, Lacroix said cuts would affect CBC programming, but a new strategy for survival was also in hand:

> While it's impossible to let go of as many people as we are without sacrificing services, it's critical that we stay focused on becoming a content company, on being a leader in reaching Canadians on new platforms and on being deeply rooted in the regions (CBC, 2009f).

Lacroix's comments regarding the re-design evolve over 2009 to 2011, from presenting the news re-design as a solution to a financial problem to presenting the re-design as an inevitable and rather sophisticated evolution in the way the CBC serves the public.[33] But at the outset, the administration communicated in re-design press releases, and later in its first annual public meeting in 2009, that the CBC's financial troubles, more than ever before, could be solved by this "content company" re-design of services alongside a renewed sense of how to be a public broadcaster. The re-design would give audiences greater access to *CBC News* content from radio, television, and online, along with

[33] As the CBC began to get a handle on its financial situation again, and the turbulence of the $171-million shortfall became recent past, documents stop referring to the re-design as a solution to existing problems as they initial did. Rather, the re-design is communicated on the periphery, as part of ongoing changes at the CBC to better serve Canadians. This change can be evidenced in the CBC's 2015 strategic review, where the re-design is relegated to a brief section of the report and renamed as "news renewal," and the tone of the report itself is optimistic about the CBC's future (CBC, 2011c, p. 3). The 2015 strategic review is discussed later in this chapter.

opportunities to interact with content online.[34]

Shortly after the re-design launch, Casgrain noted that "Our success rests on reaching more Canadians in more ways than ever before, with content they want, and indeed need" (CBC, 2009i). Specifically, success with Canadians rests on re-thinking how the CBC operates across its platforms and how it performs regionally. Lacroix, speaking at the public meeting in September 2009, argued that the CBC could no longer be all things to all people through a traditional broadcast role. Instead, he said, "Rather than being simply a broadcaster with separate and discrete media lines, we are becoming a content company in which everyone collaborates and shares resources to generate deeper, richer content" (CBC, 2009i). Lacroix defines the "traditional broadcast role" as the broadcaster operating on three distinct platforms: radio, television, and online. He describes this role as "simple," implying that the broadcaster needs to take on a more complex role, which he defines as a content company that collaborates and shares content, rather than keeping resources separate and alienated from the "deeper, richer" experience that can be achieved through information sharing (CBC, 2009i). Lacroix then provides the example of the *CBC Radio* show *Q,* with host Jian Ghomeshi, as a content company production. He describes how audiences no longer have the simple and limited option of tuning in at 10 a.m. E.S.T. to listen on their radios or their satellite radios. Instead, they can watch the show in multiple formats. There is "Q TV" on YouTube and CBC Bold, a filmed version of the radio show. The show can also be downloaded from the CBC website onto a computer or mobile device in audio or video podcasts. Audiences

[34] Chapter four will discuss the particular interactive features on *CBC News*, but to provide a few examples at this junction, the CBC is experimenting with embedding social media on its different news web pages and is cultivating an online *Community* website where audience members are encouraged to discuss issues in the news or in their community.

can also "interact with the show" on Twitter and Facebook (CBC, 2009i). The idea, says Lacroix, is not to transfer content from one platform to another, but to create "a deeper, richer" experience for audiences by giving them control over how they consume *CBC News* content (CBC, 2009i).

In part, the re-design specifics are described as products of one of the biggest audience research studies ever undertaken by the CBC, the results of which indicate that people want more control over when and how they consume information (CBC, 2009e). The general thrust of the multi-platform, "content company" structure is to engage audiences across all *CBC News* platforms, at their time of choosing, through the media of their choice. Richard Stursberg, the former executive vice president of the CBC, is quoted in the news release, saying that "these are some of the most significant changes ever undertaken by CBC news" (CBC, 2009e).

While the re-design targets *CBC News* services, there is a greater emphasis on television news.[35] The re-design includes changes to *The National*, *World Report*, *Newsworld,* and regional television and radio. *The National*, CBC's flagship national television newscast, now includes a 10-minute online version (updated at 6 p.m. E.S.T. daily) and a four-minute mobile version that audiences can download to their mobile devices (smart phone, iPod, etc.). As well, reporter Wendy Mesley now joins the show on a weekly basis, "seeking answers to the provocative question of the day" (CBC, 2009e). *The National* website is also revamped, and features video clips and a blog. Peter

[35] CBC television programs have not been significantly altered in the past 20 years, and the corporation has been criticized for the soft-news nature of its supper-hour news casts; Neville (2006) has criticized the CBC for using regional television to compete with CTV.

Armstrong has replaced Judy Maddren[36] on CBC's flagship radio newscast, *World Report.* An additional ten-minute newscast has been added to *World Report*'s morning schedule, bringing the total to four live a.m. newscasts. *Newsworld*, the CBC's cable television news channel, has been renamed the *CBC News Network* (*CBC NN*). The re-design also involves the creation of three new network shows: *Power & Politics* with Evan Solomon, *The Lang and O'Leary Exchange* and *Connect with Mark Kelley*. On a regional level, changes involve expanding supper-hour television newscasts from 60 minutes to 90 minutes, and a ten-minute newscast following *The National.*

The broken business model: tensions between the CBC's journalism and business model are revealed

As noted, Lacroix and Casgrain discuss how the old business model of the CBC no longer works. The 2008 recession represents a change in the *space of possibles* in which actors can occupy within the journalistic field and alters the value of symbolic capital the CBC holds. This section touches on the economic pressures and subsequent strategies undertaken by private media outlets in 2008, in order to discuss the particular political and economic pressures the CBC faces and its responses to them.

CBC administrative members note that the CBC suffers in the recession along with private media in terms of advertising losses. The positions previously occupied by CBC's private counterparts are no longer viable due to economic losses incurred. Also, those agents rich in specific capital (journalists) are fewer due to job cuts at most major media organizations.[37]

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[36] Maddren left the CBC in March 2009 after 16 years on *World Report*.

[37] To provide an example, in 2008, CanWest cut 560 jobs (5 per cent of its work force), Sun Media cut 600

Many of CBC's counterparts[38] dependent on advertising found themselves unsuccessful: Canwest Global Communications Corporation, one of Canada's largest media companies, entered bankruptcy protection in late 2009 and began selling its assets in 2010. Shaw Media, a telecommunications company, purchased its broadcasting properties, and PostMedia Network Inc. took over Canwest's publishing assets. Later in 2010, CTVGlobeMedia was sold to Bell Canada. Even *The New York Times,* arguably one of the most prestigious and economically profitable newspapers in North America, was bailed out by a Mexican business magnate and philanthropist. These news outlets had to re-orient their strategies for maintaining their positions in the journalistic field in order to maintain their accumulation of economic capital. In this new era of broadcasting, convergence and integration are strategies news organizations have adopted to increase profits and combat market declines in the industry (Klinenberg, 2005; McLean, 2005). It is the next step in concentration: news organizations owning multiple media holdings restructure themselves so those resources can be made useful across all media. Journalists who used to work nine-to-five jobs, writing one or two stories per day, are now filing for websites, writing blogs, and appearing on radio and television stations owned by their parent company.

Large media organizations have re-oriented their strategies for gaining economic capital and their strategies effect those members of the journalistic field who are less commercial or non-commercial. Bourdieu (1993) writes:

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jobs (10 percent of its workforce), CTV cut 105 jobs and the Toronto Star cut 270 jobs (Lorimer et al., 2012, p. 294; 2008; Friends, 2008). The CBC cut 800 jobs in 2008, and in 2011 announced it was looking to "repurpose" 500 jobs from radio, television and online (Grenier, 2011).

[38] Quebecor excluded, as it maintained its profitability in 2008-2009, even expanding its services into a new 24-hour news channel, *Sun TV News,* in 2011, which includes content from Sun Media publications across the country.

> In this struggle, the artists and writers who are richest in specific capital and most concerned for their autonomy are considerably weakened by the fact that some of their competitors identify their interests with the dominant principles of hierarchization and seek to impose them even within the field, with support of the temporal powers. The most heteronomous cultural producers (i.e. Those with least symbolic capital) can offer the least resistance to external demands of whatever sort. To defend their own position, they have to produce weapons, which the dominant agents (within the field of power) can immediately turn against the cultural producers most attached to their autonomy (p. 41).

Those agents who "go commercial," who shirk symbolic capital and focus their strategies on gaining economic capital, are weakest in the face of external interests (p. 75). According to Bourdieu, these commercial agents win short-term gains[39] in the journalistic field at the expense of others. Their products become weapons in a struggle of the field, instead of being the stake in the struggle. For instance, in the face of re-structuring news production to intensify revenue-generating strategies, journalism is subject to commodification strategies such as cross promotion, synergistic business opportunities, and spectacle-like reporting across platforms that Compton (2004) refers to.

The CBC's counterparts are distinctly commercial, especially in wake of the recession and substantial cuts to resources. The CBC still maintains a considerable tension between business and journalistic imperatives, as its mandate—the criteria for journalism produced—prevents the CBC from being as economically interested as its private counterparts. That being said, there are commercial and non-commercial aspects to the CBC's news production. Therefore, this re-positioning and subsequent business model serve to uphold non-economic imperatives as well, but also displays a tension

[39] Short term gains can be understood as adjusting to audience preferences as gleaned in ratings. The news media outlet can adjust their services to provide for those particular preferences. Alternately, media organizations that cannot simply adjust to market standards must play the long game by winning audiences by the nature of their work (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 83)

between business and journalistic imperatives that commercial broadcasters would not face. Generally, private broadcasters face little repercussion for intensifying revenue-generating imperatives and cutting journalistic resources because they are businesses first, and their products follow market conditions.[40]

The CBC attributes its immediate financial problems to the 2008 economic downturn and $65 million in advertising losses, but its financial situation has been precarious for a long time. The following quotation is taken from the CBC's 2008-2009 annual report and described the broadcaster's overall economic challenges:

> In 2008–2009, the key significant risks included the softening advertising market due to general economic conditions, funding pressures related to the elimination of analogue over-the-air television transmission and transition to digital television by 2011, industry consolidation, decreased revenues due to fragmentation (of audiences), erosion of conventional broadcasting audience share to emerging platforms, challenges to the Canadian Television Fund, and regulatory decisions such as value-for-signal financing (p. 50).

The report reflects on the recession a great deal. The opening message from the president describes what he sees as the causes of problems for the corporation: “A global economic downturn, rising rights costs, shifts in technology and consumer behaviour: these were factors beyond CBC/Radio-Canada’s control (p. 4).” Both quotations assert that financial challenges are out of the broadcaster's control. Additionally, the CBC mentions in its 2011 corporate summary that the government did not provide financial assistance to broadcasters like it did the automotive industry, which indicates political pressure as the CBC, a crown corporation, is expected to absorb shortfalls in bad economic times. As

[40] To say that private broadcasters follow the market does not mean that private broadcasters are not beholden to the public in any way. Most private broadcasters maintain a mission statement or statement of purpose, similar to newspaper publications. Private broadcasters are also subject to Canadian content rules as set by the CRTC.

well, in the upcoming strategic review of all government departments, the CBC could be asked to cut five to 10 per cent of its budget, which emphasizes the political pressure on the broadcaster to become increasingly economically independent. In this vein, the broadcaster also faces long-term pressure from the government to find more efficient ways to reproduce itself. The 2005 Auditor General's Special Examination Report on the CBC concluded that the broadcaster needed to strengthen its corporate objectives and demonstrate its efficiency, mainly through strategic management, government relationships, performance information, and external accountability. “Efficiency” is described in the report as the CBC demonstrating it is a “well-managed company” by generating “cash flow to re-invest in programming” (p. 5). Thus, pressures to generate a steady cash flow and find efficiencies do not just stem from the CBC's losses in conventional advertising but from the political field as well. The new multi-platform news structure addresses some of the criticisms from the Auditor General because it allows the CBC to do more with less (using journalistic resources across platforms, instead of just one platform) while also having more control over how resources are utilized on all platforms, which makes performance measurement easier—an aspect of corporate management that the CBC lacked, according to the report.

The 2008 recession and subsequent re-design plans reveal the extent to which dependence on advertising affects how the CBC reproduces itself. Coupled with pressure from the federal government to operate more efficiently and develop stronger corporate objectives, the factors that led to the CBC having to re-strategize are identified as external to the broadcaster and include a blend of political and economic pressures. This

includes economic pressures such as falling advertising revenues in television, audience fragmentation, and other large-scale industry changes, and political demands in the form of better performance measurement and efficiency measures, decreased support from the Canada Media Fund,[41] the delay of regulatory discussions on the CBC's value-for signal, and lack of financial support during the recession, among other factors.

In the relative space of positions within the journalistic field, the CBC is no longer surrounded by a few private broadcasters, but major telecommunications companies with telephone, newspaper, broadcasting, digital, and online assets. Whereas in the "old" business model, broadcasters competed with each other for audiences and advertising, competition has intensified due to general industry trends such as telecommunications companies being able to keep audiences within their domain by offering content on multiple platforms.

The New business model: CBCNews.ca and investment in new media

Competition intensifies as the CBC competes with telecommunications companies for advertising and audiences, but also as the CBC develops its online platform—one of the locations audiences are migrating to, according to both annual reports and the annual public meetings. Online, the CBC does not just compete with Canadian media outlets for audiences, but other media outlets such as *The New York Times*, *Al-Jazeera,* and even pornography due to the expanded choice audiences have online. Audiences will be

[41] Heritage Minister James Moore announced in March 2009 that the The Canadian Media Fund would replace the Canada Television Fund and the Canada New Media Fund. The CBC notes in its 2009-2010 annual report that the combination of the two funds lead to the CBC receiving $12.6 million less—a drop of $3.7 million for Radio-Canada content and a drop of $8.9 million for content produced for CBC (Canadian Heritage, 2009, p. 6).

discussed in greater detail later in the chapter; this section will show how *CBCNews.ca* is central to the CBC's "content company" structure in that it acts as the central hub where text, audio, and video converge and provides another platform for advertising and monetizing off-air content. The 2008-2009 annual report notes that the CBC is making "relatively modest" investments in *CBC.ca* (p. 54). By 2011, when the CBC released its strategic plan for the next five years, it expected advertising revenues for digital and other platforms "to at least double" in that time period (CBC, 2011c, p. 5). In terms of conventional advertising revenues, the CBC is attempting to grow them "faster than the overall market" to 2.8 per cent, as opposed to the industry standard of 2.4 per cent (p. 5). These targets indicate an intense revenue-generating strategy underway at the broadcaster, and investment in new media encompasses a large part of this strategy. The *CBC News* re-design positions *CBCNews.ca* as the central platform between CBC's different media lines and acts as another platform on which the CBC can more creatively generate commercial revenues through synergistic business opportunities, or, integrating programming and advertising. The 2008-2009 annual report summarizes the CBC's online strategy:

> *CBC.ca*, as part of the CBC Digital Programming & Business Development area, continues to play a key role in the development of a secondary commercial market and distribution network for CBC programming. In 2008-2009, *CBC.ca*'s strategic priorities were: continue to increase traffic by concentrating on new content offers and site-wide use of Web 2.0 and social media features; increase revenues through the introduction of new digital revenue sources; continue multiplatform content development, focusing on further integration with CBC programming and Media Sales; and, further enhance site reliability and stability (p. 35).

CBCNews.ca is mentioned in both annual reports, and both reports discuss how

investing in new media is key to growing commercial revenues. The 2009-2010 report notes that revenue generated on new platforms increased above expectations—no amount is provided, the report only notes that a 15 per cent target was set and the actual increase was 55 per cent (p 33). Despite the increase in advertising revenues that *CBCNews.ca* provided, the corporation notes that savings and new business opportunities still need to be realized through the "sharing of resources and programming across the media lines, and the achievement of savings and synergies" (p. 34). In sum, the overall strategy is to increase commercial revenues and synergistic business opportunities while finding savings in programming through the sharing of resources between platforms. *CBCNews.ca* allows the CBC to offer audiences content across multiple platforms at the time of their choosing, but it also serves as a secondary market for advertising.

How does this new business model coincide with the CBC's mandate? While the re-design press releases emphasize that audiences are driving the changes at the CBC, the 2015 strategic plan conceptualizes changes in relation to news production and the mandate more generally: "While CBC/Radio-Canada's mandate from Parliament remains the same, the way in which we deliver our services to Canadians has been changing" (CBC, 2011c, p. 2). The business model coincides with the mandate in that if offers new ways to reach Canadians. The emphasis here is on delivery of services. The term "content company" does not appear in the strategic plan, but "news renewal" and "integration" are mentioned frequently. For instance, how the CBC is changing the way it delivers news in order to "maintain" its "leading position" in radio, television, and speciality news and "grow our audiences for our television news programs" (p. 3). Investment in new media

is described as the central business model of journalism, allowing the CBC to expand its original content offerings while expanding its "innovation and experimentation" (p. 4).

Despite the potential of CBC online to become a secondary commercial market, and the economic demands that underpin this imperative for the broadcaster, investment in new media can be conceptualized as the CBC participating in risky behaviour in order to reap long-term gains in the journalistic field. Investing in online media is risky in the sense that its economic gains are not entirely established. When asked about the business model for multimedia online initiatives like *Tou.tv,*[42] Lacroix responded: "there's no business model right now that's very evident for these initiatives" and "the business model around these kind of initiatives is far from being obvious" (pp. 6, 7). If long-term gains are realized, if this "new" business model is successful,[43] the CBC will be able to address some of its longstanding political and economic issues. From the political field, the issue of decreasing financial support from the federal government and increased pressure to manage corporate objectives. From the economic field, dependence on conventional forms of advertising and large-scale changes to the broadcasting industry that require investments in new technologies.

In terms of *disavowal* of these external interests, the CBC articulates its news re-design as fulfilling its public broadcasting purpose in a new broadcasting environment: finding new ways to reach Canadians, the way they want to be reached and when, and offering a deeper, richer experience for audiences with new multimedia initiatives. The

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[42] *Tou.tv* is a video-on-demand website that Radio-Canada launched in January 2010. It offers over 2,000 hours of television programming from Télévision de Radio-Canada, RDI and other French-language speciality channels.

[43] Success here is defined as the CBC being able to balance increased economic and political demands with mandated objectives.

following section discusses how the public broadcaster articulates its own position within the journalistic field in order to make these assertions about its new public broadcasting identity.

CBC as a public broadcaster in a new broadcasting environment

I have discussed above how the CBC articulates the recession and changes to the broadcasting industry as out of its control and something that needs to be adapted to. This section will show how the CBC articulates the environment it operates in; how it distinguishes its news production from other producers, and why it does so in terms of political, journalistic, and economic goals sought. The CBC portrays itself as the only non-commercial source for news, with its online platform providing new spaces for Canadians to interact. This representation of the re-design *disavows* how online expansion is central to the CBC's strategy of increasing commercial revenues. Further, the CBC portrays its competition as offering less diverse news coverage due to hyper-commercial practices such as cross promoting content, capitalizing on synergistic business opportunities, and repurposing journalistic content to fit across platforms. The CBC distances itself from these economically-interested practices despite being engaged in them.

The 2015 strategic plan outlines aspects of the broadcasting industry in order to distinguish the CBC from the plethora of media companies serving Canadian audiences (no central competitors are named in the document). The strategic plan makes note of a couple of industry challenges: high competition and the breakdown of the conventional

business model, along with changes to media technologies. The plan articulates the CBC's position as operating in an environment where "well-funded" media companies from the United States (as it emphasizes Canadians being situated in a highly competitive broadcast environment) are offering a wide range of services, but with "a relatively narrow spectrum of perspectives" (CBC, 2011c, p. 7). The strategic plan uses this description of the broadcasting environment to emphasize the CBC's role as enabling a "diversity of our domestic voices" (p. 7). The "narrow perspectives" of these well-funded media companies are attributed their structures of news production. Specifically, the plan describes how failed business models that depended on television advertising revenues lead to an influx of media consolidation and vertical integration (p. 7). The plan briefly mentions the CBC's own structural changes, although it does not mention financial shortfalls from 2009 nor how the 2009 re-design of news services was central to the CBC's survival. Instead, the plan notes that the CBC is trimming operational costs and pursuing efficiencies in operational costs in order to become "a robust national public broadcaster that creates public spaces and experiments with new formats and new ways of reaching Canadians" (p. 7). It notes that the "strength of the Canadian system" of broadcasting depends on the CBC adapting to this role. In the 2010 annual public meeting, Lacroix emphasizes how the concentration of media companies reinforces the need for a public broadcaster. More recently, Lacroix discusses how the re-design fulfills the CBC's new role in an interview with Cable, Radio, Television and Telecom.ca (CARRT.ca):

> ...we now stick out as the only one, the only safe place, the only non-commercial place, for Canadians to have a conversation. So that's, I think,

> why we wanted this plan (re-design plan). And it's not a plan that asks the government for more money. It's taking charge of our own destiny by ourselves within the mandate that hasn't changed for 20 years (O'Brien, 2011, p. 5).

The CBC president puts forward political goals for the broadcaster: to expand services to fit the changing broadcast environment and the CBC mandate, which requires the broadcaster to adapt to new technologies. Significantly, the president describes the CBC as a "non-commercial place," yet at the same time, "taking charge of our own destiny" without asking the government for money entails the CBC will generate revenues independently (p. 5). Additionally, the strategic report notes the consolidation of media groups and integration of media assets of the CBC's competition results in less diversity for audiences, but when the CBC discusses its own structural changes, which accomplish similar imperatives, it is articulated by Lacroix as *disinterested.* I will transcribe the entire quote here to demonstrate how Lacroix attempts to circumvent the business and integration elements of the re-design into field-specific interests, that of sharing resources to produce better journalism.

> You'll see television influencing radio and sharing stories much more. So directly and indirectly the quality of the radio teams and the quality of—the famous corporate word, the synergies—you're going to see this, because we don't think any longer that there is radio over there in that corner, and what can we learn from radio[...]it's now everybody around the table, and their knowledge is actually being implanted and informing the evolution of the CBC services in everyday environment (p. 12).

Lacroix *disavows* the economic ramifications of integrating news departments and instead portrays it as a way for information to be shared, for the CBC's journalists to work together and share their knowledge. To put it differently, the synergistic and

integrative practices of other media companies is articulated in the strategic plan as offering "narrow perspectives" to audiences, but in the quote above, Lacroix totes the CBC's own integration as a more sophisticated news-gathering practice (CBC, 2011c, p. 7).[44]

The CBC's strategic plan distinguishes the CBC's news offerings from its competition by emphasizing its non-commercial nature and its public broadcasting role of creating new public spaces and experimenting with new formats.[45] As a counterpoint, *The News Balance Report* distinguishes the CBC from its counterparts by emphasizing how *similar* its news content is to private media. While it could be argued that the report works against the CBC in that it reveals how the non-commercial public broadcaster covers news in a near-identical fashion to its competitors, the report also relieves political and economic pressures. The report responds to pressures from the Auditor General that the CBC should report more often to the public. Further, the report responds to economic pressures in the form of criticisms from private media about the CBC's liberal bias in its news coverage and how its appropriation is being misspent.

The News Balance Report was published in 2010 and represents the "most

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[44] Jennifer McGuire, the general manager and editor in chief of *CBC News,* described the integration of news platforms in a similar way during her March 2010 Readers' Digest lecture titled, "Transitioning Online," at Concordia University in Montreal. During the question and answer session after the lecture, I inquired about how radio and television journalists would cope with sharing spaces, resources and stories. (I was a reporter for radio news in CBC Halifax just as radio and television had converged into one building. Radio journalists would often describe the chaos of the new editorial structure and the dominance of television's needs on the news agenda, and described changes as coming from "on high" from Toronto). McGuire responded that she was aware of journalists' concerns but the collaboration was happening "organically." That given the tools and the space, the system works. This perspective of news integration is not shared by all within the CBC, beyond my own journalistic experience. This will be demonstrated in the third section when I discuss the *National Radio News Reporter Survey.*

[45] presumably online, or in television and audio clips tailored to a news story or feature on *CBCNews.ca.* Chapter four will go into detail about how the new content company/multi-platform news structure operates.

comprehensive analysis of news content" undertaken by the broadcaster (CBC, 2010c, p. 1). The report compares the CBC's coverage of major events such as the Haiti earthquake, the war in Afghanistan, and climate change to other network newscasts on CTV and Global, and Internet news from *TheGlobeandMail.com* and *Canada.com*. The report, conducted by ERIN Research Inc., consists of a content analysis of 25 weeks of television, radio, and online news from October 26, 2009 (when the CBC re-design was launched) to May 2, 2010. The report looks at how "competing news outlets" covered major stories in the sample period in terms of: the gender of those reporting stories, the locations of the news stories, and tone (p. 28). The introduction also notes how the report fulfils the CBC mandate of accountability and transparency (p. 1).

The report goes into detail about each of the story case studies, for instance, noting that the public knows little about climate change and it is an issue that "is not likely to go away anytime soon" (p. 81). Overall results about news production, that of accuracy/fairness, balance, and tone, indicate that the CBC is on par with other media outlets. These media outlets are often referred to in the report as "other networks" (p. 47) and, on one occasion, "the competition" (p. 45). While the purpose of the document is described as the CBC "fulfilling its mandate of accountability and transparency," it is also the case that the document serves as a comparison to private broadcasters and media outlets (p. 1). Perhaps it is not too remarkable that the media outlets mentioned do not include radio news, as the report compares the CBC with large-scale media outlets providing nation-wide coverage.[46]

[46]The only other radio network in Canada that provides semi-national service is Rogers Media Inc., with 54 radio stations spanning six provinces.

Within the categories of accuracy/fairness, balance, and tone defined in the report, the CBC and its competition have similar news profiles. However, the CBC employs more females and minorities on its staff, and the CBC is is more likely to take a positive tone towards the federal government than other outlets. For instance, government interviews account for more than one-third of all interview time (p. 31). In terms of federal politicians, the CBC provides more exposure than other competing programs. The report reads:

> The government side often gets the greater share of time as it drives the agenda, represents the country abroad and so on. Considering all CBC network news on radio and television, the Conservatives had 70% of the interview time and the opposition parties 30%. Focusing on the flagship television newscasts, the Conservatives had 74% of federal interview time on The National, 67% on the CTV National News, and 55% on Global National (p. 5).

This sort of research supplies the CBC with empirical evidence against other media outlets who have accused the CBC of using its liberal bias in news coverage in order to attack the Harper Government. Further, this result in the report illustrates a particular strategy that has been leveraged rhetorically by the CBC in the early stages of the re-design but was not backed up by comparative research. In the 2010 annual public meeting, Lacroix noted that the most severe critics of CBC's news coverage are private media groups "who want the competitive advantage" (CBC, 2010e). Indeed, Sun Media, owned by Quebecor, has used its chain of papers and its new television news network, *Sun TV News,* to attack the CBC, even developing a "CBC money drain" graphic to pair with articles and blog posts regarding access to information requests denied by the CBC, or how the CBC maintains a liberal bias and is not balanced in its coverage (LeBlanc,

2011). *The News Balance Report* indicates that, in fact, the CBC is *more* likely to give federal politicians interview time on air and more positive coverage than private news media. Moreover, Quebecor's challenge of the CBC, as a dominant cultural producer that gains prestige with its public broadcasting mandate, indicates Quebecor's marginal cultural status within the journalistic field. In the following passage from Bourdieu (1993), "the educational system" can be replaced by "the public broadcasting system":

> ...all those marginal cultural producers whose position obliges them to conquer the cultural legitimacy unquestioningly accorded to the consecrated professions expose themselves to redoubled suspicion by the efforts they can hardly avoid making to challenge it principles. The ambivalent aggression they frequently display towards consecratory institutions, especially the educational system, without being able to offer a counter-legitimacy, bears witness to their desire for recognition and, consequently, to the recognition they accord to the educational system (pp. 131-2).

The CBC maintains a more prestigious position than its competition in the range of symbolic productions within the journalistic field in Canada. This is a position sought after most strongly by Quebecor, a company that has displayed "ambivalent aggression" towards the CBC, as documented by journalists who also describe Quebecor as the CBC's biggest competition (p. 131). This formulation begins to make sense when you consider the structure of Quebecor and its similarities to the CBC. Quebecor maintains radio, television, and online news assets around the country and raises around $1 billion in revenue per year—it is one of the largest producers of Canadian content in the country (Quebecor Inc., 2011). Within the *space of possibles*, we can begin to see how Quebecor occupies a similar position to the CBC, yet Quebecor and its news assets are clearly oriented by market principles and this economic structure distances it from symbolic

profits. Quebecor questions the legitimacy of the CBC in order to "conquer" it (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 131). For instance, arguments hosted in Sun Media have ranged from criticism of the CBC as a "state broadcaster" who does not serve the public yet spends over $1 billion of their taxpayer money, to the CBC as anti-government and is forcing Canadians to fund its agenda against Stephen Harper (Martin, 2010; Martin, 2011; Doyle, 2011; Toronto Star, 2011).[47] Quebecor challenges the principles of the CBC and the need for public broadcasting in Canada in an attempt to transform the functioning of the journalistic field, specifically, the established structure of Canadian broadcasting as being comprised of a federally-funded public component alongside private components. If the CBC ceased to exist, Quebecor would undoubtedly reap audiences and advertisers from the broadcaster, as well as government funds.

In sum, what is most remarkable about *The News Balance Report* is not the statistics demonstrating that the CBC has no liberal bias, but that the report locates other news media as the CBC's competition. The act of articulating the CBC's position as interested in gaining audiences and advertisers exposes the CBC to criticisms of being a redundant service, yet at the same time, supplies empirical evidence that the CBC is a responsible, unbiased broadcaster. Further, while the CBC sets itself apart from private broadcasters and media companies by portraying itself as a non-commercial space, it is also interested in defining itself in relation to private media companies. The report shows how the CBC is on par with other media companies and functions as a document that coincides with the CBC's mandated objectives of being accountable and transparent to

[47] Lawrence Martin, a columnist for the *Globe and Mail*, also published a series of articles prior to the *Sun News Network* launch, interrogating the network's connection to the Conservative Party of Canada and its attacks on the CBC.

the public. The report also fulfills political demands outlined in the 2005 Auditor General report on the CBC, that the CBC needed more clearly-defined corporate objectives, including more external reports in order to "meet public accountability expectations" (p. 2).

The 2008 recession unveils the political and economic pressures inherent in the CBC's structure, that of a public broadcaster sustaining its operations with a blend of parliamentary appropriation and commercial revenues. Specifically, the recession unveils the CBC's dependence on advertising and pressure from the federal government for the broadcaster to be less financially dependent and more business-like in its operations. In the process of translating these external demands, the CBC disavows its increased revenue-generating strategies and makes them appear *disinterested;* that the way forward in public broadcasting includes offering new ways to reach Canadians and creating and experimenting with public spaces online. Further, the CBC portrays other media companies who have integrated their properties as compromising their quality of news, while simultaneously describing its own increased efficiency measures and synergies in its journalism as a more sophisticated news-gathering operation. Ultimately the CBC foists its public mandate as being served by strategies that are very similar to ones adapted by private counterparts in order to adjust to large-scale industry changes.

2. The CBC and its audiences

The *space of possibles* within the journalistic field has been altered due to external demands, and the CBC must adapt its own strategy in order to maintain its position in the

field. Although the CBC pursues similar strategies to its commercial counterparts, in terms of integrating news assets and the expanding the *CBC News* brand online, the CBC articulates its re-design as different than private news outlets, as creating a more sophisticated news-gathering organization and creating new public spaces online. Another way to characterize the position of a cultural producer is by its corresponding audience. Bourdieu (1993) writes: "the relationship to the audience and, more exactly, economic or political interest in the sense of interest in success and in the related economic or political profit, constitute one of the bases for evaluating the producers and their products" (p. 46).[48] The CBC situates audiences as being central to the news re-design, and audiences are primarily circumscribed in terms of results gathered from ratings research and opinion leader research.

One of the problems identified in the re-design is audience fragmentation and audiences migrating to new platforms, a problem shared by all broadcasters; the CBC is attempting to re-build its brand online in order to keep audiences within its domain. Additionally, the broadcaster is making a historically unprecedented effort to discover what audiences want from the CBC. In the *CBC News* re-design, giving the audience what it wants is described as the key to CBC's success. The new "content company" approach to news changes the CBC's relationship to audiences as it emphasizes packaging the news in different ways for consumption to expand audiences, and subsequently advertising, online. At the same time, the CBC does not just appeal to mass audiences but other cultural producers and other culturally consecrated institutions, which

[48] Bourdieu emphasizes here that correlation with audiences, or who cultural producers produce for, is not an entirely conscious strategy, but a homology based on correlating classes.

illustrates again that the CBC operates between the field of large-scale and restricted production. Thus, the CBC is attempting to grow its audiences and keep them within the CBC brand domain—audiences who are also taxpayers who fund the CBC—which indicates an interest in forms of political and economic capitals. At the same time, the CBC is also attempting to maintain its *reputation* among both mass audiences and other cultural producers, indicating an interest in forms of prestige and recognition.

A re-design to better serve Canadians/audience research

The content company strategy is articulated as being driven by what audiences want, in terms of what the CBC has learned about audience preferences from its largest audience research study. In an internal note to CBC staff, Jennifer McGuire, the general manager and editor in chief of *CBC News*, noted that the CBC was going ahead with the re-engineering of its news services despite financial challenges because it would "enhance" the news service and Canadians would "be better served by these changes and will continue to receive their news with both the depth and context they demand" (CBC, 2009g). Audiences are portrayed as driving changes at the CBC, as opposed to harsh economic times or industry changes. At the same time, underpinning the CBC's explanation that audiences will be better served by the news re-design is an unprecedented amount of audience research, ratings research, and opinion leader research. The 2009-2010 annual report also notes that news integration is based on audience research:

> The recent renewal of *CBC News* was also based on extensive audience research. Canadians told us that they wanted access to news, in whatever format they prefer, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, as well as more live coverage and ways to contribute. We are delivering on these preferences, and will continue to refine and extend our integrated news programming across all of our platforms (CBC, 2010a, p. 5).

While the previous section demonstrated how the re-design particulars are connected to political and economic pressures, here the CBC presents the re-design as responding to audience preferences. Casgrain and McGuire both refer to the re-design as a pivotal moment in the history of *CBC News* in that it employs one of the most comprehensive audience research studies ever undertaken by the broadcaster. However, for competitive purposes, the CBC would not release those documents to the public.[49] The portrayal of audience preferences as central to the re-design, as indicated by audience research, harkens back to Raboy's (1990) observations that the CBC creates its own public instead of including the actual Canadian public in its decision-making and its journalism. Audience research, although based on audience responses, is also a form of disavowal because it is a manufactured sort of public, in that members of the public are asked to respond to particular questions and state their preferences and that the public broadcasting mandate will be served by catering to their preferences and providing a plethora of consumption choices. Further, other media scholars argue that giving the audience what it wants should not be the role of public broadcasting; thus, it is significant that the CBC utilizes audience preferences in its re-design (Garnham, 1990; Scannell, 1992).

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[49] I sent an email about obtaining strategic documents from the re-design to the CBC's media relations on December 2, 2009. Jeff Keay, the head of media relations, responded: “That information is something we consider proprietary and competitive information, so we don't make the data available to the public”.

If the public constituted a portion of the research that informed re-design changes, so did the involvement of media consultants, including Frank N. Magid Associates, whose business profile includes includes re-tooling media outlets in the United States in order to attract audiences. Magid's involvement in the CBC re-design is almost entirely absent from available re-design and related documents.[50] The CBC produces for the public, in terms of its products being tailored to their preferences; audience demands are refracted into the process of news production. The 2009 annual report notes:

> Rather than being a broadcaster with separate and discrete media lines, we are becoming a content company in which everyone collaborates and shares resources to generate deeper, richer content that we make available to audiences whenever, wherever and however they want it (CBC, 2009b, p. 6).

The quote above indicates a change in the relationship: not just providing journalistic work that informs, but in a way that the audience has control over how it is consumed. McGuire, in an internal memo to CBC staff prior to the re-design, described how changes to *Newsworld's* (now *CBC NN)* journalistic workflow and programming would change to address audience needs:

> *Newsworld's* workflow and programming have been re-imagined to address what Canadians say they want from a news provider. It will be live 24/7, featuring breaking news but offering it up in a way that engages viewers and has authentic personality. We want our programming to be as up-to-the-minute and as re-active as possible without losing the depth and context Canadians expect from CBC News (CBC, 2009g).

The above quotations illustrate how audience preferences are central to how news

[50] Tyler Harper's article on the CBC's news renewal, published in the Ryerson Review of Journalism, described Magid's approach to news as emphasizing "crime, weather and traffic. Newscasts were to carry more stories with shorter run times, or stories cut up into segments scattered across the program, to keep viewers engaged." Additionally, Harper notes that an access to information request on Magid's involvement with the re-design was denied by the network "on the grounds of journalistic exemption" (Harper, 2010).

production will change. Combining the audience research and Magid's involvement in the re-design, we could conclude that the CBC, as a cultural producer, participates in the field of large-scale production and is attempting to increase its bottom line by expanding its audience base by appealing to their preferences and presenting the news in more personable formats (the "authentic personality" aspect of the re-design) (CBC, 2009g). At the same time, the re-design does not just draw on audience preferences and ratings research to establish particular changes to news production. A survey of opinion leaders was also included in re-design research, which indicates the CBC is interested in maintaining its reputation among other cultural producers as well; this is characteristic of the interests of actors in the field of restricted production. The survey was distributed to a range of public and private organizations, including government, media, national and provincial associations, think tanks, public affairs organizations, arts, sports, and cultural organizations, Canadian businesses, and post-secondary institutions. Questioning ranged from economic to cultural issues: is the CBC important to Canadian culture and identity, does the CBC pay attention to what the public thinks about programming, does the CBC provides value for money to Canadian taxpayers? While the results appear mostly to re-affirm the CBC's strategy—continue in digital investment, the CBC as the leader in Canadian news—the research itself indicates that the CBC produces for other cultural producers, not just mass audiences. The CBC draws on its audiences in the field of large-scale and small-scale production for the re-design. The re-design can be conceptualized as maintaining the CBC's reputation by better serving the public (the public being circumscribed by audience research and research submitted by Magid Associates) and

maintaining an audience among opinion leaders in Canada who also produce cultural goods. Through disavowing the business aspects of the re-design—by circumscribing the audience through research and involving media consultants to increase the CBC's ratings and audience share—the CBC posits audiences as driving changes at the broadcaster. The fact that the CBC utilized large-scale audience research and ratings as part of the re-design strategy could demonstrate the increased heteronomy of the journalistic field in that "ratings mentality" has played a large role in the re-tooling of news production (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 43). Even collecting the opinions of cultural leaders can be understood as a form of ratings research, as adjusting news production by taking into consideration what all of the CBC's audiences want and think about the broadcaster. However, the pressure to appeal to audiences is made more complex by the fact that audiences, as taxpayers, fund the CBC's operations.

Giving Canadians the news the way they want it/Canadians as taxpayers

The CBC's audience has a dual character. They are consumers of its programming, but they are also taxpayers who pay $34 per year into the broadcaster. Giving audiences the news the way they want it is not just based on the CBC attempting to expand its audiences and therefore generate more viewers and more advertising. Since Canadians pay taxes that ultimately fund the CBC, and the CBC is described in its mandate as providing a service to the public, audiences are key to any strategy the CBC employs. In discussing audiences as taxpayers, the CBC accumulates political capital in the form of providing value for money to CBC audiences; a position the government has already

articulated for the broadcaster.

Re-design documents credit audiences with bringing value to the broadcaster, and the CBC sees itself as "protecting the investment Canadians have made in a strong, vibrant national public broadcaster" (CBC 2009b, p. 1). Indeed, staying relevant to audiences translates into remaining essential to those individuals who pay taxes into the CBC, the Canadian public. Audiences have financial stakes in the broadcaster, which translates into the CBC carrying out its mandate in a business-like manner. For instance, Lacroix describes how the CBC's mandate fits into the investment taxpayers have made:

> The Act (broadcasting act, where mandate resides), which asks us to offer services to all Canadians and invest in the most financially reasonable way in order to inform them, enlighten them and entertain them, hasn't changed. But our view of it, and the mission that we see and our interpretation of that mission has to be linked to the realities of 2011 and beyond. And that's what this plan is going to do (O'Brien, 2011, p. 5).

Lacroix aligns the re-design with mandated objectives, here referring to how CBC services must be made available throughout Canada through efficient means. Lacroix interprets that re-design objectives coincide with mandated objectives, that the economic "realities of 2011 and beyond" correspond to delivering services efficiently (p. 5). Additionally, *The News Balance Report* places audiences as the ultimate judge of the CBC's journalism when it notes that the "final determination" over the fairness and balance of *CBC News* content "lies with the reader" (CBC, 2010c, p. 2). Thus, not only are audiences portrayed as central to the re-design, they are also portrayed as the individuals to whom the CBC is ultimately responsible and the ultimate judges of the CBC's journalism.

The CBC referring to audiences as taxpayers and providing value for money is

connected to the federal government's discussion of the public as taxpayers. For instance, Heritage Minister James Moore appeared on *Q* with Jian Ghomeshi to discuss the new Canadian Media Fund (CMF) on 12 July 2011. The fund is a forging of two other funds, the Television Fund and the New Media Fund, and in the process there is less monies for the CBC and other cultural producers. When asked if arts groups who received repeat funding in the past could expect to receive funding again, Moore replied that "If anybody has an assumption that they have a right to taxpayers' money, they are wrong" (Q, 2011). Moore's response coincides with the CBC's own discussion of audiences in that both are attempting to relay to audiences of Canadian cultural products their responsibility towards them, and how they are working to be more efficient with public funds. Further, the CBC's re-design strategy utilizes similar language and structure to that of the CMF announcement. The press release on the Canada Heritage web page about the CMF is titled "Minister Moore announces Canada Media Fund to give viewers what they want, when they want it" (Canadian Heritage, 2009). According to the release, the CMF is mandated to support the production of content on multiple platforms. The language in the release and the mandate of the CMF mirrors that of the *CBC News* re-design, indicating that the CBC is attempting to align with the federal government so that it can be eligible for CMF funds. On a broader level, the CBC producing content on multiple platforms and attempting to address audience preferences represents a re-positioning to cater to what the federal government understands as the new role of broadcasting. Ultimately, giving Canadians the news the way they want it is not just connected to economic interests (that of increasing audiences and advertising) but stems from political pressures to

demonstrate to taxpayers how their funds are being spent and to adjust to the government's expectations about how a broadcaster should operate.

CBC adapting to where Canadians are going/CBC adapting to new technologies as keeping up with industry

As stated, part of the CBC mandate requires it to adapt to new technologies; the CBC understands that it can attain a "deeper, richer" and more interactive relationship with its audiences through *CBCNews.ca* (CBC, 2009i). At the same time, a more interactive relationship with the audience serves the economic interests of keeping audiences within the CBC brand domain.

In the 2009 annual public meeting, Lacroix noted that the CBC is helping to usher in social and technological revolutions across Canada while putting "Canadian voices" at the forefront (CBC, 2009i). In the 2009 annual public meeting, the administration delivers speeches from a podium; by 2010, they address people on the web and promote the Twitter hash tags for the meeting for both English and French services. The board of directors are also included in this meeting and they tune in via webcast, as Casgrain notes, "Keeping with the times and spirit of our virtual meeting" (CBC, 2010e). Interactivity marks the largest change in the CBC's relationship with its audiences, as audiences are now encouraged to tweet, blog, and even submit video for CBC programmes. For instance, during the 2010 G20 Summit in Toronto, the CBC encouraged audiences to be part of its "G20 Street Team" by submitting photos and videos (CBC, 2011b). During the 2011 federal election, the CBC advertised that it was looking for 13 citizen bloggers to contribute to election coverage (CBC, 2011b). On the *CBC Radio*

show *Q,* host Jian Ghomeshi often reads and responds to tweets on air, which is a trend that most radio and television shows are now adopting at both the network and regional levels. While these new forms of interactivity coincide with the CBC's new public broadcasting identity of creating public spaces online and experimenting with new formats, having audiences submit content also serves an economic goal, that of providing content to fill the 24/7 multimedia news cycle. Further, having audiences create content for the CBC in the wake of cutting 800 jobs, and amidst current plans to repurpose 500 jobs, allows the CBC to increase content across all platforms with a smaller workforce (Grenier, 2011).[51]

The Internet allows for unprecedented interactivity with audiences, along with an abundance of options for consuming news content. In the new content company structure, emphasis is placed on packaging the news in different ways for consumption. Additionally, emphasis is placed on cross promoting content so that audiences know where to find it. For instance, the radio show *The Current* now promotes *The National* at the end of each show, and some regional and network newscasts encourage audiences to visit *CBCNews.ca.* Online, the CBC can keep audiences within its brand domain by offering interactive features and news in multiple formats. The CBC has articulated this is the strategy, that *CBCNews.ca* is the "complete CBC News brand experience" where news will break first (Friends, 2008). Further, the CBC audience research study indicates that audiences are no longer getting news from one platform, but consume news across multiple platforms and increasingly online. The re-design press release articulates this new trend and how the CBC responded to it:

[51] See chapter four for a more in-depth discussion of CBC's interactive initiatives.

> CBC's research also found people want more control over what, when and how they access CBC News. The programming will engage people across all CBC platforms so they feel more empowered and well informed while making the news more personally relevant (CBC, 2009e).

This quotation illustrates a changed relationship with audiences: not just providing journalistic work that informs, but in a way that the audience has control over how it is consumed. This no longer means maintaining a loyal audience that tunes in to newscasts every evening or listens to *World Report* every morning before work. Instead, the CBC now promotes *CBCNews.ca* in its traditional platforms, drawing its audience online.

Making news "more personally relevant" can be seen in new programming (CBC, 2009e). The re-design press release describes how Wendy Mesley will appear on *The National* to answer a question of the day that is inspired by the daily news line-up. In *Connect with Mark Kelley*, Kelley does a personal take on the day's top stories, along with light news pieces, like an orangutan that has a Facebook page. This indicates an audience that wants to be informed, but also entertained—instead of getting a raw version of the day's news, Kelley's show makes news light and fun. This could be said of the new conclusion to the regional newscasts as well: the anchors sit around and have an easy chat with one another before signing off.

Online, audiences can watch more video clips, read blogs, or comment on stories. The Internet is slowly becoming the arena in which audiences' attention can be maintained: captive audiences can no longer be guaranteed through conventional channels of media, so these new technologies provide new ways of consuming information. At the same time, promoting *CBCNews.ca* and drawing audiences online has negative implications for the CBC's journalism. For instance, in 2010, *The Current*'s

interview with former British diplomat James Cross, who was abducted by the Front de libération du Québec during the October Crisis in 1970, was published online before it was aired on *The Current*, which undermines the live aspect of radio. Further, radio stories are now featured online alongside flash advertisements, whereas previously *CBC Radio* was advertising free. The multi-platform or content company news structure means that all of the CBC's journalism is exposed to advertising.

The CBC refracts external demands from the political and economic fields through interactivity with audiences and a new multi-platform news structure. Interactivity and drawing audiences online allows all of the CBC's journalism to be monetized and allows audiences to generate content for the CBC. At the same time, online initiatives fulfill mandated objectives of providing service to Canadians as new technologies become available.

3. The CBC and its journalists

Lacroix and McGuire have discussed how an integrated newsroom will improve news production because radio, television, and online journalists can collaborate on stories and everyone is on the same page. This section explores particular changes to news production and how they are connected to the CBC mandate; the types of new skills journalists are expected to cultivate (as new forms of cultural capital in the journalistic field), as well as journalists' reaction to changes as indicated in the *National Radio News Reporter Survey.* While CBC executives view news integration as a more sophisticated structure of news production, integration introduces non-journalistic factors into news

production, such as cross promotion and social media. From the perspective of some journalists, the re-design has taken away their ability to pitch and research stories because the Hub structure is oriented towards story ideas that fit across all platforms and require journalists to spend more time re-purposing their work.

To begin, the CBC's multi-platform news structure consists of television, radio, and online. The re-design has changed the way news is gathered and delivered across these platforms. The main feature of the re-design—as described in promotional materials such as the re-design press releases and a five-minute television promotion—is that audiences will "Know more, know now" (CBC, 2010h). That is, providing audiences with timely, up-to-date news in the formats they prefer, while providing in-depth news coverage by making these multiple formats work together. Generally, this is accomplished through integrating traditional broadcasting formats online through *CBCNews.ca*.

In terms of changed news-gathering practices, the CBC has re-organized so that all platforms now report to the same news desk, at the network and regional levels. Before the CBC re-organized its news-gathering methods, all lines of media worked separately. For instance, radio news had its own editor, who would figure out the news agenda for the day and assign stories to radio reporters. Radio reporters would then file stories to their editor. If other CBC stations or network shows were interested in the story, they would communicate with the reporter or the editor, or, the reporter themselves would pitch to the show. This general structure applies to television as well. Online news had the least amount of reporters. At the CBC in Halifax around 2008, one or two reporters

worked at the online news desk. At the time, the online desk did less reporting and more repurposing of stories, often chasing down radio or television reporters for their stories, then re-filing them online with any extra information or context.

The new *CBC News* structure integrates assignments across all platforms and online news is considered "the first place we break news" (Friends, 2008). CBC Toronto was the first newsroom to implement this integrated structure in September 2009, which consisted of a single assignment desk, two radio studios, six radio booths, and moving the local Toronto show *CBC News at Six* to the floor below the radio studios (Friends, 2008). To provide an example of streamlined news-gathering, the CBC, at the network and regional levels, now operates under "The Hub," a centralized news desk in Toronto. In the news release about the re-design, the Hub is described as the integrated news desk where assignments for all platforms will occur. No diagrams of the Hub are available, but a general structure can be gleaned from the *National Radio News Reporters Survey*. The Hub consists of three desks: the planning desk, the live desk, and the daily desk. Each desk co-ordinates with the news programs on stories. The Planning Desk provides story agendas for the other desks. The Live/Now Desk handles breaking news for all platforms and coordinates with network shows and supper hour shows. The Daily Desk handles news gathering and adding context to stories (Adhopia et. al., 2010).[52]

When asked in 2011 January about the CBC's news strategy across its platforms, Lacroix responded:

> Their ability to deliver the news, and the changes that we've made inside our corporation over the last two years in reorganizing the news, and that's

[52] I put together this summary of the Hub structure based on the questions asked in the survey, (i.e. "What have you dealings with the LIVE DESK been like?) and responses that went into detail about each desk.

> on both sides of the house, allows us to instantaneously work with all the platforms, have one place where somebody decides, okay, this is a news item for everybody. It's not radio finding out about something, getting it on the radio, TV misses it, then what happened to new platform...(O'Brien, 2011, p. 10).

This integrated approach changes the structure of news-making. No longer relegated to the demands of one medium, resources are more flexible and can be deployed where and when necessary for any format. Lacroix portrays this resource-sharing as efficient teamwork, and mentions radio and television—"both sides of the house"—working together and being assigned stories together (p. 10).

In some cases, "both sides of the house" are joined together in re-developed newsrooms. After CBC Toronto integrated its newsroom in September 2009, CBC Vancouver opened its news broadcast centre in December 2009, which is described as an "integrated broadcast centre" where radio, television, and online share the same work spaces and news desk (Lacroix, 2009). In May 2008, CBC Halifax integrated its radio and television news into one building, and had plans to re-furbish the building. In 2002, the CBC Edmonton broadcast centre also integrated its newsrooms. There is little mention of these integrated broadcast centres, both in news coverage and scholarly literature, however, the CBC has articulated plans to integrate all broadcasting centres.

CBC multimedia journalists/new types of cultural capital

In the 24/7 multimedia news cycle that characterizes the CBC content company structure, journalists are required to develop multimedia skills. The CBC's "Online News Fundamentals: An introduction to journalism on CBCNews.ca" outlines how journalistic

work has changed, and the new skills journalists must incorporate into their news stories. Published in 2009, that manual was written by Blair Shewchuck and Mark Mietkiewicz, two veteran CBC journalists now working in the broadcaster's digital department. Although there is no indication that the manual was published in conjunction with the re-design, the manual uses the same language as re-design documents (i.e. multi-platform news, the significance of *CBCNews.ca*), and is thus a guide for journalists on how to operate in the newly re-designed *CBC News*.

The manual reflects a change in journalistic practices, towards multi-tasking journalists working online and in newsrooms with multiple platforms. The manual prescribes a complete overhaul to news production practices as it describes the changes to CBC's journalism as a "deprogramming" of old journalistic habits (writing and reporting for one medium) in order to "reprogramme" the way journalists produce the news (p. 2). The manual describes how the web has become increasingly significant for other media outlets, such as National Public Radio (NPR) in the U.S., and therefore "all of the corporation's journalists" must deprogramme old journalistic habits of thinking about working on only one medium, they "must think about more than radio and television" (p. 10). Those journalists who are able to adapt online are described as the journalists who will be the "most successful" at the CBC and will become the "leaders of tomorrow" (p. 186). Success here is defined as being able to innovate in order to work in the "converged newsrooms of the future" where journalists are asked to work across platforms (p. 186). The 336-page manual contains a blend of old journalistic skills and new ones based on writing for the web and incorporating multiple platforms into a news story. For instance,

the manual describes how to write features and columns and also contains a section on how to write blogs and how to present audio and video content as web features. The manual continually emphasizes that good journalism is not being sacrificed and how multi-platform journalism means each platforms can “work together to produce even better content” without sacrificing the “unique strengths” of each medium (p. xiv).

In terms of how journalists will produce their stories across media, the manual asks journalists to envision their story as if they are writing for a wire service, providing constant updates while maintaining accuracy and context along with speed. Writing an entirely new story for the web is presented almost as a worst-case scenario; that contributing to the web “may mean slightly recasting a few sentences or heavily restructuring an entire article, depending on the circumstances” (p. 12). The “circumstances” referred to here are mostly time-related. It is noted twice that “if you don't have time” to contribute online, be it calling the office with extra details or transcribing tape, there are other, smaller tasks that can be done such as writing a paragraph for the web or copying quotes and copying the time code from raw interviews so that another colleague can use it (pp. 12, 193). Further, the particular section on multi-platform journalism stresses that one journalist will not need to “do it all—report, write, take pictures, shoot and edit video, and present their stories on the web” (p. 186).

The manual also draws on the experiences and advice of senior CBC journalists in a section titled “Nuggets From CBC Net Vets.” The section provides insight into how multi-platform journalism works at the CBC. For instance, one journalist describes what they need from their other colleagues in radio and television in order to file quickly;

another journalist emphasizes the importance of online, noting “the web is not a lesser medium. You will find it can convey more information and context, and often attracts bigger audiences” (p. 213). Their advice positions *CBCNews.ca* as a central hub for news, and encourages other journalists to find ways to contribute. The final quote indicates the 'payoff' for journalists as giving more context and information and attracting larger audiences.

Audience expectations are also mentioned. Web audiences “expect to be able to scan for a wide range of fresh material and will look elsewhere if we don't offer it” (p. 13); audiences are not always aware of CBC's multi-platform features and journalists should make it clear to them. A particular sidebar in the multi-platform section advises: “Don't assume people will automatically find content on different platforms. Promote. Promote. Promote” (p. 188). The chapter on “Planning Multi-platform Coverage” notes immediately how CBC platforms can promote content across platforms in order to “leverage the best of each medium” and “reach audiences in different ways” (p. 187). It provides an example strategy for how cross promotion can work:

> A CBC Radio story, for instance, may be broadcast as a companion group of web stories is being published. The radio story promotes the online pieces on air, while the web story contains links to radio's piece and other material (p. 187).

In large multimedia projects, the strategy is for each piece of journalism to be able to stand on its own, but also promote how the story is playing out across other platforms, with those other platforms providing a different editorial angle or, in the case of online, added context and “unique” depth and interactivity (p. 191).

To conclude, journalists are expected to gain new types of cultural capital, those

of multimedia skills and thinking beyond the media they previously worked it, be it television, radio, or both. There is also an element of promotion, as the manual suggests journalists should ensure audiences know where to find related news stories on other platforms. The advice given from senior CBC journalists pertains to how to write and report for the web and how to work across platforms. The quotations from these journalists published in the manual indicate that they have accumulated the necessary capital and prestige in their work environment and their experiences represent the new trajectory for being a successful journalist at the CBC. At the same time, the manual incorporates audience expectations and promotional techniques as new journalistic skills to acquire, which indicates some of the non-journalistic aspects now required in order to produce journalism. Indeed, the manual notes that in the converged newsrooms of the future, journalists must contribute to web productions, along with television and radio. This involves a blend of repurposing content from one platform to another and promoting material so that audiences will be informed of different offerings and are hopefully attracted to it. The manual describes how the multi-platform approach allows the corporation to "leverage the best of each medium," however, the best of each medium, in a daily news-gathering environment, is whatever journalists are able to contribute on top of their other reporting duties in radio and/or television. Compton (2004) notes that in the integrated news structure, there is less emphasis on actual reporting and more emphasis on re-packaging content across platforms. Although the manual emphasizes that one journalist is not required to report for every medium, the manual also describes how journalists are expected to contribute to different platforms primarily in the form of re-

writing stories, transcribing full interviews for the web, or providing video and audio for online features. Journalists are also expected to promote stories across platforms in order to inform audiences of the CBC's news offerings, an objective that serves institutional goals of expanding CBC audiences rather than journalistic goals—the manual tells journalists to "Promote. Promote. Promote." their stories online as opposed to providing a guide to conducting research online or finding stories online (Shewchuck & Mietkiewicz, 2009, p. 188). The online news manual provides a new definition of good journalism at the CBC, as being able to multi-task and repurpose stories for other platforms, on top of conventional reporting skills. The next section looks at journalists' reactions to news integration in the *National Radio News Reporter Survey*.

The National Radio News Reporter Survey and struggles within the CBC

The new multimedia skills mentioned in the online news manual outline a new definition of good journalism. In other words, the CBC re-positioning changes the meaning of the work produced. If each member of the field of cultural production shares in the struggle to consecrate cultural goods as such, what is the particular struggle that CBC journalists face in this moment of re-positioning? This section looks at the *National Radio News Reporter Survey* as a document that indicates how some of the corporation's journalists are adjusting to news integration and how their comments reveal their particular stakes in the journalistic field. The survey provides an internal look at how changes to journalistic production affect journalists in their daily work, how integration affects the poles between (commercial) television and (non-commercial) radio, what journalists say about

the tension between business and journalism, and how their experience of news integration squares with the CBC's vision of public broadcasting. This section will begin with an overview of the survey before discussing journalists' reactions, how journalist contributions to the survey describe a loss of *feel for the game* pertaining to their position in the field, and a loss of consecratory powers over what is considered good journalism.

The survey is a questionnaire created by three national radio news journalists[53], circulated to their colleagues across the country in 2010 April, about a year after news staff learned about the re-design from internal memos. It is a 61-page document that consists of 41 questions about the new Hub structure, including journalists' overall experience of working under an integrated news desk and filing for different platforms. The journalists' contributions are noted numerically in terms of who was first to answer the question and the time and date when they answered (not all journalists answered every question, nor were they required to). The contributions are anonymous unless the journalist identifies themselves or one of their colleagues. The end of the survey contains a one-page summary of journalists' contributions and along with suggestions for change. According to former journalist Parker Donham on his blog, *The Contrarian*, the survey was submitted to CBC administrative members, including former head of news Johnathan Whitten and senior managing editors Greg Reaume and Cathy Perry. In early 2010 April, a conference call was held between radio news reporters and the CBC administration.

[53] According to former journalist Parker Donham, the survey was conducted by Vic Adhopia (St. John's), Dave Seglins (Toronto), and Greg Rasmussen (Alberta). Donham posted the survey on his blog, *The Contrarian* (http://contrarian.ca/2010/04/21/three-reporters-spearheaded-devastating-cbc-survey/)

"nO ONE CAN TELL ME WHO MY BOSS IS"[54]/journalists reactions to the hub structure

Radio news reporters generally seem to indicate that the new news-gathering structure actually hinders their ability to do their jobs rather than making the process more sophisticated and collaborative. Journalists describe a lack of control over story pitches and their ability to collaborate with particular shows, poor coordination between the Hub and shows, and less time for research. Besides the full-caps-lock statement that I have noted above in the sub-section title, the word *hate* is used often, such as journalists saying they hate the Hub structure, or hate the types of stories expected of them.

First, in the Hub structure as of 2010 April, journalists are not supposed to pitch directly to shows anymore. Instead, they speak with the Planning Desk, which then coordinates with shows about stories. Journalists describe this process as uncoordinated. One journalist says "assignments come much later" from the assignment desk, while another journalist notes that "It's 1:24 PM and I'm only having my assignment cleared now" (Adhopia, Seglins & Rasmussen, 2010, p. 1). Other journalists mention how they have had to abandon stories mid-day because they found out later from Planning that no shows were interested in their story idea. One journalist notes that this has happened to them and as a result "I don't entirely trust the planning desk's ability to pitch my stories" (p. 2). In terms of working as a team to produce multi-platform content, journalists do not describe the vision of teamwork and information sharing envisioned by administrative officials and the online news manual. Instead, journalists discuss being distracted by calls and long discussions to coordinate work and how this negatively affects their ability to

[54] Adhopia et. al., 2010, p. 2

report. For instance, one journalist describes how the Hub continually called one of their sources for a story and confused the source. Another describes how in a day, they receive multiple emails from shows and people on different shifts at the Hub, with the Hub always knowing more about the story and not communicating it to the journalist (p. 1). In terms of the Live Desk, one journalist commented that the process seemed to be better organized than before, but "no one is overseeing demands on reporters," which means the Live Desk is calling reporters and asking for live hits "regardless of how many hours you've already worked" (p. 5). The reporter also noted that the Live Desk was more interested in live hits than "content" (p. 5).

Other journalists describe the pitch-to-Planning process as "top-down" (p. 6). On the question of whether national radio news reporters feel involved in the decisions that influence their work, almost all respondents noted pressure from the Planning Desk to cover particular stories. One journalist notes they "feel like a widget who is expected to fill whatever crack has come open" (p. 7) while others noted that in the general re-designing of shows, such as *World Report* and *World at Six*, they were not consulted on changes and the changes themselves "are a big disappointment" (p. 6). In terms of being able to pitch stories that journalists feel strongly about, journalists noted that their stories are getting lost in the Hub structure, or ignored altogether unless they fit particular topics. For instance, one journalist observed: "I can usually get play for a story but it's sometimes difficult. Features are a tougher sell. Crime is an easy sell." (p. 8). Another journalist noted that there is less emphasis on original reporting and more emphasis on pre-packaged stories or following what news is breaking in other news publications like

the *Globe and Mail*.

In an internal memo to journalists, announcing changes to *Newsworld* (now *CBC NN*) work flow and programming, McGuire cautioned that “the last thing we want to be is a regurgitated news wheel or 'CNN-lite'” (CBC, 2009g). When asked in the survey if the newly re-designed CBC supported original journalism, almost half of the respondents (47.6 per cent) disagreed strongly. National radio news journalists describe how the new Hub structure is poorly coordinated, leaves less time for journalists to report and research stories, and calls on reporters to cover particular stories that work across all platforms, not just radio.

McGuire admits that she is aware of reporters' hesitations and difficulties with newsroom integration and even notes that the process is “like dating,” as radio, television, and online colleagues learn how to share a working space and a news agenda with each other (McGuire, 2010). However, she says “the belief in one news piece is happening slowly but surely,” and the separate news cultures of each platform are forming into “a new culture, a CBC news culture” (McGuire, 2010). At the same time, journalists in the survey noted that not all platforms are treated equally in the news agenda.

Radio versus television reporting

Not only do national radio news journalists describe a loss of their ability to pitch and carry out stories, they also describe a loss of their own culture as radio reporters. Many reporters pointed out that the individuals who run the Hub are mostly from a television

background, and are either more concerned with television or are ignorant of radio's deadlines and writing techniques. As one journalist puts it, “I am told what to do by a cast of characters who don't understand radio and our culture” (p. 6).

A few reporters describe how in the multi-platform Hub structure, television's needs often win out against radio's needs. For instance, one reporter discusses how demands from *The National* make it so that they cannot pitch items to *The Current* because “*The National* won't take a story that's been on *The Current*. So guess which show wins?” (p. 8). Other journalists describe how they must pitch stories that incorporate television, as one reporter notes, “I [sic] seems that every story (certainly one that involves travel) now has to be a TV story too or its chances of being funded are greatly diminished” (p. 6). Generally, many national radio news reporters are concerned that a “dumbing-down” of their medium is occurring with more “TV-friendly” stories being put across platforms (p. 23). One reporter describes how radio's writing style has become non-existent: “Radio is being treated as TV without pictures. No interest and value placed on painting pictures or developing characters” (p. 52). Ultimately, national radio news reporters describe a scenario in which the blurring of the boundaries between radio and television journalism has led to the domination of television's interests and types of story-telling. Reporters describe how television must buy into their story pitches in order to be able to carry them out on radio. On a broader level, radio journalists describe how their work is becoming less reporting-intense and more superficial. As one reporter concludes,

> there no longer appears to be interest in original journalism, despite what we're told. There's no time available to investigate or research, more of a

> concern about pumping out agenda stories. There's also little interest in complex or layered stories. Much of the work we've done in the past that won awards and acclaim would never get done today (p 8).

From the point of view of the national radio news reporters who responded to the survey, the multi-platform structure emphasizes planning stories that go across platforms over original reporting that comes out of journalists conducting research and formulating their own story ideas. The particular quote above describes how what was considered good journalism at one point, as complex and involving research, is lessened in the re-design. The comments from reporters describe a loss of feel for the game in that their method of producing journalism is being hijacked by a planning structure that is uncoordinated, or when coordinated, is interested in agenda stories that will be TV-friendly. Journalists describe feeling demoralized by the calibre of reporting expected, the increased workload, and ultimately not being included in the re-design changes or asked by senior management about how the changes have affected them.

Although television is mentioned often in the survey, online journalism and *CBCNews.ca* are rarely mentioned. The word “Internet” does not appear in the survey, and “online” only appears once in the form of a question: “Last year's changes to *World Report* include...heavy online (Twitter/podcast) promotion. Have these changes improved the show overall?” (p. 43). More than half of the respondents (57.1 per cent) strongly disagree that these changes have improved the show. One journalist notes that *CBC Radio*'s foray online has affected its ability to produce original programming. The journalist writes, “the endless twitter promo for half a year has resulted in 500 people following us. It all eats up precious - shorter - airtime which means fewer original

stories" (p. 43). Another journalist notes that the *CBC Radio* Twitter feed is not effective because it is only updated once or twice a day. Journalists who comment on how the CBC works online mostly critique its Twitter use, in that the CBC used Twitter for promotional purposes instead of furthering its original journalism.

The re-design and CBC as a public broadcaster

In terms of the CBC's mission and public service, journalists describe how the CBC is "becoming more like the privates all the time" and leaves *CBC Radio* open to criticisms that *CBC Television* often receives as a commercial and competitive arm of *CBC* News: "why fund us if we sound like everyone else?" (p. 28). Another journalist describes how "The concept of public broadcasting is lost" in the "new corporate focus on ratings and profit" (p. 29). One journalist sums up the struggle that radio journalists are having in the re-structured system, that of little time for reporting and producing unoriginal content to keep up with ratings and profits. They write:

> I, like many other *CBC Radio* people I talk to, have never been so discouraged and dispirited. My skills are being wasted, and the only challenge in my working life now is dealing with the incredibly increased stress level. I don't see opportunities to do strong journalism. I feel I work for a corporation that no longer understands public broadcasting, that cares about ratings and revenue more than content, that no longer understands that CBC has done such amazing work in the past because smart people wanted to work here, could feel proud of the work they were able to do. That's no longer true, and I am now planning my exit strategy, along with a lot of other smart people. I never thought I'd leave CBC, was proud to be a part of the best journalistic team in the country. I no longer feel that way (p. 55).

The excerpt above resounds with earlier research on news integration, that journalists are doing less reporting and working in a converged newsroom means journalists are

churning out content that keeps audiences within the brand domain, instead of keeping audiences interested based on original journalism and research (Compton, 2004). In sum, the responses of national radio news reporters indicate that there are struggles taking place in the production of journalism, that their skills are no longer valued. They describe a situation in which what is valued is the reporter's ability to fill in across platforms where necessary, and to cater to television news first in order to be able to pitch for radio news. Journalists' reactions indicate a loss of feel for the game, as Bourdieu puts it. Their skills and past experiences, what used to be considered good journalism, are replaced by other, non-journalistic values. In terms of Bourdieu's heteronomy thesis, the responses from national radio news reporters indicate that the multi-platform news structure has created a situation in which the needs and demands of television journalism are dominating over radio journalism.

In a memo to staff a few months prior to the re-design, McGuire explains to journalists how The Hub will change their work flow but ultimately produce engaging programming and not a “a regurgitated news wheel or 'CNN-lite'” (CBC, 2009g). The *National Radio News Reporter Survey* demonstrates that journalists are experiencing the opposite: a loss of feel for the game or loss of their own expertise and authority and the introduction of non-journalistic skills into the workflow. Further, in the integrated news structure, where radio journalists are now expected to file for television and online, journalists described the news agenda being dominated by TV-friendly stories, which harkens back to Compton's (2004) observations about early forms of news integration, that non-journalistic and spectacle-like aspects are introduced into journalism as news

stories are tailored to fit across all platforms.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter focused on the 2009 re-design of the CBC's English news services as a response to increased economic and political demands and expanding responsibilities. It utilized re-design documents to plot out the CBC's new "content company" (or multi-platform) strategy for news production. It claims that the 2009 re-design is an attempt on behalf of the CBC to refract external demands into its prism of interests in the journalistic field. The chapter looked at three particular instances of the CBC re-design in order to show how the political and economic capitals gained are translated into symbolic capital by the broadcaster making them appear as *disinterested*, or, as field-specific capital, in terms of how the news re-design serves the CBC's public broadcasting mandate. Analyzing the CBC's administrative strategy, its relationship with audiences, and with journalists, the chapter claims that in the process of translating political and economic constraints, the broadcaster develops a new sense of public broadcasting as on-demand and interactive.

In the first instance, that of the CBC's "content company" strategy, the CBC responded to external demands of increased competition in the journalistic field and pressure from the federal government to be more financially independent by increasing its revenue-generating imperatives and extending them further on *CBCNews*.ca. In the process of translating these external demands, the CBC *disavows* its increased revenue-generating strategies and makes them appear as *disinterested*, that the new role for public

broadcasting includes offering new ways to reach Canadians and using its online platform to interact with Canadians. Further, the CBC portrays integrated media companies as providing a narrow news perspective while simultaneously describing its own efficiency measures and revenue-generating strategies as a more sophisticated news-gathering operation.

In the second instance, the CBC has altered its relationship with its audiences by providing news content when, where, and how they prefer. The CBC articulates this change as providing better services for Canadians, while disavowing how audience research and ratings research allows the CBC to expand its audiences by appealing to their preferences. The re-design does not just appeal to bottom-line imperatives, but pressures from the federal government on all cultural agencies to prove they are providing value for taxpayer money and operating efficiently in order to qualify for funding. Further, the CBC refracts external demands from the political and economic fields through interactivity with audiences and a new multi-platform news structure. Interactivity and drawing audiences online allows all of the CBC's journalism to be monetized and allows audiences to generate content for the CBC. At the same time, online initiatives fulfil mandated objectives of providing service to Canadians as new technologies become available and contributing to the exchange and expression of ideas (CBC, 1991). However, the CBC's overall interpretation of its public mandate being served by audience research and ratings harkens back to Raboy's (1990) criticism that the CBC narrowly defines audiences for its own purposes, and brings into question whether serving audiences preferences is actually a form of public broadcasting (Garnham, 1990;

Scannell, 1992). The way the CBC has created new public spaces online, attached to revenue-generating imperatives, goes against Debrett's (2009) predictions that the shift to multi-platform broadcasting would re-invigorate the mandates of public broadcasters because they can provide commercial-free spaces online.

In the third instance, the CBC has altered its relationship with its journalists, and journalists are expected to develop multimedia skills in order to work across platforms. The CBC's online news manual, published the same year of the re-design, articulates the changes as providing more informative journalism, while disavowing the non-journalistic skills CBC journalists are now expected to acquire. These include promoting stories across platforms and repurposing stories for other CBC media. The radio reporter's survey provides examples of the non-journalistic aspects of the content company structure, as radio journalists noted they have less time to do research for stories and experience constraints by the CBC's new content units, which expect journalists to generate stories based on the interests of the shows. Further, radio journalists describe a loss of feel for the game and the eclipsing of their journalism by television's workflow and standards, which indicates the more heteronomous aspects of the CBC gaining ground over its more autonomous aspects, which radio journalism is considered to be a part of (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 45).

The CBC content company strategy does not only re-imagine the workflow of journalistic production or foster a more personal relationship with audiences, it re-imagines the role of public broadcasting. The changes to journalistic production represent an *interpretation* of public broadcasting; one only needs to look at the titles of the CBC's

annual reports to see the narrative forming about a new sense of public broadcasting being cultivated, and, cultivated on the heels of major challenges. The 2008-2009 report is titled “Great Success, Greater Challenges,” and the 2009-2010 report is titled “The old rules no longer apply: reshaping Canadian public broadcasting” (CBC, 2009b; CBC, 2010a). The role of the public broadcaster and how changes to journalism serve the CBC mandate are referred to substantially in these documents. The clearest articulation of the new public broadcasting role is that the CBC is a content company that creates new public spaces online: a new sense of public broadcasting as being on-demand and interactive. The public can “know more” and “know now” because they are able to choose how they consume the news, when they want it and how, with the option of participating online in conversation with journalists and other audience members (CBC, 2010h)

This final note of public participation or online participation reveals a discrepancy. The CBC's new sense of public broadcasting hinges on creating public spaces online, yet the bulk of this interactive and participatory feature includes commentary under news articles and social media options (Twitter, Facebook) and in some cases, producing content for the broadcaster itself (Murray, 2009). Against forecasts that public broadcasters would be key to developing a non-commercial public space online (Debrett, 2009), *CBCNews.ca* is a new revenue-generating platform for the broadcaster. Against forecasts that *CBCNews.ca* would become a secondary or complementary news service to radio and television, *CBCNews.ca* is becoming the central platform for news (O'Neill, 2006). The following chapter picks up on the

centrality of *CBCNews.ca* to the CBC's content company strategy, and how on-demand and interactive features function alongside actual moments of news coverage.

CHAPTER FOUR
CASE STUDY: CBC MULTI-PLATFORM COVERAGE OF JACK LAYTON'S DEATH, FROM 23 AUGUST 2011

Overview

The previous chapter utilized re-design and related documents to map out the CBC's "content company" strategy and how that strategy allowed the CBC to refract external demands from the political and economic fields, primarily, demands that the broadcaster be more efficient with mandated funds and increase revenue-generating efforts to fund expanding responsibilities. Employing a blend of field theory and political economy, chapter three considered how the CBC *translated* political and economic demands into symbolic capital through a process of *disavowing* those demands in order to make them appear as something else, as maintaining the CBC mandate and contributing to the CBC's new public broadcasting role of being interactive and on demand.

This chapter provides a case study of *CBC News* coverage in order to show how accounts of the re-design from the previous chapter compare with actual news coverage. In other words, how does *CBC News* as a "content company"—with a 24/7 multi-platform news structure—operate as opposed to the CBC's previous structure of news production, as a broadcaster with distinct platforms? Further, what are interactive and on-demand elements and how are they situated within news coverage? I consider how the CBC instates multi-platform journalism: how a politically and nationally pertinent story[55]

[55] According to an Ipsos Reid poll, Jack Layton's death was the top Canadian news story of 2011. The poll was conducted across the country for Postmedia News and Global News and 37 per cent of respondents

like the death of NDP and opposition leader Jack Layton is covered across platforms (including sub-platforms for one show, i.e., websites and podcasts) and how on-demand options and interactive elements are embedded in news coverage.

Introduction

The aim of this portion of the thesis is to analyze particular changes to the CBC's structure of news production: how the CBC is developing a new sense of public broadcasting through the instatement of multi-platform journalism as a means to reach various publics when, how, and where they want to be reached while engaging them across all news platforms with various interactive elements.

Under Jack Layton's leadership, the NDP faced a historic victory in the 2011 May election, winning a record 103 seats. For the first time in the history of Canadian politics, the NDP became the official opposition party, breaking the Liberal-Conservative dynamic that had mostly dominated federal politics up to this point, as well as the dominance of the Bloc Québécois in Quebec. Layton's own story during the election was one of unprecedented triumph. In early 2010, he was diagnosed and treated for prostate cancer and vowed his cancer would not interrupt his duties in Parliament or as leader of the NDP (New Democratic Party, 2010). Layton entered the 2011 campaign gingerly leaning on a cane, on the mend from a broken hip and cancer therapy. On 2 May, Layton took to the stage to deliver his post-election speech, waving his cane energetically, heralding cheers from a sea of supporters—a crowd dramatically larger (and younger) than the half-filled, mostly-silent room in which he delivered his NDP leadership speech in 2003 (Valpy,

chose Layton's death as the top news story (Dabu Nonato, 2011).

2011). As McLean (2011) observes about Layton's election campaign, “Stephen Harper may have won his coveted majority, but the real story of 2011 is how a little guy with a cane managed to ride *une vague orange* right through the front door of Stornoway.” The NDP win was both exciting and iconic in a way that offered Canadians relief from the grating predictability of federal political elections.

The post-election elation came to a halt in July, when Layton appeared before cameras, looking gaunt and plied with cosmetics, to announce he would take time off to fight a new form of cancer. He passed away a month later, in the early morning of 22 August. His last letter to Canadians, including a message to youths, was published that day by *CBC News* and other news media.

This analysis will consider coverage from 23 August 2011 in order to better capture planned or packaged coverage as opposed to breaking news coverage from 22 August. Coverage from 22 August is mentioned in analysis as it also appeared in different forms on 23 August, for instance, through links on *CBCNews.ca* or as audio or video clips in the CBC's online multimedia player, the *CBC Player*. Two points should be raised at the outset. First, this analysis investigates the CBC's multi-platform strategy for covering the death of Jack Layton and as such will not delve into the political or social ramifications of 24/7 multi-platform coverage of a single political actor. Although substantial arguments could be raised about the intense coverage of a political leader's death, this analysis considers the death of Jack Layton as a significant piece of Canadian news and thus significant for the CBC to cover in terms of its commitment to being the “number one” “breaking news source” for Canadians (CBC, 2010d, p. 4). Second, the

content of this analysis was selected for its relevance. My purpose is not to trace the daily news flow of radio, television, or online reporting for 23 August, but to instead use selected programming as an exemplar of a larger point, as instances that highlight how the CBC as "content company" is manifested in an integrated and multi-platform news structure and how the broadcaster serves various goals (articulated in re-design documents from the previous chapter) through integrating content across news platforms. This analysis is guided by a series of questions[56] to discern the ways in which news items reflect changes to journalistic practices, and how they indicate a changed understanding of the broadcaster's role.

The case study is based on an interpretive textual analysis of selected stories from *CBCNews.ca.* This includes broadcast and print material: radio and television newscasts and news programs as well as online print articles and accompanying multimedia such as live blogs and photo galleries. Besides the main radio/television/online platforms, sub-platforms were also taken into consideration, such as podcasts and the individual websites of radio and television programs. Selecting content directly from *CBCNews.ca* was preferred over selecting content from individual platforms for two reasons. Firstly, programs and video clips from *CBC NN* are available online; secondly, analyzing content as it appears on *CBCNews.ca* allows for a more dynamic analysis of how the three platforms work together in an integrated news structure. For instance, tracking video clips of *CBC NN* as they appear on *CBCNews.ca* can illustrate how coverage of a particular story progressed over the day and how the same story was covered by different shows; how different news platforms recycle news and/or provide their own editorial angle.

[56] See Appendix A for the list of questions.

(Each program has its own web page, including an "about" section that describes the mission or theme of the programming.)

1. One story, three platforms: the distinct use of platforms in Layton coverage

This section explores how a news story plays out across platforms, in terms how a single news story is covered by different platforms[57] and how a story on one platform can promote a related story on another platform (cross promotion). Before delving into particular instances of coverage, I will summarize some of the findings from the previous chapter about how a "content company" news production is supposed to operate in order to juxtapose official versions of the multi-platform strategy with actual instances of news coverage.

The CBC's online news manual (2009) describes the multi-platform news strategy as each platform working together on a single story by providing a different editorial angle while offering cues to audiences to visit other platforms for more or related coverage—cross promoting programming. However, not every platform is equal, as Todd Spencer, the CBC's executive director of news content, described in a re-design presentation that *CBCNews.ca* is the platform where news will break first (Friends, 2008). This is a major change to CBC's news production, because online was previously the platform with the least up-to-date news content and hosted very little original news content—a scenario similar to many other news outlets in North America with online platforms in 2008 (O'Neill, 2006; Paterson & Domingo, 2009). Now, *CBCNews.ca* is

[57] For example, what do separate media do best, and how does the new multi-platform strategy take advantage of this.

envisioned as playing a key role in the multi-platform strategy. Online, the CBC can host television and radio news, as well as original online news articles, leading to expanded choices for audiences while allowing the CBC to host advertising alongside off-air content and content that was previously advertising-free, such as radio. Online, the CBC can expand its news brand domain and keep audiences consuming its content (Schiller 2000).

Another document contradicts Spencer's account somewhat, noting that *CBCNews.ca* still plays a secondary role to radio and television content. The online news manual (2009) suggests *CBCNews.ca* provides "unique depth and interactivity" that complements radio and television coverage by providing links to external websites (p. 191) and "two-way communication" between the audience and the newsroom, or, the audience with other audience members (p. 31). Taking these two positions together, with Spencer saying that *CBCNews.ca* is the hub of the content company, and the online news manual saying that *CBCNews.ca* is complementary to conventional news platforms, there is some ambiguity about how news platforms will work together on a story. This section explores how platforms work together on breaking and developing news on Layton and how coverage incorporates the elements mentioned in re-design documents noted above: how each platform offers a different angle, how each story incorporates (or does not incorporate) elements of promotion and cross promotion, and how "unique depth and interactivity" with audiences is manifested in coverage (p. 191). The stories for analysis are: The Layton chalk memorial at Toronto City Hall, NDP interim leader Nicole Turmel's first press conference, and details on Layton's state funeral.

A. Layton Chalk Memorial

Throughout 22 August, spontaneous public memorial gatherings took place around Vancouver, Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. On 23 August, there was an impromptu memorial outside of Toronto City Hall. Members of the public wrote messages of condolence on the walls and sidewalks of city hall in coloured chalk. All *CBC News* platforms covered the story.

Connect with Mark Kelley aired interviews with individuals at city hall who were writing messages in chalk, asking them why they were there and what Layton meant to them. This interview style is referred to in the broadcasting industry as *streeters*: the reporter asks the same or similar question to a range of individuals from the general public and then edits their responses into a sequence in order to give a sense of the emotion or opinion the public has about a particular event or issue. The chalk memorial streeters appear as the final Layton story in the program, after an update on funeral details and a report on how Jack Layton inspired young voters and drew young Canadians into his caucus. This included a taped interview with the host, Mark Kelley, and Rathika Sisabaiesan, the MP for Scarborough-Rouge River. The streeters provide a final sense of atmosphere to the previous stories, and its immediacy—the memorial having been started only that day—allowed the streeters to serve as a sort of update during the show, in terms of how members of the public are coping with Layton's death at that point.

The National also conducts streeters for its chalk memorial story. The host, Ian Hanomansing, conducts the interviews, whereas *Connect* sent a reporter. *The National*'s

story angle is similar to *Connect*, as Hanomansing's introduction to the story also mentions how Canadians are coping with the news of Layton's death: “what was it about Jack Layton that moved so many of you?” In *The National*, the chalk memorial story also airs towards the end of the show, after a report about Layton's funeral and interviews with youth about how Layton inspired them.

Going beyond the chalk memorial story for a moment, it appears that both shows have a similar line-up of Layton stories, in terms of Layton's upcoming funeral and stories about how Layton inspired Canadian youth. While the editorial angle might be similar—contradicting the online news manual—one difference between *Connect* and *The National* is that *The National* has more coverage of Layton funeral details, as its 23 August episode contains a full report with journalist Leslie MacKinnon whereas *Connect* host Kelley reads the funeral details from a script. In the example of each show's youth stories, that of how Layton inspired Canadian youths, different youths are interviewed for each show although the angle of each story is similar. To explain, Hanomansing mentions Layton's “popular appeal with many young people,” asking “So how did he inspire young Canadians and how are they remembering today?” before cutting to the taped interview. Likewise, Kelley notes that Layton was an inspiration among young people before cutting to clips of youth talking about what Layton meant to them. The major difference in this instance between Layton coverage is tone. *Connect* takes a more personal approach, with host Kelley interviewing Sisabaiesan on the street, the camera moving freely between the two of them, creating a casual atmosphere. For *The National*, the atmosphere is not casual but rather conveys a seriousness akin to *The National's*

discussion style. To describe, three youths are lined up in front of the camera and each answers a question—a round-table format similar to *The National*'s *At Issue* panel where guest experts in politics and cultural affairs discuss the Canadian *problématique du jour*. Coming back to the chalk memorial story, the difference in tone between the two shows is noticeable in the streeters as well: *Connect* includes sombre music in the background as teary-eyed Canadians describe their feelings about the memorial, conveying a strong sense of sentimentality, whereas *The National* does not include music but allows the individuals' comments to stand for themselves, treating the streeters as it would treat other hard news stories.

Both shows promote the chalk memorial story in two ways. One, they promote the individual story that airs on the show, and two, they *cross* promote an online version of the story from *CBCNews.ca*. Both types of promotion coincide with the CBC's renewed strategy to streamline news under one heading, to inform audiences of different versions of a story, and demonstrates the centrality of *CBCNews.ca* to the multi-platform strategy.

First, both shows promote their chalk memorial stories after Layton coverage earlier in each show. Promotion takes the form of a pre-made graphic containing a photo of Layton with his signature, and the words “Jack Layton: 1950-2011,” below it. Sombre music is played as well. *Connect* uses this graphic in its “coming up on the show” promotion, and *The National* uses the graphic after coming back from commercial break, before the chalk memorial story runs. The graphic also appears in online photo galleries as well, providing an all-encompassing road sign for audiences looking for Layton

coverage. This type of promotion harkens back to what Lacroix and other CBC officials have noted about how "content company" productions would function, that all platforms would operate under the same news heading. Utilizing the Layton graphic for in-show promotion and online indicates that the CBC is attempting to forge a single brand across all platforms.

Outside of their own programming, both shows also promote a *CBCNews.ca* version of the chalk memorial story. The online version of the story is described by both shows and by *CBCNews.ca* as an "interactive feature," which consists of a series of panoramic pictures of the memorial that can move when scrolled over (Connect, 2011b; The National, 2011c). Basically, audiences can explore the different messages written across Toronto City Hall by scrolling their mouse over the pictures. *Connect* promotes the interactive feature at the end of its streeters segment, along with other online features. Accompanied by Kelley's words are screen shots of the interactive feature on *CBCNews.ca:*

> *CBC News* has an online feature where you can read from the wall outside of Toronto city hall. A blank slate yesterday, this is what the wall looks like now [...] (Kelley reads through a few of the messages) [...] if you want to read the tributes just head to *CBCNews.ca*. And while you're there you can comment in the book of condolences, or read messages from other Canadians like Mina Vaish [...].To post your own message go to *CBCNews.ca* and follow the link (Connect, 2011b).

Kelley initially promotes the chalk memorial interactive, then goes into detail about another interactive feature, an online book of condolences, and reads some of the entries before encouraging the audience to comment. Likewise, *The National* promotes the chalk memorial interactive following its chalk memorial *streeters*. However, instead of

promoting the book of condolences, there is promotion for *The National*'s online content. Hanomansing says:

> And you can get a close-up look at some of the tributes left for Jack Layton, just follow the links on *CBCNews.ca*. An interactive feature lets you explore those chalk messages written on the wall. And check out *The National*'s website as well, we've got lots more on Layton's legacy including Rex Murphy's thoughts, the At Issue panel, and Peter Mansbridge's interview with Jack Layton from the last election campaign (The National, 2011c).

To compare, *Connect* takes a more personal approach to promoting interactive features as host Kelley reads messages of condolence and encourages the audience to contribute to both interactive features. *The National* also promotes the chalk memorial interactive feature but Hanomansing does not read any audience messages and does not promote the online book of condolences. Instead, he promotes news content. Further, there is promotion for *The Current* towards the end of *The National* newscast, although it is not a promotion for Layton coverage but a more routine mention of the program, just as *The Current* promotes *The National* towards the end of its show. Additionally, by promoting online news content, *The National* attempts to steer more traffic towards *CBCNews.ca* and its own website.

On radio, *World at Six* covered the chalk memorial story with an interview with journalist Dave Seglins. The interview is live in the newscast, meaning that Seglins is *on the scene,* or, at the chalk memorial itself. During Seglins report, audiences can hear the ambient sound in the background of people gathering and cars driving by. This approach to the story—that of a live interview with a journalist on the ground—leverages the immediacy of radio, giving audiences a live experience of the memorial hours before

Connect and *The National* go to air.

Seglins describes what he sees and who he has spoken to, before host Martina Fitzgerald asks him questions about the funeral service. Seglins provides details on where the funeral will be held and the capacity of Roy Thomson Hall and notes that the service is open to the general public. He then rounds back to the original chalk memorial story by providing audio clips of a few people at the memorial talking about why they want to attend the funeral. Not only does the radio version of the chalk memorial story provide live, on-the-scene coverage of the chalk memorial, but Selgins' report provides the breaking news angle to the story, that an impromptu memorial has been set up by the public, while the television shows focus on the pictures and people at the memorial.

Seglins' report ends with promotion for other Layton coverage, however, unlike the television shows, *World at Six* promotes radio coverage instead of content on *CBCNews.ca*. At the end of Seglins live interview, Fitzgerald notes that "the funeral service for Jack Layton will begin at noon mountain time with Allison Smith and Michael Enright, here on Radio One" (World at Six, 2011). As well, *World at Six* asks audiences to contribute. Instead of telling audiences to go online and visit the chalk memorial interactive or sign the book of condolences, Fitzgerald plays a clip of one Canadian caller talking about Layton and then encourages the audience to "Give us your take on Jack Layton," before reading off the telephone number for the phone (World at Six, 2011). That *World at Six* does not cross promote online content is open for interpretation. What can be gleaned, however, is that in the press release announcing the re-design launch and changes to programming, the bulk of re-design changes focus on

television and *CBCNews.ca*. For instance, the release notes that *The National* will now feature reports from 14 correspondents and new shows like *Connect with Mark Kelley* and *Power & Politics.* The largest change to *World Report* is the additional 10-minute report for the morning (CBC, 2009e). Another reason why cross promotion of the online chalk memorial interactive occurs on television but not on radio could be due to the nature of the media. Television is visual and is able to promote the chalk interactive by providing audiences with screen shots of the website. However, *CBC Radio* generally promotes *CBCNews.ca* in local and national newscasts, just not in this particular case.

These are the main examples of how the chalk memorial story played out across television, radio, and online platforms. While the CBC online news manual (2009) describes multi-platform journalism as each platform taking a different "editorial approach" to a story, there were instances in coverage where the angle of the story was similar, but the tone was different (p. 190). *The National* and *Connect* both take a similar angle by utilizing *streeters* as their format for the chalk memorial story, and by speaking to youth about how Layton was an inspiration to them. Taking the format of the shows together, the marked differences in their approach to the chalk memorial story and other Layton coverage during their 23 August programs was not their editorial angle but the tone. *Connect* aims to be more personal by being casual and drawing on the audiences' sentiment with music and offering ways to express their feelings about Layton in the online book of condolences and the commenting areas online. Further, the lack of coverage of Layton funeral details reflects the aim of the show: not to provide in-depth reporting on the day's events but to provide a personal take on the stories of the day. The

"about" section of *Connect*'s website notes that "Mark Kelley is getting personal. With you. With guests. With the day's news" and emphasizes that the show aims to "go behind the headlines" and "reveal real people" (CBC, 2012). In an attempt to reveal how the show goes behind the scenes and gets at the more personal level of news stories, a promotion for the CBC re-design features Kelley in a semi-heated debate with an unnamed congressman who then declares Kelley is "really self-centred and selfish," and storms away, and Kelly says, "thank you, congressman" (CBC, 2009h). *Connect* itself is a foil to breaking news on *CBCNews.ca* and *The National*, as the show draws on breaking news stories from those platforms and attempts to give a personal take of the issue. Although there are many similarities between *Connect's* approach to the Layton story and *The National's* approach, *Connect's* casual approach was apparent as well as its emphasis on social media, as Kelley spends more air-time discussing *CBCNews.ca* interactive features than *The National*. *The National*'s tone reflects its hard news leaning, as there is no music and more in-depth coverage of Layton funeral details. The show sticks to its hard-news leaning by interviewing youths in a similar format to its *At Issue* panel and generally conducting interviews with youths as the show would interview any notable political or cultural figure. The personal angle of *Connect* and the hard news angle of *The National* is also illustrated in the type of cross promotion each utilizes, with the former promoting the interactive features and reading online commentary and the latter promoting the interactive feature first before promoting its own news content and all of the CBC's Layton coverage online. To make an overall observation about how cross promotion was utilized by the two television shows, the entirety of cross promotion for

Layton coverage directed audiences towards *CBCNews.ca,* which illustrates both the new centrality of the CBC's online platform for breaking news coverage and the CBC's emphasis on forging public spaces online. At the same time, online coverage of the chalk memorial took the form of an interactive feature and not actual news coverage, which illustrates how *CBCNews.ca* played a complementary role in chalk memorial coverage.

Finally, *World at Six* employs a live interview with a reporter on scene, who touches on the feelings of the public generally before broadening out to funeral details. Radio coverage, as part of the multi-platform strategy, uses the medium to its advantage, providing on-the-scene, breaking news coverage of the chalk memorial while the television shows provide more visuals and context through its *streeters* and youth angle. *World at Six* does not cross promote interactive content or content on *CBCNews.ca*, but it promotes other radio coverage and maintains a level of interactivity by asking audiences to call in with their comments.

B. Nicole Turmel press conference: one quote over all platforms

On 23 August, Turmel gave her first press conference since becoming interim NDP leader in 2011 July. The conference lasted 14 minutes, and a particular 10-second clip of the conference appears across all platforms. Although repeating clips across platforms is not a new development in news production, the *scale* of repetition across platforms is a new development. Whereas previously the CBC could replay a clip on television or radio, the clip can now be amplified further by the multiple platforms and sub-platforms[58] that it

[58] "Sub-platforms" refers to an offshoot of a main platform, for instance, *The National* website is a sub-platform for the television newscast; the *War Room* podcast is a sub-platform for the *Power & Politics* show on television. These sub-platforms act as a secondary feature to the main item and can provide extra context, abbreviated versions of a program episode or links to additional information and social

is taken up by.

After *CBC NN*'s coverage of the press conference, a quote appears in a *CBCNews.ca* story titled "Turmel vows to stay on until NDP chooses leader." The story summarizes the press conference, the longest quote reading: "Jack was the image, we all know that, but...why we ran with Jack Layton is because we believe in what he was presenting, so we will carry on and defend that" (Fitzpatrick, 2011b). The story was published in the early afternoon, at 12:43 p.m. E.S.T. The same quote appears in journalist Justin Hayward's report for *World This Hour at* 4 p.m. E.S.T. and on *World This Hour* at 3 p.m. E.S.T., although as an individual clip about the press conference and not attached to Hayward's report. The clip is also longer:

> When I say vision it is the issue that we believe in, a better Canada, a better world where we can live that you don't have poverty that environment is better and that you can have a better pension, so that's what we believe...Jack was the image, we all know that, but...why we ran with Jack Layton is because we believe in what he was presenting, so we will carry on and defend that (*World This Hour*, 2011a).

The quote appears again on radio news, in the *World at Six* report, as a jumping-off point to illustrate how the NDP will carry on without Layton.

Later in the day, on *The National,* the clip is used in Leslie MacKinnon's report as context to the challenges the party faces without Layton. MacKinnon leads up to the clip by describing how Turmel thinks the party will be able to cope without Layton, how "voters chose Layton, but they also chose his vision" (The National, 2011a). Additionally, as an aside, MacKinnon's report for *The National on Demand, The National's* 10-minute web newscast, employs another clip from Turmel that is also

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media.

utilized in the online article noted above, “Turmel vows to stay on until NDP chooses a leader.”[59]

Evan Solomon also utilizes the 10-second Turmel clip at the beginning of his *Power & Politics* podcast, the *War Room*, in order to situate his discussion of the future of the NDP. Solomon adds context to the clip, noting how former NDP leader and current NDP MP Ed Broadbent said that despite the mourning and grieving of Layton, the practical questions should not be avoided. Solomon puts the question to a panel of three: what happens now with the NDP and who will take over, or, “what about the political questions?” The panel consists of three individuals: Jim Armour (from Summa Strategies, a communication strategies company), Ian Capstick (founder of a media coaching company and former NDP media liaison) and Karen Redman (former Liberal MP). For the duration of the 20-minute podcast, each panellist gives advice to the party, their perspectives on potential NDP leader candidates, and their projections for the future of the party in general. While the future of the NDP is discussed in various news items, the podcast puts the topic to a panel, who then debate the topic and provide their own insight or opinion.

The Turmel clip, in most items, appears alongside state funeral details or analysis of the future of the NDP. Although arguments from political economic literature could be raised about re-purposing a 10-second clip across all platforms as a form of cost-cutting

[59] To provide more detail, MacKinnon's report on *The National On Demand* on August 23 contains a clip where Turmel says:“There will be a lot of pain, it will be difficult for everybody but at the same time, we have to do it and we will do it. We represent Canadians but Canadians will be there for us too” (The National, 2011a).The same quote appears in online article “Turmel vows to stay on until NDP choses leader” except broken up into two quotes: “We have to do it and we will do it” and “ We represent Canadians but Canadians will be there for us too” (Fitzpatick, 2011b).

and offsetting resource losses when 800 full time jobs were eliminated from the broadcaster only two years prior to Layton coverage, it is not the repetitive use of the clip but the scale of its use that is new. The clip appears online first, both as a news story and a full 14-minute video available on the CBC's multimedia player, the *CBC Player*. It then appears on radio and television news. From this point, the clip is utilized beyond the breaking news of the press conference, as it becomes fodder or context for Solomon's *War Room* podcast and Hayward's and MacKinnon's report on the future of the NDP. Without knowing the intricate details of how "The Hub" utilized the Turmel press conference in its coverage strategy, the repetitive use of the clip across platforms and sub-platforms speaks to the increased information-sharing between platforms, and the ability for a single clip to be rolled out across numerous platforms and sub-platforms under the organization of a streamlined news structure. Additionally, the repetition of the clip resounds with the claims of Lacroix and the online news manual, that the CBC cannot expect its audiences to follow a particular show or get their news from one location, yet all platforms need to "break" the story in some way (Shewchuck & Mietkiewicz, 2009, p. 13; O'Brien, 2011). The Turmel clip appears in multiple formats to cater to the varying consumption habits of its audiences.

2. Making the news more personally relevant: interactivity and how CBC News reaches new publics, creates conversations

Documents discussed in the previous chapter outline how the Internet allows unprecedented interactivity with the public and how crucial this interactivity is to the CBC's renewed sense of public broadcasting. The 2015 strategic plan notes that online,

the CBC “creates public spaces” through “experiments with new formats and new ways of reaching Canadians” (CBC, 2011c, p. 7). The online news manual notes that the Internet allows for unique opportunities to provide extra context to news stories, including interactive features that encourage audiences to participate in some way, for instance, by commenting on a news item or submitting video to a news program. Text, audio, and video are utilized to encourage audiences to interact with news coverage, but also to keep audiences consuming *CBC News* content. In its efforts to create new public spaces online, the CBC also positions itself as a commercial-free space, as Lacroix describes the CBC as being “the only non-commercial” online space for Canadians “to have a conversation” (O'Brien, 2011, p. 5). At the same time, the CBC's 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 annual reports note that the Internet is a new platform for the broadcaster to generate revenue on, and allows the CBC to monetize off-air content.

This section looks at the ways in which interactive features are paired with Layton news, looking first at how text, audio, and video converge online to provide expanded choice for audiences, including the CBC's media player, the *CBC Player*; how Layton stories appeared in the CBC's new *Community* and *Political* portals, and finally, how interactive options vary between some *CBC News* programming. Further, analysis considers how news content is paired with advertising, and the relationship between interactivity and revenue-generating imperatives.

A. CBCNews.ca and the convergence of text, audio, and video in Layton coverage

The online news manual (2009) points out that what makes the web “special” or

“different” is “the unprecedented convergence of text, video, audio, photos and graphics” (p. 7). This plethora of content, and the multiple options for consuming a single news story, allows audiences to choose the different versions of a news story they might prefer. But that does not mean audiences will visit a news website just for the variety. The manual warns that “web audiences” consume news differently than radio and television audiences, in that they “scan for a wide range of fresh material and will look elsewhere if we don't offer it” (p. 13). If a mainstream news outlet does not replenish its content in the 24/7 multimedia news cycle, or fails to update its content even within a few minutes of a story breaking, then the potential traffic to the website (and the subsequent advertising dollars this traffic would afford) is up for grabs for other news outlets, news aggregators, bloggers, or social media websites. This changes the stakes considerably from the recent past where big media companies stood at the “gates” of information, while audiences had to passively wait for a television or radio newscast (Williams and Delli Carpini, 2000). Taking this into consideration, Layton's death stands as a suitable exemplar of how the CBC utilizes its multi-platform strategy on a major Canadian news story, to keep audiences within its domain while simultaneously breaking news surrounding the story.

First, I will discuss the structure of *CBCNews.ca* articles on Layton to demonstrate how the CBC is attempting to provide a broad range of news through converging text, video, and audio while monetizing off-air content—one of the CBC's key strategies to remedy funding and advertising shortfalls (CBC, 2009b; CBC, 2010a). Further, I will discuss the ways in which interactivity and "making news more personally relevant" take form in news coverage (CBC, 2009e).

There are 14 articles on *CBCNews.ca* on 23 August pertaining to Layton.[60] The general structure of each news article is as follows: text as the main body of the page, video and audio clips in the left sidebar, and two sidebars on the right: one with links to other Layton articles and the farthest right sidebar providing top news headlines and more video features, including live video feeds. There is another graphic at the bottom of most of the news articles, titled "Don't Miss," which features links to photo galleries

Screenshot, "Jack Layton remembered...", 22 Aug, 2011. Copyright CBC/Radio-Canada, used under the fair dealing provision of the Canadian Copyright Act for criticism and review.

60 1. *OBITUARY: Jack Layton's legacy as a fighter* (22 Aug, 8:56AM/9:28PM, 328 comments) by Meagan Fitzpatrick, *CBC News*
2. After 50 years, Layton took NDP to the summit (22 Aug, 9:11AM, 29 comments) by Meagan Fitzpatrick, *CBC News*
3. Jack Layton: A timeline of his accomplishments (22 Aug, 9:31AM, 11 comments), no byline
4. Layton shaped by years on Toronto council (22 Aug, 9:00AM, 20 comments), Andrew Lupton, *CBC News*
5. Paul Hunter remembers: Lessons from Jack (22 Aug, 3:34PM/5:41PM, 10 comments), Paul Hunter, *CBC News*

of Layton, Layton's letter to Canadians and obituary, among other related content. I will provide a few brief examples of how particular articles are structured to include a broad range of text, audio, and video news content.

"Jack Layton remembered as 'courageous,'" is structured like a typical news article one would find online, containing a main photo of Layton and text. However, the photo is actually a five-minute video that audiences can click on. The video consists of clips of Layton's political career. In the left-hand side bar, there are two television news clips and an audio clip of the *Power & Politics* podcast, the *War Room*. In the right-hand sidebar, there is a list of links to other news articles, including blog posts from the CBC *Political* portal and a blog post from the *Community* portal. Additionally, there is a "Need to Know" section highlighted in red directly beside the introduction to the article, providing bullet-points on key Layton facts, such as when he passed away, and a quote from Stephen Harper. There is a live blog embedded in the article as well, where CBC journalists provide updates on Layton coverage, in a timeline fashion similar to Twitter. Overall, these sections add to the main text of the article by providing quick summaries and updates on Layton news, which speaks to the convergence of audio, text, and video

6. SPECIAL REPORT:The death and legacy of Jack Layton (22 Aug, 4:03PM/Aug 23, 11:48AM, no comment option), no byline
7.Jack Layton's last letter to Canadians (22 Aug, 12:30PM, 600 comments)
8. Layton to lie in state, Ottawa (22 Aug, 7:15PM/ 23 Aug, 1:01PM), no byline
9. The Jack Layton I knew, a different kind of party animal (23 Aug, 5:44AM, 4 comments) by Michael Valpy, special to *CBC News*
10. Turmel vows to stay on until NDP choses leader (23 Aug, 12:34PM, 90 comments), by Meagan Fitzpatrick, *CBC News*
11. *Can the NDP's popularity survive the death of its leader?* (23 Aug, 5:09AM, ?? comments), by Greg Weston, *CBC News*
12. *Layton state funeral Saturday open to public* (22 Aug, 7:15PM/Aug 23, 9:57 AM, 179 comments) no byline
13. *Jack Layton's work will go on, NDP vows* (23 Aug, 5:06AM/ 8:05AM, 43 comments), by Meagan Fitzpatrick, *CBC News*
14. *Jack Layton remembered as 'courageous'* (22 Aug, 8:40AM/23 Aug, 12:33AM, 1383) no byline

as part of the CBC's strategy of anticipating audiences who quickly scan articles and search for breadth of information.

Besides offering a breadth of information within a single online article that is frequently updated, there is a personal element to the links provided. Some of the links featured are not just news articles but blog posts from CBC journalists. For instance, there are links on some news articles to blogs from the CBC's *Political* portal. One blog for 23 August titled "Remembering Layton: self-propelled optimism" contains anecdotes from one reporter about her experience meeting Layton and what he means to her (McGregor, 2011a). "Remembering Layton: Press Gallery Laughs" contains a video of Layton performing a funny song at the 2005 press gallery dinner (McGregor, 2011b). Another blog post contains live blogs for Layton memorials around the country and another contains details about the state funeral and Parliamentary agenda for the day. Overall, the *Political* portal offers extra content to Layton coverage through links to news articles but it also provides a personal angle to political news of the day, through blog posts that speak to audiences as if they were in the editorial room going over the day's political news and posts that focus on the personal experiences of journalists: their relationship with Layton, their perspective of his political performance, or a posted link to a funny videos of Layton singing at a media event. This last example is particularly significant, in that its practice is very much in the vein of how people use social media to post videos of cats or their children singing rap songs. Its usage in Layton coverage suggests that making news more personally relevant also means making journalists appear more personable as well, engaging audiences as one would engage a Facebook

friend with a funny cat video. Further, blog posts are accompanied by a small biography and picture, including a hyperlink to recent blogs, adding a layer of personality to the blog. The *Politics* portal itself, which features the blogs prominently, also includes a list of Facebook, Twitter, and email options under the heading "Stay connected," suggesting audiences can form a repertoire with CBC journalists and shows online.

Continuing with the example article, "Jack Layton remembered as 'courageous,'" another way the CBC is attempting to keep audiences within its domain is by cross promoting coverage. On the furthest right-hand sidebar of the article, there is a list of top news headlines and top political headlines, containing more links to Layton news articles. Another sidebar contains a promotion for *The National,* titled "On Tonight's National," which lists three quick bullet points about the show's topics for the day. The top bullet point is Layton's state funeral. The sidebar stands as an example of cross promotion in two ways: 1) from one website (*CBCNews.ca*) to another (*The National* streaming online) and 2) from one platform (online) to another (*The National* television newscast). This cross promotional function illustrates the CBC's oft-mentioned strategy of providing news for Canadians where, when, and how they want it. Simultaneously, cross promotion allows the CBC to monetize off-air content in another way, by drawing audiences to other platforms for news on Layton and other top news stories. Each new viewer online means increased traffic to *CBCNews.ca,* which attracts advertisers while fulfilling the CBC mandate of adapting to new technologies utilized by Canadians. Each television news clip begins with one or two commercials, approximately 15 to 30 seconds in length, and audio clips are featured alongside flash advertisements instead of on the radio or in

podcast format, which are both commercial-free[61].

Another feature added to some online news articles is a *CBC NN* live-stream of breaking news on Layton. For instance, when "SPECIAL REPORT: The death and legacy of Jack Layton" was captured for analysis, Nicole Turmel's press conference was taking place. There is a multimedia link in the furthest right-hand sidebar of the article that shows the conference, with a "live" text graphic over the image. The option to live-stream *CBC NN* for free appears to be limited to breaking news, if a program is live on air at the time an online article is being viewed. *CBC NN* clips can also be accessed on *CBCNews.ca* by following the link to the *CBC Player.* Otherwise, audiences are required to subscribe for a monthly fee of $6.95. Further, the *CBC NN* live-stream subscription rate is the same as *CTV News* and *Global News*, which indicates the CBC is maintaining competition for revenues and audiences with private broadcasters and also works against Lacroix's rhetoric around the CBC being one of the only non-commercial spaces online for Canadians to have a conversation. The fee for streaming news online also works against the CBC's sense of public broadcasting as reaching out to various publics, as a subscription rate suggests that only *some* publics can access the most up-to-date CBC content. Conversely, in some ways, offering periods of free *CBC NN* streaming and a small archive of *CBC NN* clips supports the CBC's renewed public broadcasting strategy of offering new public spaces. When Scannell (1992) discussed BBC founder John Reith's notion of public broadcasting, he argued that public service broadcasters are supposed to contribute to the "democratization of everyday life" by bringing public life to

[61] Some CBC podcasts contain sponsorship messages. The CBC has explained in its official blog that the purpose is to offset the costs of producing and making available its podcasts (Inside the CBC, 2007)

all citizens through broadcasting events as they happen in communities—events that were once exclusive to those who could afford to attend the galas and soccer games (p. 318). By temporarily offering a free *CBC NN* live-stream during a breaking news event, the CBC reaches out to audiences who may not own a television or are without cable or satellite subscriptions—making the news more universal, so to speak, albeit not for those individuals who do not have an Internet connection. Additionally, the convergence of text, audio, and video on *CBCNews.ca* speaks to another public broadcasting principle Scannell outlines, that of offering mixed programming in order to deliver the full spectrum of political, social, religious, cultural life to their audiences. However, the live-stream subscription rate remains problematic within Scannell's understanding of the responsibility of public broadcasters to the public. Scannell was skeptical of a public broadcasting system that did not allow full access to the public, suggesting that it created a two-tiered system. In order for the CBC to make the very basic claim of being interactive and engaging audiences, audiences must have access to the content itself. Further, the CBC positing its new public broadcasting role in online endeavours, as adding context to news content and creating spaces for Canadians to engage with each other, is problematic because not all audiences have access to hi-speed Internet. By reaching out to new audiences in online spaces, the CBC, to some extent, leaves other audiences behind.

In sum, one news article on *CBCNews.ca* can act as a hub for the CBC's radio and television news services as well as a hub for participatory features. In most cases, one needs only to follow the links to access content. While linking allows the CBC to keep

audiences within its domain, it also allows the CBC to expand its commercial reach by hosting brief clips with commercials beforehand. Interactivity within the convergence of platforms on *CBCNews.ca* appears in various incarnations: as hosting links to the CBC's book of condolences, advertising the CBC's social media feeds, and featuring personal blog posts alongside news articles.

B. The CBC Player: offering Canadians the news when, how, and where they want it

Online, all video and audio items are played through the CBC video player. There are two ways to access the player: by selecting a video or audio link within a news article or by following the link on the *CBCNews.ca* page to the player. The player itself hosts a range of audio and video content, including non-news content. Layton coverage appears as a "special feature" section of the *CBC Player,* which consists of clips from national and regional news shows and from *CBC NN.* There are approximately 31 clips, from 22 August to 27 August, including clips from 2010 when Layton first announced he was fighting prostate cancer up to his 2011 July announcement of a new form of cancer. The clips range between three minutes and ten or 20 minutes long, in some cases. The chalk memorial segment on *Connect with Mark Kelley* and *The National* are available in the player, illustrating how online, content is tailored to audiences who scan for news over a broad range of options. Additionally, cutting clips from an episode of a show allows the CBC to generate more revenue, as each clip is accompanied by two commercials within the media player, and occasionally a flash advertisement in the left-hand sidebar and/or in the web page's banner.

Most of the content in the *CBC Player* consists of clips from network shows, however, there are some clips from local shows. For example, there is a clip from the 23 August newscast for Windsor, Ontario, of an interview with NDP MP Brian Masse. There is also a clip from the Halifax, Nova Scotia local newscast with NDP MP Megan Leslie. These clips are significant to the CBC's "know more" strategy because local newscasts are only available online until the following day's newscast (CBC, 2009h). While offering these clips online once again allows the CBC to present them alongside various forms of advertising, the clips also allow audiences without televisions or who missed the newscast to be able to view the programming. While the CBC wants to provide news to people when, where, and how they want it, the broadcaster also limits the amount of programming that can be viewed online, particularly television programming.

C. The CBC Community Portal: making the news more personally relevant

Making the news more "personally relevant" is part of the CBC's news re-design strategy, and is mentioned in relation to audience research the CBC has conducted (but has not made available to the public) (CBC, 2009e). The CBC *Community* portal, as part of the *CBCNews.ca* domain, stands as an example of how the CBC is using online spaces to interact with audiences and provide them with personal connections to the news.

The content of the *Community* portal consists of blog posts that, in the case of Layton coverage, focus on audience reaction and personal opinion across social media networks, as opposed to encouraging audiences to have a conversation about the news. Further, the blog posts that seek to harness reaction and opinion are more successful in

garnering traffic than the one post that asks audiences to provide political analysis.

On 23 August, the *Community* portal homepage featured three Jack Layton blog posts, along with sidebars containing links to articles, video, and audio from *CBCNews.ca*.[62] Additionally, two Twitter feeds run on the bottom section of the web page: one for *CBC News* tweets (@CBCToronto, @CBCbusiness, among others) and the other for CBC *Community* (@cbccommunity). Aside from links to *CBC News* coverage and Twitter feeds, content actually generated on the *Community* portal consists of blog posts from reporters, or the "Community Team." Generally, the blog posts provide a personal angle to news stories; by discussing Layton's death in relation to reactions on social media (Twitter, Facebook), encouraging audiences to comment or contribute their own stories about Layton, or by encouraging audiences to analyze the future of the NDP party.

First, a post titled "Jack Layton tributes pour in on Twitter, Facebook" features tweets from the general public about their thoughts and feelings. The only text of the article before the list of tweets is a sentence noting that Peter Mansbridge "broke the news about Layton's death on *CBC News Network*" and the news spread to Twitter from there (Community Team, 2011a). Second, an article titled "Share your condolences for Jack Layton" promotes the *Community* Twitter and Facebook, and asks the audience to post or send an email with their personal stories about Layton (Community Team, 2011b).

Third, the blog post that incorporates the most news content is titled "Will the

[62]At the time this thesis was being written, there were regional community web pages in British Columbia, New Brunswick, and even hyper-local pages in Ottawa and Montreal.

NDP's popularity continue without Layton?" Within the text of the post is an embedded link to a news article by CBC journalist Greg Weston that provides analysis on the NDP's future. The *Community* post mentions Weston's article, and then summarizes what other journalists wrote about the NDP's future in the *Toronto Star, The National Post,* and the *Globe and Mail*. The final part of the blog asks the reader: "will the NDP keep the support it has without Jack Layton as leader? Where do you see the future of the party? Let us know in the comments below" (Community Team, 2011c). There is also a poll within the article, asking the question that also serves as the title of the post, "will the NDP's popularity continue without Layton?" Although there are 329 votes on the poll, the blog itself contains minimal audience commentary compared to the other two blog posts, and more widely, the news articles about Layton's death. The blog post was created at 8:44 a.m. E.S.T., and by 12 p.m., only three comments are posted (Community Team, 2011c). The other two blog posts successfully engage audiences in conversation, with the first post drawing 72 comments, and the second drawing 1, 216 comments (Community Team 2011a, b). On a broader scale, the blog post "will the NDP's popularity continue without Layton?", as an attempt to cross promote news content (Weston's article) and get reader feedback, is substantially less successful than other interactive features on *CBCNews.ca*, such as the book of condolences.

The success of the less news-intensive blog posts proves significant for the CBC's strategy to make news more personally relevant. The blog post that invites audiences to provide their own political analysis, just as Weston does in his article, is not as successful as the other two posts. Instead, the two posts appeal more to the "libidinal energies" of

audiences get more audience traffic (Compton, 2004, p. 4). The one post, “Jack Layton tributes pour in on Twitter, Facebook,” focuses entirely on the reactions of random individuals on social media to Layton's death, providing little narrative or analysis beyond a cursory, 144-character glance at what Canadians are thinking. The other post, “Share your condolences for Jack Layton,” basically fields sentimental comments. These two posts garnered significantly more audience commentary, and suggests that the way forward for the CBC, in terms of creating conversation and generating feedback, is more likely to take the forms of sentiment and reaction as opposed to intellectually based discussions on matters of national identity (Compton, 2004; Debrett, 2009).

D. Multimedia options on new and old programming: Connect with Mark Kelley and The National

CBC News programming on radio and television can expand their offerings by using sub-platforms to complement conventional news programming, primarily through *CBCNews.ca*. These sub-platforms fulfill a considerable portion of the “know more, know now” dimension of the news re-design, as the websites of particular shows allow audiences to follow a news story as it develops over a period of time instead of having to wait for the radio or television newscast (CBC, 2009h). To explain, *The National on Demand* expands the flagship nature of the show by providing a summary of the day's top stories, as the host notes “this is *The National On Demand*, our exclusive online newscast” and starts with top stories as of 6 p.m. E.S.T. (The National, 2011a). The *Power & Politics* podcast, The *War Room,* provides a precursor to the show by debating political news of the day, with host Solomon introducing the podcast with: “you're inside

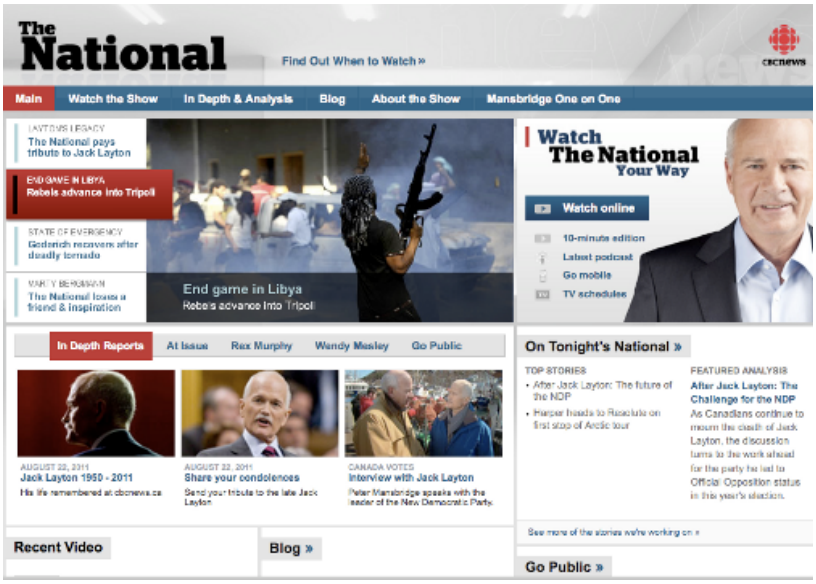
the *Power & Politics War Room*, our daily podcast that gives you everything you need to know about the political day ahead" (Power & Politics, 2011). Online, conventional CBC programming can expand into a series of multimedia and interactive features. The multimedia options offered by each show vary, as will be shown through the examples of *Connect* and *The National*.

To begin, the *Connect with Mark Kelley* web page stands out as the most interactive of all programming. *Connect* incorporates all of the prerequisites for a content company production: a highly customized web page with a range of participatory and interactive features, and heavy promotion of social media and the personalities of the show. The *Connect* web page layout departs from the generic *CBCNews.ca* template that other programs take on, such as *The Current* and *The* National. The *Connect* web page itself is customized to the show's content, not just featuring news links or external multimedia but also a blog that is frequently updated along with details about the show's contributors and instructions on how to contribute to the show. The left-hand sidebar features information about the show's "team," including their pictures and

n Screenshot of Connect with Mark Kelley, 23 Aug 2011. Copyright CBC/Radio-Canada, used under the fair dealing provision of the Canadian Copyright Act for criticism and review.

biographies. Below is the Twitter feed and Facebook feed for the show, listing the names and profile pictures of *Connect*'s friends.

Participatory features have a strong presence on the main web page. Beyond commenting on blog posts and following the show on social media, audiences are encouraged to submit their own video. In the right-hand sidebar, there is a promotion titled "Your video," which encourages the audience to make a video and send it to the show. It reads: "Have something to say? Saw something you'd like to share? Turn on your webcam or pull out your video camera and record a video" (Connect with Mark Kelley, n.d.). *Connect* also provides instructions on how to upload video, indicating the extent to which the show attempts to be accessible to its audiences. On Twitter, @cbcconnect tweets about Layton coverage throughout the day on 23 August, promoting the show and providing links to the *Connect* website. Although Kelley maintains a Twitter account, @cbcmarkKelley, he does not tweet about Layton (his last tweet was posted on 16 July). There are also blog posts on the web page, accompanied by large, colourful photos. *Connect* features a blog post, "Remembering Jack Layton," which provides the schedule



n Screenshot, The National web page, 23 Aug, 2011.Copyright CBC/Radio-Canada, used under the fair dealing provision of the Canadian Copyright Act for criticism and review

for the day's show as well as an embedded link to Layton's letter (Connect with Mark Kelley, 2011a).

The National website also contains blogs, but there are no entries pertaining to Layton. Indeed, there are fewer blog entries on *The National* website than *Connect*, and some posts are simply devoted to conveying changes to the show's broadcast schedule. Peter Mansbridge's Twitter feed does not mention Layton on 23 August either. *The National* Twitter feed does mention Layton, and promotes the show and news clips as well. The main web page for *The National* mostly features news clips from *CBC NN* or clips from the show. There are no customized sidebars displaying social media feeds or encouraging audiences to contribute to the website. However, the right-hand sidebar features an enlarged comment from the *The National*'s Facebook page, with the name of the commenter and their comment in quotes: "(Jack Layton) succeeded where other politicians had been failing for years. He had brought Quebec back to Canada." Further down on the page, there is a link for the "team" of journalists working on the show, with pictures, similar to *Connect*, except less prominent on the page.

Although *The National*'s homepage contains fewer interactive features than *Connect*, *The National* did host a special web feature. *The National* website promotes an *At Issue* panel webcast posted on 23 August. The webcast is approximately ten minutes long, and the *At Issue* panel discusses Layton's legacy and the party's future (The National, 2011b). Also, there are no promotions encouraging audiences to submit video content, but *The National* homepage does link to the *Go Public* web page, which is a *CBC News* feature of investigative stories involving citizen input. On this page, audiences

are encouraged to send their story, as “We tell your stories and hold the powers that be accountable.”

To compare the two shows, both appear to utilize multimedia options differently. *Connect* maintains a highly customized web page with a heavy blog and social media presence and invites audiences to submit video content. *The National* utilizes its online platform to expand its news offerings and to host impromptu panels when news breaks. Its social media presence is minimal and it diverts audience participation to *Go Public.*

In terms of how shows use social media to interact with audiences, both of the shows' Twitter accounts, @CBCTheNational and @CBCConnect, promoted Layton coverage, whereas the Twitter feeds of the hosts did not mention Layton or were not updated. This indicates that the initiative to be more interactive with audiences, and to make news more personally relevant, is mostly undertaken by the shows as opposed to individual journalists, at this point in time. Further, each show's tweets promoted show material and linked to *CBCNews.ca* content rather than tweeting with Twitter followers. Thus, each show used Twitter more as a promotional tool as opposed to having a conversation with audiences or fielding their inquiries about Layton news coverage.

To conclude this section, the CBC's strategy to create new public spaces and reach Canadians in new ways and in the ways they want to be reached is accomplished primarily on *CBCNews.ca.* Online, the CBC pairs text with audio and video clips as well as links to other CBC articles, keeping audiences within its domain and offering a breadth of information, while expanding the revenue-generating abilities of television by cutting up clips from programming or *CBC NN* and featuring commercials beforehand. The *CBC*

Player serves as a larger example of monetizing off-air content, as the Layton special feature aggregates clips from network and local radio and television programming that can be played multiple times, off air, with one or two commercials beforehand, even for a clip under three minutes. As well, audio is hosted alongside advertising, which allows the CBC to generate revenue on news items that were previously non-commercial.

In terms of interactivity, *CBCNews.ca* devotes an entire web page to audience contributions through the *CBC Community* portal, encouraging audiences to submit their thoughts on Layton and comment on blog posts. Social media is utilized to reflect audiences back to themselves, as is the case in the blog about Layton condolences pouring in on Twitter. The news on the *Community* portal focuses mostly on the audience, and the one blog post that makes connections to a news article received the least feedback in its commentary section. Comparing *Connect* and *The National*, each utilized multimedia and interactive options differently and in a way that complements the purpose of the show, with *Connect* offering more spaces for audiences to contribute directly to its show and *The National* promoting interactivity for larger, news-wide contributions like the *Go Public* project.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter analyzed the multi-platform news strategy of 23 August 2011 coverage of Jack Layton's death. It drew on observations from the previous chapter regarding how the CBC's multi-platform strategy should work in order to determine how multi-platform strategies were actualized in news coverage, looking at how stories played out across

platforms and how interactivity was paired with news content, particularly on *CBCNews.ca* and the websites of *Connect with Mark Kelley* and *The National*.

In terms of how one story plays out across platforms, it appears that the stories were less editorially diverse than the CBC online manual had envisioned, but each platform worked together to provide rolling coverage on a story and amplified the reach of particularly newsworthy information. Looking at coverage of the chalk memorial, the Turmel press conference and state funeral details, story angles were repeated across platforms but mostly to the advantage of each platform. For instance, *World at Six* provides on-the-scene, breaking news details about the chalk memorial, while *The National* and *Connect with Mark Kelley* provide visuals of the memorial, as well as visuals of the online chalk memorial interactive feature. Further, the repetition of the Turmel clip across platforms and sub-platforms amplified the reach of Layton coverage, allowing the clip to be incorporated into the thematic news frame of the day (the future of the NDP) and to become fodder for different news programs.

Cross promotion is utilized mostly for online features and/or for the show's own content. The most prominent forms of cross promotion occur online, with news articles containing links to other Layton articles and multimedia. Further, the CBC's multi-platform news strategy does not just refer to news coverage, but blog content and interactive features as well from *CBCNews.ca*, which stand as examples of how the CBC is attempting to make news more personally relevant. Blogs allow journalists to expound on their own thoughts about Layton, and invites audiences to comment in a similar vein. As well, most instances of cross promotion occur on television and online, the two

platforms that generate revenue for the CBC.

Within the multi-platform strategy, online appears to be the space where all platforms intersect, and where the CBC's new sense of public broadcasting is most fulfilled, in terms of being on-demand and interactive. *CBCNews.ca* appears to be the central platform where text, audio, and video converge, and fulfills the CBC's oft-mentioned strategy of providing news for Canadians where, when, and how they want it. *CBCNews.ca* offers a breadth of information as well as tailored information, such as clips in the *CBC Player*, mobile newscasts such as *The National on Demand*, and a multitude of interactive features for each platform and each show—keeping in mind that not all shows have the same online presence. Cross promotion is heaviest on *CBCNews.ca*, which allows the CBC to monetize off-air content, including previously-commercial-free radio content. Further, *CBCNews.ca* is the platform with the most interactive features. The CBC's *Community* portal stands as the largest example of the CBC's strategy to create new public spaces and reach Canadians in new ways and in the ways they want to be reached, but in the case of Layton coverage, the strategy appears to be more successful in garnering reactionary comments and opinions as opposed to engaging audiences in news analysis. These new online spaces allow audiences to interact by commenting, submitting video content, and participating in social media. However, these online spaces also serve economic goals for the broadcaster by allowing audience contributions to fill the 24/7 multimedia news hole, as commentary and Twitter feeds are featured on *CBCNews.ca* and related websites.

CONCLUSION

What is a content company?

The CBC has re-envisioned its journalism so that its three news platforms—radio, television, online—no longer function as separate and discrete entities but work together on news stories. Under the Hub structure, all three platforms maintain the same news agenda, and when news breaks in the 24/7 multimedia news cycle, journalistic resources can be mobilized to work across platforms, where, when, and how *CBC News* needs it.

Likewise, CBC executives articulate the news re-design as serving audiences by providing *CBC News* content where, when, and how they want it: on conventional platforms, on mobile devices, or online. Audiences are invited to interact with news online; the CBC is creating new public spaces in which Canadians can have a conversation along with a "deeper, richer" experience of the news (CBC, 2009i). This is what a modern public broadcaster does, Lacroix says (CBC, 2009i). Audiences can "know more" and "know now" with the expanded choice of *CBC News* items online along with options to interact with news shows and news content (CBC, 2009h).

However, the re-design is not always described—in press releases, strategic documents, or in conversations—as an optimistic re-vamp of public broadcasting. The re-design is also mentioned as part of the CBC's financial recovery plan, initiated after the $171-million budget shortfall in 2008 and the subsequent severing of 800 full time positions, as well as the CBC's longstanding financial issues (Heritage Committee, 2008;

Weil, 2012). The re-design is also mentioned as part of the CBC's ongoing strategy to operate more efficiently (Heritage Committee, 2008, p. 12). The revolutionary content company structure, then, is not a new phenomenon because it only continues down this path of "trimming fat" from the broadcaster, as CBC executives had done in the past (Adilman, 1986; Stevens, 1990). At the same time, the re-design is entirely new in that it converges all news platforms and introduces the CBC's newest platform as the centre for breaking news: *CBCNews.ca.* The re-design also introduces revenue-generating imperatives directly into news production, as journalists can multi-task, news programs can cross promote other CBC offerings, commercial-free radio news and programming can be hosted alongside flash advertisements, and audiences can view video content after commercials or by subscribing to the *CBC NN* live-stream. News production at the CBC, then, appears to be at a sort of crossroads, or has reached a tipping point, where its revenue-generating objectives have manifested in ways *other* than budget cuts.

The re-design also came at a time of interesting intellectual crossroads. Some scholars predicted that public broadcasters would inherit the role of tending to commercial-free public spaces online and would provide an alternative to the heavily-funded and highly-popular private news media companies, looking to expand their capital-generating capacities online (Schiller, 2000; Raboy, 2008; Debrett, 2009). Concern remains over whether public broadcasters are capable of reinventing themselves without gambling their non-commercial distinctiveness in a highly competitive online environment—an environment that had expanded into a fully-serviced news platform (Raboy, 2008; Debrett, 2009; Paterson & Domingo, 2009). At the same time, with the

shift to news integration came the rise of the multimedia journalists. Scholars investigating their practices have argued these journalists are "slow to arrive" or appear to still be in a state of relative infancy (Saltzis & Dickinson, 2007, p. 216; Compton, 2004, Paterson & Domingo, 2009). With broad predictions about the role of public broadcasters as content companies, and with the initial results about how journalistic production works in this structure, it leaves open the question: how will public broadcasters utilize convergence to reinvent themselves?

Initially, like some scholars or former CBC executives, I thought that the CBC was increasing its strategies of capital accumulation to offset its decreasing appropriation and multiple rounds of cuts; that integrating platforms would allow the broadcaster to better utilize resources, increase traffic between platforms, and keep audiences consuming *CBC News* content (Skene, 1993; Compton, 2004, p. 6; Neville, 2006). It appeared that the CBC was interpreting its mandate in ways that did not match up with public service objectives and proving once again that throughout its history, the CBC has been as unstable in its administration as it is in its funding (Raboy 1991; Skene, 1993; Manera, 1996). Yet, here was a news re-design toted as "reshaping public broadcasting" (CBC, 2010a; CBC, 2010e); that audiences would be better served and new publics reached out to, that news-gathering would be more sophisticated and journalists would have a more collaborative relationship.

As a reporter on contract at *CBC Radio* in Halifax, I heard the echoes of the 800 layoffs and witnessed the integration of the radio and television newsrooms. I witnessed the hectic clash of radio and television cultures and needs, and the sometimes precarious

assigning and re-assigning of stories. (I was once told by four different people to complete four different tasks. On one occasion, when I could not complete a task for the television assignment editor, my radio assignment editor informed me that “television” was writing new rules for my position.) Overall, I understood that underlying the news re-design was not just an evolution to better public broadcasting, but incorporated other demands the CBC had to respond to—most vividly, doing more with less.

When pressed, executives admit this as well—that the work environment is more hectic, that budgets have to be decreased every year. During McGuire's lecture at Concordia, an audience member cited a study from a few years back about CBC employees and stress issues. He asked McGuire how, with the addition of convergence, the broadcaster was attempting to make the CBC an environment that journalism students would want to work in some day. But she affirmed that despite financial issues, the CBC was still a great working environment—in comparison to private broadcasters—and the CBC was “still a place where you get time to think and you get to do the kind of stories we all dream about in journalism school” (McGuire, 2010). In many ways, McGuire actually summed up the CBC re-design, by adding, “But I don't accept that things can't be efficient and still be good” (McGuire, 2010). This has been said in the past by former CBC president and CEO Perrin Beatty, shortly after the CBC announced it would cut 680 jobs in the fall of 1995 (Canadian Press, 1995). Now, in the spring of 2012,
the federal government will ask the broadcaster to cut five to 10 per cent of its budget, which begs the question: how much more efficient can the CBC be?

Tensions between the CBC mandate and the business of journalism, and why there's no point in calling the CBC a failed public broadcaster

The re-design is not just a response to financial issues but has multiple dimensions that have to do with *interrelated* demands on the broadcaster. It is too simple to make the observation that the CBC is becoming more like its private counterparts, that the CBC is misusing funds, or that the government does not support the CBC any longer. I wanted to discuss the re-design within political economy, to chart how capitalistic imperatives are encroaching on the public broadcaster, but I combined it with field theory in order to trace what sort of demands the broadcaster is facing—dispersing the blame that has been put on multiple parties, while adding the dimension of *disavowal* of those external demands to understand what factors are at the core of the re-design. I combined the two orientations, as abstract tools, to investigate the ways in which the news re-design altered practices of journalistic production; to what end those changes served particular goals, and how changes were articulated as serving the CBC's public broadcasting mandate.

What I discovered is that the CBC has always produced its journalism at a crossroads of competing demands, and did not enter the journalistic field as a sort of pure and prestigious force which then became sullied over time. The CBC gets it distinctiveness from the government in the first place, from the establishment of public broadcasting in the 1930s. In chapter two, I discussed how the CRBC/CBC was an intervention into the broadcasting field by the political field, to serve particular interests that also helped change the distribution of capital within the field from strictly economic to cultural. Yet, when the government decided television should follow the public

broadcasting model, the broadcaster was required to generate revenues to offset costs, even while advertising was phased out from *CBC Radio*—ultimately introducing a tension between the broadcaster's mandated responsibilities and economic demands as well as a tension between commercially-interested television news and commercial-free radio news. The CBC still maintained the position of a culturally consecrated institution when the government began to distance itself culturally and financially from the broadcaster in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as nationalization was no longer as strong of an issue for the government as was massive federal budget deficits. Further, both conservative and liberal governments have instated cuts to the CBC, and as financial support decreased for the broadcaster, it became imperative that the CBC generate economic capital, through efficiency measures and cuts, in order to sustain its mandated responsibilities.

Yet, the introduction of economic imperatives into the public broadcaster, who is not supposed to be interested in economic capital, does not necessarily tarnish its reputation. Rather, economic demands need to be transmuted into its mandate, and this is part of the regular functioning of the journalistic field generally. In chapter three, I discussed how the CBC is able to translate external demands into field-specific stakes by making them appear as part of the CBC's mandate and sense of public broadcasting. I looked at how the news re-design *disavows* particular economic and political imperatives; how the CBC responded to external demands of increased competition in the journalistic field and pressure from the federal government to be more financially independent and business-like by increasing its revenue-generating imperatives and extending them

further on *CBCNews*.ca. Efficiency measures, such as converging newsrooms, are described as a more sophisticated news-gathering operation, and expanding into online is described as distinct from the online initiatives of private media outlets, as giving Canadians a commercial-free space to converse on. The re-design changes the CBC's relationship to audiences, as it makes *CBC News* content readily available for consumption. Underlying this portrayal of audiences as driving changes at the CBC and changes to better serve audiences, is the circumscription of audiences through results from audience, ratings, and opinion leader research—suggesting that the "audience ratings mentality" is key to how the CBC defines it success with audiences (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 43). While the CBC's journalism is described as a more sophisticated and collaborative news operation, some journalists describe a loss of authority over their work, and over what they consider to be good, legitimate journalism. Further, re-design documents that describe changes to journalistic production introduce new skills and requirements for journalists, some of which are not entirely journalistic, such as cross promotion and re-purposing work to fit across platforms.

To further illustrate how the CBC's renewed public broadcasting role also includes non-journalistic goals, I conducted a case study of Layton coverage to show how multi-platform journalism operates and incorporates on-demand options and interactivity. Although each platform did not provide a diverse editorial angle on particular stories, they did work together on a story—for instance, *World Report* radio breaks the news about the chalk memorial, *The National* provides pictures and details about the upcoming funeral, and *Connect* provides a more personal angle to the news, incorporating messages

of condolence from *CBCNews.ca* and encouraging audiences to submit their thoughts. While the CBC promotes its commercial-free online spaces where Canadians can have a conversation, *CBCNews.ca* features advertisements, monetizes off-air television content by hosting two or three commercials beforehand, and radio content is also hosted alongside advertising. Further, the majority of cross promotion appears online, as the CBC promotes other stories, or, as other news shows promote online interactive features.

The majority of conversation on Layton, beyond commentary underneath of news articles, appeared in blog posts on the CBC's *Political* and *Community* portals, both of which appealed to the reactions and sentiments of audiences as opposed to their intellectual capacities—one blog post that attempts to start a discussion about the future of the NDP flops, with only three comments underneath, whereas the CBC's book of condolences had over 1,000 comments. Audiences are engaged on the level of social media and blog posts, which makes the news more personal but also makes the news less like news and more like an emotional spectacle (Compton, 2004).

Why study the content company?

What I have put forward is not a condemnation of the CBC for attempting to gain economic capital—all cultural producers require economic capital in order to reproduce themselves (Bourdieu, 1993). What is significant is the CBC's creative strategy to combat decreasing support from the government and shortfalls in conventional advertising; in other words, how the CBC incorporates external demands into its news production. Through the dimension of *disavowal*, we can understand the *CBC News* re-design not as

an insular strategy for survival or a public broadcaster sullied by economic imperatives, but a gradual alteration that has to do with the positions available in the journalistic field and the external demands it must cope with. There is no point in arguing that the CBC has failed in its public broadcasting mission. One must look at how the CBC pieces together its own narrative about its operations, and be able to trace what external factors underlie that narrative and how the CBC includes them into its functioning.

Future research

As I have mentioned, I was unable to include many strategic documents involved in the re-design because the CBC will not make them available to the public for proprietary and competitive reasons. If those documents were made accessible, either through a Freedom of Information request or another method, they would reveal to a greater extent how the CBC crafted its re-design strategy: alternative strategies that were considered, the inclusion of particular strategic documents from outside groups, etc.

My thesis investigated the re-design at the network level, but part of the re-design included a re-vamp of regional services. It would be beneficial to analyze how re-design changes were implemented at the regional level, how they mirror network changes or do not, or if they were implemented in particular ways depending on which part of the country they took place in.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A:
Jack Layton case study: questions for interpretive analysis

The aim of this phase of the thesis is to analyze changes to the CBC's journalistic practices due to the re-design of *CBC News*. It considers how CBC instates multi-platform journalism: how big stories such as Jack Layton's death are covered across platforms (including different platforms for one show, e.g., websites and podcasts), and how journalistic resources are utilized in multi-platform coverage.

-What kind of item is it? A clip from a television show, a mobile or online version of particular show, a podcast of a previously-aired show, a blog post on a show's website, etc.

-Are changes to news coverage mentioned in the item? For instance, does the reporter or anchor mention that the CBC is taking a different approach to covering news for the item? If so, are reasons given for the changes, i.e. journalistic, political, technological, commercial, etc.

-For new shows such as *Connect with Mark Kelley* and *Power & Politics*, does the host

discuss the objectives or themes specific to the show? Are they reflected in the treatment of the news?

-How is the newsworthiness of the item established? For instance, does the item take an angle to the event? Further, does the angle taken reflect the platform or show the item is attributed to?

-Does the item employ particular strategies beyond reporting? For instance, does it encourage public participation through commenting, does it mention other CBC platforms and shows within the broadcast, etc. If so, is there an appeal or rationalization made about how these strategies appeal to or further journalistic objectives?

-Is this an individual news item, or does it appear elsewhere on the website, covered on different shows, etc.? If so, how does this work journalistically?