Shortwave News Work: A Case Study of Radio Canada International's Hong Kong "Journal"

by

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ABSTRACT

The Radio Canada International news and current affairs program "Canadian Journal" is used as a case study to develop an adequate theory of news work. A theory of news structuration is proposed which seeks to overcome the dichotomy between agency and structure in news sociology. News is conceived as a social production which constitutes, and is constituted by, its institutional conditions.

ABSTRAIT

L'émission de nouvelles et d'actualités de Radio Canada International, le "Canadian Journal", sert d'étude de cas qui permet de developer une theorie adequate de la production de nouvelles. La theorie de la structuration de nouvelles, proposie ici, cherche a surmonter la dichotomie entre agence et structure qui existe en sociologie des nouvelles. Les nouvelles sont concues comme un produit social qui constitue, et est constitué, par ses conditions instutionnelles.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Theories of Journalistic Practice

In this paper I want to question a virtual article of faith in news sociology: the notion that journalistic practice is somehow peripheral to making news. Practice is essentially an uninteresting phenomenon in news sociology. But I want, nonetheless, to review its conception by two leading schools in the field--functionalism and constructivism--and then give my own account of practice as it becomes implicated in institutionalized news production.

Briefly, functionalist studies of news work by Breed (1955), Gieber (1956), Sigelman (1974) and others suggest that practice is fundamentally constrained activity--an ongoing response to given institutional variables which come into play during the production process. Functionalist authors have recognized that constraints alone cannot produce news and over the years, have developed a set of key institutional variables --such as professional and organizational norms -- which effectively double as both limiting factors and positive motivational forces.

What I call constructivism refers to a somewhat more eclectic body of work - including ethnomethodological works by Goffman (1959; 1961; 1963; 1969; 1974; 1981; and 1983), Silverstone and Tuchman and the cultural studies literature of Hall (1973; 1976; 1979; 1980; and 1985), Morley (1980), and Curran et al. (1980) among others which views the news as a positive social accomplishment mediated by social codes, frames, or discourses. Rejecting linear models of communication, most of these studies have avoided the more obvious agent-structure dualisms implicit in traditional news sociologies; and it is these insights I wish to draw upon in my own model of structurated news production and in my case study of such production at Radio Canada International.

But I will argue that neither a functional theory of motivational impulses nor, on the other hand, a theory of code, frame or discourse-governed creativity holds up as a credible, substantive theory of journalistic practice. What is missing from news theory is an account of the knowledge and skill necessary to produce a daily news package within an organizational environment. Journalistic competence is a side issue in most studies of news production. It is the focus of this paper.

The argument here proceeds as follows. I will review some of the classic studies of social control within the newsroom, paying particular attention to what I see to be a terribly implausible dualistic conception of agency and structure in news production. Recent models of code and frame maintenance have helped correct the prejudice against practice in functionalist news sociology and have largely resolved the more obvious agent-structure dichotomies in the field.

It is my contention, however, that these particular constructivist approaches have yet to fully account for the reflexivity of news work. In this thesis, I will argue that practice is not simply "relatively autonomous" from structure but at the same time reflexively mediated and fully implicated in social reproduction. The model of "news structuration" proposed here draws heavily on recent studies by Anthony Giddens (1979; 1984; 1987) and Roy Bhaskar (1978; 1979; 1983), Paul Willis (1980) and John Dunn (1987). These general studies of structuration have helped me make sense of the evidence collected in my case study of news work at Radio Canada International.

The field research for this paper was conducted in February, March, June, July and September of 1986. My focus was on "Canadian Journal", a weekly news and current

affairs digest produced by Radio Canada International for the Hong Kong Commercial Radio Station. During this time I was present for production days from 11 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., observing as closely as possible the selection and preparation of news, production meetings and on-air broadcasts. I examined incoming wire copy, weekly news files and finished scripts, questioning the shows' producers as to their choice and presentation of stories. I also interviewed several managers of the corporation including Keith Randall (Director of Development and Promotions), Georges Lisoir (Target Area Manager, North American and European Section), Alan Familiant (Director of Programming and Operations) and Betty Zimmerman (Director of Radio Canada International). Memos, publicity sheets, task force reports, in-house histories and management studies helped me further define organizational policy.

Gaining regular access to news organizations has generally been problematical for news sociologists. They have found news workers to be busy, secretive and generally wary of social science projects. Radio Canada International presented some special difficulties in this respect. The corporation is somewhat security conscious because of its affiliations with the Department of External Affairs and, as well, discourages contacts with service personnel who wish to remain anonymous

in their target areas.

Corporate politics further complicate the matter. In 1986 Radio Canada International suffered a 4% budget cut, reorganizations and layoffs, and repeated strike threats by its NABET members. "Canadian Journal" itself was almost cancelled twice during the period of my study. I will have more to say about these research conditions and the methodology of this paper towards the end of this chapter. For now suffice it to say that I am grateful to the staff of the "Journal" and others at RCI who took the time to patiently explain their activities in the face of this institutional strain.

1. Theories of Social Control: the Functionalist Model

Social control in the newsroom has long been a central theme in news sociology. Most studies have recognized that production takes place within organizations, that functioning organizations require some degree of conformity from their producers, and that this conformity is not automatic. Organizational theories of news production represent one attempt by sociologists to reconcile journalistic practice with organizational needs.

Warren Breed's "Social Control in the Newsroom" (1955) is a particularly enterprising and influential study of this question which is perhaps worth reviewing in some detail. Breed's functional problematic is this: how is policy maintained even when it conflicts with the norms of journalistic practice? Breed's three key variables--norms, roles, and policy--have by now become familiar in the organizational literature. Professional norms may be technical--concerned with the "efficient production of news"--or ethical--representing the newsman's obligation to his readers and his craft (eg. accuracy, imparticality, fairness; Ibid., p. 327). These ethical norms frequently conflict with organizational norms and policies. "Policy" is defined as the "more or less consistent orientation" of the media organization concerning its selection and presentation of issues and events (Ibid., p. 327).

Breed's newsmen are organizational men. They seek the status the newsroom offers. They are guided by its punitive and positive sanctions (eg. its opportunities for mobility, "ingroupness", etc.). And they are discouraged from reflecting critically on organizational policy because of the sheer rush of events in the newsroom. Conformity, Breed stresses, is strongly motivated by needs and dispositions but it may not always be

deliberate. Policy is a latent force in the newsroom. It transcends cost-benefit scrutiny; it is often "not manifest to those who follow it" (Ibid., p. 329) and is, thus, rarely openly contested. Breed makes its clear that many journalists do have formal resources, such as personal status and sources of information with which to resist the organization's policy line be they so motivated. Generally, however, they are not. Socialization in the newsroom tends to be a largely unproblematic process in which workers "absorb" or "discover and internalize" the organization's norms through formal and informal channels.

The "norm" then is the key means by which individual and organizational needs are reconciled. Breed typically conceives of the norm as an element of an individual's personality and as a basic consituent of the functioning news organization. As internalized in the personality, norms provide the motives for the conduct and practice of the working journalist. As situated in the institution they form an atmospheric moral consensus. Social control is achieved through a happy conjunction of these psychological and social determinants. This theme is frequently picked up in later studies of newsroom order. Sigelman states it quite nicely in his 1974 study of "selective self-recruitment" in the newsroom: norms "establish in the employee

himself attitudes, habits and states of mind leading him to reach that decision which is advantageous to the organization" (Sigelman, 1974, p. 136).

Of course the problem of social order may not be so easily resolved as all that--as Breed himself seems to have recognized. Control for Breed remains an administered "achievement" and he has been criticized by later organizational theorists for his concern with normative dysfunctions in the newsroom and the fragility of the social order. Since Breed, organizational theorists have focused instead on consensual forces at work in the newsroom. This focus is particularly evident in more recent uses of "role and policy" as control variables.

Functional models of news organizations have allowed for two types of "role strain". Tension may arise between an actor's behavioral needs and the normative prescriptions of his job (Gieber, W., 1956; Sigal, L., 1973; 1974). Or the multiple roles taken up by an actor may themselves come into conflict. Gieber and Johnston for instance discuss how newsroom beats impose conflicting roles on journalists (Gieber and Johnston, 1961). Tunstall and Johnstone have similarly examined the tensions between news gathering and news processing roles (Tunstall, J. 1972; Johnstone, John W. C., 1976). Janowicz sees "neutral" and "participatory" conceptions

of journalism as offering newsworkers two conflicting roles in their craft (Janowicz, M., 1975). Role conflicts thus take place either between given roles and individuals' psychological dispositions or amongst the given roles themselves.

The organizational environment supplies the roles to which journalists adapt as best they can. The bureaucratic structure, as Judd puts it, "imposes roles on the reporter who responds and reacts to its controls" (Judd, R.P., 1961, p. 37). The choice of reaction and response includes accommodation, rebellion or schizoid dissociation (Ibid.). Recent non-functionalist organizational studies have suggested in fact that the contestation of role prescriptions is a characteristic feature of power struggles in organizations (Crozier, M., 1974; Giddens, A., 1984). Basic normative conflict is, however, almost entirely absent from traditional organizational models of the newsroom.

The traditional concept of "policy", it seems to me, is even more problematic in this respect. For Breed, as we have seen, policy is a stable consensually-constituted set of organizational norms and in most models of the news organization it functions as a clear and pervasive source of social control. Sigelman typically offers a case study of a newsroom with "clear and

stable editorial traditions" known, as he puts it, "all over Southeast City and the whole state" (Op. cit, Sigelman, p. 134). Via such control mechanisms as self-recruitment and on-the-job socialization, policy is able to govern both the production rhythms and the "bias" of the newspaper. Thus is achieved an efficient production schedule and a coherent organizational line.

However, the organizational literature offers few credible accounts of how policy is actually generated and sustained in practice. At best these studies offer static correlations be tween the "editorial line" and surrounding organizational variables. Donohew draws a line between policy and "publisher attitude" for instance (Donohew, L., 1967, p. 17). For Epstein, policy is a "statement of organizational requisites necessary for the organization to stay in business (Epstein, J., 1973, p. 17). By this he seems to imply that the absolute scarcity of news resources determines the organization's "policy" or response to its environment. Policy, of course, is only "necessary" insofar as there is unanimity among policy makers as to what is efficient and as to the absolute value of efficiency itself for the organization; such unanimity is assumed. Epstein's study is unique only in that it explicitly reifies policy.

Social Control in Canadian News Organizations

The implications of bureaucratization are not always fully worked out in the literature but some common ideas do emerge. To begin with it may be said that in the face of these uncontested organizational forces journalisic practice becomes a relatively uninteresting phenomenon. Practice becomes the passive, routinized response to non-negotiable constraints. Bureaucratic journalism is alienated practice in the extreme. Journalism has become a segmented process in which the journalist is further and further removed from control of the news product. Moreover, power in the newsroom becomes consolidated among an ever-smaller managerial élite making the practice of most journalists ever more ineffectual. There is little evidence offered of journalists resisting these new divisions of labour.

These are compelling ideas in both social science texts and strike sheets but I think some points must be treated with considerable reserve. First of all, news-workers have historically not simply responded, passively or otherwise, to changes in the means and relations of news production. Worker jurisdiction over introduction of new communication technological and management systems is a perennial demand of journalists in this country. (See, for example, the Montreal Gazette, Sept.

11, 1981, p. 18; and the Globe and Mail, Nov. 8, 1986, p. C2 concerning the centrality of these issues in recent CBC disputes.) The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, for instance, has recently been forced to establish a joint labour-management monitoring group in order to keep the contentious issue of new video technologies off the bargaining table. It would be difficult to maintain, I think, that labour actions have not at least influenced the way in which newsroom technologies and management systems have been introduced by management in the last ten years. Most organizational models have simply not addressed this issue of what Giddens calls the "dialectic of control" in modern news bureaucracies.

There has, as well, been little hard evidence offered to indicate an "iron law of oligarchy" at work in contemporary news organizations. Newsroom studies often focus on large, minutely segmented news production lines; Tunstall, for instance, examines an 8-stage gatekeeping process from wire to news desk (Op. cit., Tunstall, p.33). Most North American news production, however, continues to take place in relatively small news organizations (McFayden, and Hoskins, 1980, p. 27; Johnstone, John W. C., 1976, p. 78, p. 183) where, despite intense exploitation of news labour, hierarchies and specializations may be expected to be somewhat

flexible (C. F. Porter, B., 1984).

Recent studies of organizations have further suggested that many of the time and space arrangements which organizational models have generally regarded as expressions of consolidated social control may in fact offer journalists some significant spaces of autonomy in the production process (Crozier, 1974, p. 78; Giddens, 1982). Large centralized newsrooms constituted as a network of hierarchical but interdependent work relationships may at certain historical junctures offer workers considerable opportunities to effectively disrupt social control (1).

Functionalism and Practice

Recent studies suggest that bureaucratized news production is unconsciously carried out by functioning journalists (see, for example, Clarke [1982] and Porter [1985] on Canadian news production in bureaucratic settings). In this view, production regularly and completely escapes critical monitoring by working journalists; production becomes "unproblematic" and routine. Journalists may simply find themselves overwhelmed by the historical bulk of a preexisting organizational structure, or as Gieber put it some 30 years ago "trapped in a straightjacket of mechanical details" (Op. cit., Gieber, 1956, p. 423).

Or they may find this work schedule too pressing to allow for critical reflection. The main point here seems to be that newsworkers are unable to purposefully or effectively intervene in the production process and various explanations have been offered as to how that process is, to all intents and purposes, able to regulate itself. Early functional models, taking issue with the intentional "gatekeeper" paradigm, have stressed the "latent functions" of the newsroom (Judd, Robert, 1961; Breed, W. 1955). Golding and Elliott emphasize the "long-term, non-deliberate organizational forces rather than the short-term deliberate acts of a journalist" (Golding, P., and Elliott, P., 1979, p. 8). Routine "takes on its own life and becomes its own monitor" (Ibid., p. 19). Cybernetic approaches give a somewhat less cryptic account of how organizations regulate themselves, focusing instead on the regularized implication of information control mechanisms in the production system. In the control model news processors "respond" to news inputs with "appropriate action" (Robinson, G. J., 1970, p. 350) (2).

All para self-regulatory models, I would argue, must be considered somewhat suspect, at least as all-embracing theories of news production. Particularly problematic in most cases is the operation of routine as a control variable. While we may concur that routine

renders daily activity "unproblematic" for the actor, (Berger, P. and Luckmann, T., 1966), to conclude that journalistic practice is a mere reflex response to organizational stimuli is, I think, an unwarranted theoretical move. A vital feature of routine, "unproblematic" practice is that actors do not feel the need to offer reasons for their conduct. Indeed, as Giddens notes, they may be unable to do so on a discursive level (Giddens, A., 1979, pp. 57-9). But this is not to say that they have lost touch with the reasons or contextual meanings of their actions, nor that those actions are merely blind fulfillments of "organizational needs". Routine practice, Giddens argues, while largely non-deliberate and not directly or immediately "motivated", remains reflexively monitored and, thus, grounded in the practical knowledge of the actor (Giddens, A., 1979, p. 128). I will return to this subject below with respect to reflexive self-monitoring and the constitution of the news organization.

2. Constructivist Models of News Production

Functional studies in news sociology have traditionally concerned themselves with the phenomena of partiality and bias. Key variables--roles, norms, and

policy--are those which, day in and day out, block and limit an ideal, complete picture of reality. Constructivist studies take a different tack. News is not simply constrained reflection but rather a positive and active accomplishment of reality. I take this position to be the starting point of any useful discussion concerning journalism as an ideological practice.

In this section, I will review the concept of "news construction" as it has been developed in the works of Erving Goffman, Stuart Hall, Gaye Tuchman and Mark Fishman. In the following section I will argue that recent developments in structuration theory might resolve some of the continuing ambiguities concerning agency and structure in these theories of news construction.

Erving Goffman: News as Interactive Production

Ethnomethodological studies by Goffman suggest that actors employ practical stocks of knowledge to produce everyday social encounters (see, for example, Goffman, Erving; 1959; 1969; 1974; 1981). Social life is thus accomplished by agents in specific social contexts. The terms "agency" and "context" have rather peculiar meanings in Goffman's work. First of all Goffman wants to insist that a context-setting is not just the spot where an activity happens to occur. In Goffman's

ethnomethodology, setting becomes constitutive of the activity itself as knowledgeable social agents monitor and draw upon temporal and spatial boundaries at hand to sustain encounters. Goffman's interpretation of "strips of talk", for instance, suggests that meanings are organised, specified and employed through sequencing of talk, management of facial expressions and the like, in situations of copresence (Goffman, Erving, 1981, p.22).

Institutions provide the constitutive settings of social interactions. But Goffman wants to insist that they do not specifically bring about interactive performances therein. Action, in his words, does not merely "express institutional properties; it is rather established in regard of institutional settings" (Goffman, E. 1983, p. 9). Action involves both understanding what one is doing and using that knowledge as part of doing it (Goffman, E. 1974, p. 24). Thus, the concept of "guided doings": actors routinely monitor institutional contexts and use their social understanding as such to guide their actions.

Goffman makes no claim for the primacy of one social order over another here but instead for the recognition of the interactive order as a "substantive domain in its own right" (Goffman, E. 1983, p. 2). In fact he has some trouble in theorising a clear relation-

ship between the interactive and institutional orders (see, for example, Giddens, A., 1987, pp.109-139 for this interpretation of Goffman's work). In Frame Analysis he goes so far as to claim that frame analysis is not very important for structural sociology (Goffman, E. 1974, p. 13). In later works he seemed rather less sure of this position (Goffman, E., 1983) but the methodology in his case studies is fairly consistent: simply bracket out traditional sociological analysis except insofar as institutional processes have a "direct and immediate" impact on an interactive performance (see, for example Goffman, Erving, 1981, pp 5-12, for the author's justification of such a methodology).

In Forms of Talk (1981) Goffman provides us with a traditional ethnomethodological analysis of news production and here his lack of clarity concerning broader social dynamics becomes evident. Goffman typically focuses not on the rules and constraints of media institutions, but instead--rather singlemindedly--on individual newsmakers in a studio "situated activity system". Goffman argues it is newsmen themselves who routinize and, if necessary, repair media work and standardize the news discourse. The ethnomethodological notion of frame replaces traditional "social control variables". "Frame" covers all the practical means by which social agents make sense of and control their work activities (Goffman, E., 1974, p. 7).

Goffman's case studies in Forms of Talk are simply anonymous voices picked at random from "blooper" records. Institutions do not exist in the study. Silverstone (1985), working in the same tradition, makes a more systematic effort to implicate media work in the institutional conditions of its production. Silverstone describes the production of a science documentary for the BBC as an ongoing negotiation between a set of political, aesthetic, technical and bureaucratic constraints on the one hand, and a knowledgeable agent on the other who well understands these organizational limits. A critical space is left for the productive agent to intervene in the production process. Silverstone's producer faces a "narrowly-bounded, deeply-entrenched set of constraints and expectations" in which there is "room for radical work, if not much" (Silverstone, R. 1985, p. 166).

But for Silverstone these constraints remain the unexplained parameters within which filmmakers must accomplish their practical activities. Institutional constraints are the "givens" with which the producer must negotiate on a daily basis. In my own methodology, outlined at the end of this chapter, I will argue that this rather typical ethnomethodological preoccupation with the interactive agent, paradoxically understates

the transformational character of social practice even in its most routine form.

Stuart Hall: News as Code

Theorizing news as code has become quite common in recent years but I will restrict my comments in this section to the works of Stuart Hall, which I think represent a careful and systematic statement of the model. Hall's recent considerations of the "relative autonomy" of news work (Hall, S., 1978; 1979; 1980) represent an important Marxist contribution to news sociology in general and to the subject of agency and structure in particular.

In Hall's writings, news is not the end product of news work, interactions or organizational routines; it is rather a circulated meaning complex. Hall breaks here with linear models of information transmission, emphasizing instead the historicity and circularity of meaning structures. In "Culture, Media and Language" (1980) Hall describes a running series of structured interrelations between cultural production, distribution, consumption and reproduction. There are no beginnings or ends to a discursive circuit, no definitive statements and no final texts--merely constellations of meanings specific to a particular moment of communica-

tion.

All of this suggest a model of practice with several distinct features of interest. First, practice as cultural production is not conceived as a discrete stage in the communications process--for instance as a parochially-grounded interactive performance or as an organizationally-circumscribed sequence of actions. In Hall's system, wider societal concerns can never be bracketed out as such and this surely is the model's merit. In Hall's particular formulation, meaning construction is systematically animated and sustained by temporally dispersed, institutionally-sedimented social codes.

Second, we should note that though cultural practice is only "relatively autonomous" according to Hall, he does not consider it trivial. Meanings do not just emerge from texts. They must be made to appear through ideological work. This work is signification-- the combination of codes--each with its own "autonomy and sense" but each which must be appropriately encoded and decoded to have its own communicative moment.

Hall's main point in all this is that meanings are not scripted by any particular cultural authors. At the same time he wants to retain a modicum of practical

contingency in the cultural production process. I think the model falls down on this second point. It is difficult to see how practice really matters in code theory.

The contingency in encoding and decoding--and the securing of a discursive moment--centers on a fairly mundane communicative competency: the ability to employ pertinent discursive rules. There is not much room for negotiation here. Hall describes a communications system in which different meaning complexes "pass under the discursive rules of language" (Hall, Stuart, 1980, p. 130). These rules are evidently accorded a theoretical status well above and beyond the discursive practice which employs them. Codes may be knowledgeably and skillfully employed but they are never really practically sustained.

One further point: there is some confusion among critics as to whether code is meant to be a linguistic construct or simply a set of correlational rules (cf. Eco, Umberto, 1977, p. 90). I think in either case, broadly or narrowly conceived, code provides a rather unwieldy explanation for the employment of a particular narrative strategy or, more generally, the persistence of cultural institution in time and space. Interestingly enough Gitlin's code-based account of a functioning

news order is forced to fall back on a traditional socialization model of "selective recruitment" when addressing these key questions (Gitlin, T. 1980).

Gave Tuchman: News as Frame

Tuchman's study of news typifications provides some considerable evidence that news work is a reflexively organized practice. News organizations, Tuchman points out, cannot cope with idiosyncratic events and stories are chronically subjected to routine processing and "typification". Tuchman considers news processing a structured process, a practice sedimented in the temporal and spatial arrangements of the institution. But routines, in her view, are more than just organizational dynamics. News events are typified or "classified according to meanings constituted in the situations of their use" (Tuchman, G. 1972, p. 112). Typifications are, thus, grounded and constituted in everyday practice. To be sure they are, in one sense, "organizational" routines which mobilize journalistic practice in the service of "organizational needs" and Tuchman often regards them as such (see, for example, her chapter on "flexibility and professionalism" in Tuchman, G., 1978, ch. 4). But they are routines which must be made to happen. This lends the production process a certain practical contingency lacking in most newsroom studies.

Routines, in Tuchman's work, exist only insofar as they are practically or discursively invoked by competent social agents. They cannot be explained away as mere organizational secretions. It is on the basis of these considerations that Tuchman feels free, at times, to use the terms "news worker" and "news organization" interchangeably--not because newsmen are organizational "dopes" but because news organizations are chronically dependent on the competent reproduction of their rules of operation in everyday journalistic practice (3).

But beyond this insight Tuchman never really convincingly integrates the institutional and interactive orders of news as a cultural practice. Wider power relations--wider that is than reporters' own strategic purposes and the office room relations of production--are given rather sketchy treatment even in Tuchman's more recent works, works which she evidently means to remedy this defect (see, for example, Tuchman, G., 1983). Tuchman has stressed that the journalistic frames employed by news workers often have a very long shelf life; they have become formal institutions in journalism. But as yet she has offered no really credible account of frame maintenance--or of news as a a practice implicated in the constitution of society.

Fishman's work on phase structures addresses

some of these difficulties. Bureaucratic phase structures, which Fishman sees as central to investigative news reporting, are both institutional phenomena and reflexive accomplishments, "normatively required idealizations of chains of events" which in turn are employed to "produce the very [bureaucratic] chain of events pictured in the idealization" (Fishman, M., 1985, pp. 62-63). Journalistic competence, as conceived by Fishman, involves both an acquaintance with, and an ability to reconstitute, social phenomena. It is this reflexivity of news work--specifically of news processing as opposed to the investigative activities Fishman describes--which I wish to examine further in this paper, particularly with respect to the constitution and reconstitution of a Canadian nationalist discourse at Radio Canada International.

In the balance of this chapter, I want to develop Fishman's idea that news work is a distinct type of social agency which constitutes and is constituted by the organization and society of which it is a part. This is a central idea in recent sociological work in structuration theory and could be further developed in a model of what I will call "news structuration".

3. Structurated News

Structuration theory is intended to be a fundamental theory of social constitution. My more precise concern here is this: to present a credible account of news production in which news constitutes and is constituted by its institutional conditions. Specifically, I seek useful definitions of the terms practice, institution and text. These, I will argue, are central phenomena in the social production of news.

Theories of structuration have clearly implicated practice in processes of cultural production. Giddens and others have argued along broadly ethnomethodological lines that competent social actors are constantly tacitly aware of the social meanings of their activities and use this practical knowledge to guide their actions. But they have gone further, insisting that these "guided doings" mediate, while being mediated by, social structures. Structure is defined by Giddens as the properties of a social system carried in reproduced practices embedded in time and space (Giddens, A., 1984, p. 170). Structure, then, relates to practice recursively: structure operates as both the medium and outcome of social practice. In short, social reproduction is not just astutely "monitored" by social actors but actually

grounded in the "knowledgeable application of rules and resources by actors in situated social contexts' (Giddens, A., 1979, p. 114).

In this thesis I will define practice as a continuing flow of conduct in time and space. This is essentially an ethomethodological definition, featuring as it does notions of contextuality and strategic presence. Ethnomethodology, however, has reached somewhat of an impasse in these areas (Giddens, A., 1984, pp. 68-73). In that tradition "presence" registers as a practical intervention in social affairs, "context" as a temporal-spatial setting specifically identified and drawn upon by those present at an encounter. Working with these restricted definitions, traditional ethnomethodology has left almost entirely unexplored conditions beyond the social understanding and practical grasp of the actor.

Structuration theory has critically redefined these traditional notions of "presence" and "social context". Recent discussions of practical rationalization and discursive mediation (Willis, P., 1977, 1978) and various models of "stratified presence" mediated by temporally and spatially absent institutional factors (Dunn, J., 1987) are obviously meant to establish conceptual links between strategic and institutional dimensions of social

action. Giddens' work on strategic motivations serves a similar purpose (Giddens, A., 1979, pp. 112-117). These discussions have generally examined different orders of practical consciousness in conjunction with unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of social action. Specifically strategic and institutional analyses are described by Dunn as "methodological shorthand", in which certain dimensions of social activity are bracketed for the sake of procedural clarity (Dunn, J., 1987).

Second, "action" in structuration theory is not a series of contained practical episodes but a stream of conduct across time and space (Giddens, A., 1984, p. 17). Giddens has argued, with reference to early ethnomethodological studies, that descriptions of interaction need to be integrated with accounts of "what connects a string of contexts in the continuous life of the individual" (Giddens, A., 1987, p. 117). "Action" from this perspective is a sort of moving presence across institutionally-patterned settings.

Finally, structuration theory is concerned with reflexive social action. "Structuration" refers to the ways in which a social system, via the application of rules and resources, and in the context of unacknowledged conditions and unintended outcomes, is produced

and reproduced in interaction (Giddens, A., 1984, p. 264). Institutions in this model are temporally and spatially sedimented modes of activity which enter constitutively into day-to-day practice (4). These concepts, I think, should be central to any discussion concerning the relation of newsworkers to news texts.

The question of author intentions and their role in the production of texts has been rather less contentious in news sociology than in media studies as a whole. Ever since Breed's groundbreaking work on news organizations (and the decisive functionalist critique of White's model of gatekeeper bias; see Breed, W., 1955; and for a review of the literature Whitney, C. and Becker, L., 1982) the news text has generally been regarded as an institutional rather than strategic project. I have outlined the most important of these approaches and argued that traditional sociologies have not satisfactorily settled the question of "presence" in news production. There remains within news sociology the problem of accounting for textual competence without on the one hand dismissing the matter as peripheral to news studies or, on the other, lapsing into a model of pure subjectivity--"gatekeeper bias" for instance.

This dualistic conception of agents and structures has been endemic to news sociology from its beginnings

and is clearly inadequate. Thus in this thesis I will draw extensively on Giddens' treatment of the text as a reflexive intervention in specific temporal-spatial contexts. By this definition text work is a continuing process of monitored and rationalized cultural production. The author here is not an inexplicable creative presence but instead a reflexive agent working in specific settings of practical action (Giddens, A., 1987, p. 106). Insofar as editorial intentions are implicated in the text as a situated production, they are so as a continuous flow of intentionality in time. Here Giddens seems to draw on Schutz's definition of "intentionality" as organized by overall life projects (Schutz, A., 1972). Texts are not articulations of discrete intentions because intentions do not exist as such. in Giddens' formulation they are constituted only within the reflexive monitoring of action which in turn only operates in conjunction with the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of cultural practice (Giddens, A., 1979, pp. 112-117; Dunn, J. [1977] makes a similar case with respect to "political strategy"). In newswork at Radio Canada International, I will argue, the ongoing monitoring and rationalization of the text has become institutionalized in the production meeting.

A second point concerning the practical contextualization of news work: the intentions, motives and reasons which constitute presence, even conceived as institutionally-grounded projects, may only occasionally be relevant to textual analysis simply because meanings are never contained in texts but rather, as is well known, become enmeshed in social life in the same way as was the inital production (Ibid, p. 44). I want to go beyond the code statement of this argument (c.f. Morley, D. 1978) by showing how the codes of production themselves are both the media and outcome of organized news work. The practical contingencies of cultural production are at this level far more profound than the vagaries of encoding-decoding because the socially constructed set of categories which mediate the production are themselves chronically generated and sustained within practical settings (see also the discussions in ch.3 and the conclusion of this paper concerning reflexive lanquage activity in news production).

Meanings of texts, as well, generally escape the intentions of authors in processes of objectification. In radio work at Radio Canada International, as I will discuss in Chapters 2 and 3 of this paper, the dissemination of news texts almost necessarily involves a profound distanciation between producers and listeners.

This phenomenon is rarely acknowledged in the industry itself (here I have in mind the corporate projection at RCI of a sort of ongoing Canadian "dialogue" with the world). Radio Canada International producers work with a durable medium often stored or retrieved for later use. The texts in this industry chronically become separated from the initial projects of their authors and various organizational handlers.

An author's control of the text is thus never complete. In this thesis, I view this partial competency as a sort of "professional control" - which though circumscribed by its institutional conditions is nonetheless routinely implicated in the organized production of news texts. I will expand on some of these issues in Chapter 2 of this paper. In Chapter 3 I will try to make sense of the news text as a concrete medium and outcome of news work reflexively monitored by its authors at the "Canadian Journal".

Methodology

This study began as a simple ethnography. It grew out of my dissatisfaction with traditional sociological accounts of the practical competencies which I believe to be constitutive of journalism. My aim was to chronicle, as discretely as possible, these practical

skills as I observed them at a Canadian broadcasting service. The epistemological difficulties with descriptive ethnographies have been well considered elsewhere (see, for example, Cicourel, 1968; and Willis, 1980) and here I wish to focus on some specific issues associated with the concept of practical contextualization. That an ethnographic research presence is necessarily implicated in the contexts it describes is a point most forcefully made by Cicourel with regard to the direct confrontations between researchers and their subjects (Cicourel, A. V., 1968). The hermeneutic moments in this study--my regular insertion into a newsroom interaction order--were often awkward, sometimes spectacularly so. I have tried to reconstruct my presence as such in my discussion on the production discourse of the "Canadian Journal" in Chapter 3.

And, of course, research presence is routinely carried across and beyond face-to-face encounters and the immediate time-space frames of field work. This is partly due to what Brown calls the "learning capacity" of organizations (Brown, G., 1979; see also Bertalannfy, L., 1968). Day in and day out at Radio Canada International government policy papers, histories of Canadian broadcasting, personnel testimonials, newspaper accounts, industry journals, internal and external management studies--and academic papers--are routinely surveilled

and monitored as part of an ongoing process of institutional reflexive self-monitoring (5). The laws of organizational reproduction as posited in these studies are routinely appropriated as rules and resources for further institutional development, perhaps most explicitly in the ongoing definition and redefinition of an organizational mandate in the context of Canadian cultural policies (described in Chapter 2).
Theorizing of news work has become a condition of news work to an extent not recognized in current news sociology (6). These issues are discussed further in my account of a reflexive production discourse in Chapter 3.

One final note concerning the generalizability of this research. My broadest claim here is that knowledgeable practice is endemic to the most routine forms of newsmaking. Generalizations of the sort posited in traditional news sociologies--and here I have in mind the organizational laws and epistemological codes discussed above--lend news structurations an altogether more rigid and static character than they in fact possess. I hope this case study will demonstrate that many of the so-called "institutional anchors" of newsmaking--critically articulated as social laws--often reflect not fixed patterns of unintended consequences but rather what Garfinkel called "maxims of action",

knowingly applied as rules and resources by working journalists (Garfinkel, H., 1969, 1972). The standards and routines of organized newsmaking are put into practice, and thus to a certain extent regulated, by journalists themselves on a day-to-day basis.

I don't think this precise concern with temporal and spatial contexts need parochialize one's research vistas. This work does say something about current conditions of newsmaking in Canada if only because the action contexts constituted therein have never been temporally and spatially "contained" in this industry. In recent years, Canadian news services have deliberately set about "standardizing" those contexts--with some success, particularly with respect to the increasingly centralized flow of information in this country (see, for instance, Clarke, D., 1987 and Porter, B. 1984). I want to expand upon this point in my conclusion. But overall this paper is structured to examine the "Canadian Journal" as a specific institutionally-grounded project (in Chapter 2) and (in Chapter 3) as a strategic accomplishment produced in interaction. While the "Journal" does reflect institutional and interactive patterns at work elsewhere in Canadian journalism, I have tried to reconstruct the program as a temporally and spatially circumscribed project dependent upon definite mixes of intended and unintended conditions of action.

Footnotes

1) And in Canada they have done so, quite frequently. For recent examples see "CBC TV and Radio Shut Off as 2100 call a strike," Globe and Mail, May 4, 1981, p. 1; and "CBC Strike, Junos could be affected," Montreal Gazette, Nov. 8, 1986, p. C2.

2) Bruck offers a model of discursive practice in which "it is the work of the producer to interpose the place [of the story] using the right [discursive] formation. Once the location has been determined he has just to follow suit" (Bruck, Peter A., p. 303).

3) It perhaps bears repeating at this point that journalistic practice may be "competent" yet, on a discursive level, completely uninformed. Indeed routine conduct typically escapes discursive monitoring by the producer. For the uneasy mix of the "deliberate" and "non-deliberate" in Tuchman's work, see her study of objectivity as a "strategic ritual" (Tuchman, G., 1971). Tuchman also makes the point that while the practical grounding of typifications makes them subject, in principle, to revision at any moment in their constitution, as routines they rarely become problematized as such. Skilled journalism may not be partic-

ularly dynamic or critical journalism. By competently invoking their stock knowledge of the past to deal with the present, journalists create a "means not to know". It is in this sense that journalism is an ideological practice.

4) I will distinguish "institutions", broadly conceived as sedimented practices, from a working news organization such as Radio Canada International. These terms are often used interchangeably in structuration literature but here "organization" refers specifically to a system which regulates time and space via reflexive monitoring of system reproduction (cf. Bhaskar, R. 1983). Policy is designed here as an extention of time-space mediation. It is this regularized coordination and control of social setting, not any organic unity of purpose or function, which effectively defines Radio Canada International as a news organization.

5) Much of the source material in this paper was collected directly from Radio Canada International archives. RCI managers and journalists were directly acquainted with a surprising amount of that material, including some current sociological theory of news discourse. The article by Deborah Clarke on "second-hand news" (see bibliography), in particular, seems to have

shaped many of these journalists' understandings of their activities.

6) For a particularly forceful argument that journalism is a non-reflective discourse, see Elliott, P. 1970; and Bennett, W.L. Gressett, L., and Haltom, W., 1985. Much of the work on "facticity frames" comes to similar conclusions often drawing on the well-known discursive incapacities of journalists--including their historical inability to explain themselves to sociologists. In my conclusion , I will argue that much of this work underestimates the practical knowledge required just to get on with making news on a routine basis.

Chapter 2

Radio Canada International: Institutional Development and Social Control

1) Shortwave and RCI: Institutional Origins
2) Wartime Broadcasting: 1942-1945
3) Legislation of Shortwave: 1942-1968
4) Total Control: Broadcasting during the Cold War
5) Control and Corporate Autonomy: 1968-1986
6) Institutions and Shortwave News Work

Chapter 2

Radio Canada International: Institutional Development and Social Control

Shortwave news work is controlled news work. It is supervised and regulated through direct surveillance procedures . It is documented - that is, subjected to varying degrees of administrative monitoring, recording and information storage for authorized publics. And finally, I would argue, it is controlled by journalists themselves. Organizational studies have generally emphasized "bureaucratic" social controls on news (Gieber, W., 1956). But "professional" controls which implicate the knowledge and practice of news workers themselves in cycles of production have come to play an increasingly important role at Radio Canada International. It is the institutionalized development of this type of "control" which I want to examine in this chapter.

This discussion proceeds as follows. In section 1, I examine how shortwave became a strategic national medium for international communications in this country. In sections 2, 3 and 4, I review the various supervisory, documentary and professional arrangements for the control of shortwave news work as they have been institutionalized at the service over

time. And in section 5, I consider how these various sedimented arrangements might be said to "structure" shortwave news work. All of this work is an attempt to institutionally situate the "Canadian Journal" - the subject of my case study in Chapter 3.

1. Shortwave and RCI: Institutional Origins

The base technology of shortwave was developed in the 1920 s. As commercial radio was developed along longwave frequencies, amateur radio operators were effectively banished to the shortwave end of the radio spectrum. Shortwave frequencies were considered to be commercially and militarily useless in the early 1920 s (Barnouw, Edward, 1966, pp. 151-2). Amateurs, however, found the frequencies to be effective for long distance communications with low power. In 1923 American and French citizens began communicating with each other across the Atlantic (Ibid., p.154).

The appropriation of shortwave frequencies by governments began in Europe.(1) In 1925 the Soviet government established the world service of Radio Moscow as an "effective instrument for the diffusion of socialist thought" (Abshire, David, 1976, p.17). Lenin called shortwave a "newspaper without paper...and without boundaries" (Ibid, p.18). In 1927 a Dutch language service

established direct communications between the Netherlands and its colonial holdings (Whitton, John B.and Herz, J.H., 1942, p.8). The BBC launched its "Empire Service" in 1932 (Briggs, Asa, 1965, pp.17-34) and the German and Italian governments set up their own services shortly thereafter. By 1942, when the US Foreign Information Service turned the facilities of eleven private shortwave stations into the Voice of America, shortwave had essentially become an "international medium by which radio programs produced in one country by a government agency are intentionally beamed by that agency to another country" (World Radio TV Handbook, 1987, p.2) (2).

Canada's shortwave service was established by order-in-council in 1942 (RCI General Information, 1985). At that time the Wartime Information Board advised the Canadian government that a Canadian shortwave station should be a "constituent element of Canada's foreign policy during wartime". But various federal ministries had expressed an interest in shortwave long before the war, as early as 1936 when the King government was enacting legislation to achieve comprehensive coverage (of 84 percent of Canada's population) by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Peers, Frank, 1969; Ellis, D., 1979). The Corporation then submitted a proposal for a new international broadcasting service which would be administered by the CBC and "fully complement the aims of the domestic network" (RCI History,

1973, Ch.2, pp.1-3). "CBC International", as envisaged by the corporation's technical director Ernest Bushnell, and seconded in proposals by CBC chairman Leonard Brockington, would allow Canada to "assume her sovereign place in the world order of nations" and thereby "fully extend the national arm of broadcasting around the world" (Ibid., p.6).

Also in 1936, C. D. Howe, speaking as Canada's Minister of Commerce, called for an international broadcasting service which could "help in the marketing of Canadian goods in every nation" (Hall , James, 1971, p.43). But Howe's most compelling argument, one he made time and again, was that if Canada did not appropriate its "rightful world broadcasting frequencies" other nations most certainly would (Ibid.). The "multiple uses" of the new medium, said Howe, "would become clear in time" (3).

Shortwave then began rather like the long wave medium, as what Williams has called an "abstract technology" in which the means of communication preceded any precise content" (Williams, Raymond, 1974, p.25). In 1939, the Canadian government reiterated a 1937 policy statement that no licenses for shortwave be issued until a federal policy had been elaborated (Op. Cit., RCI History, Ch.3, p.24).

2. Wartime Broadcasting: 1942-1945

Innis has shown that modern communications systems are conducive to the generation of administrative power across time and space (Innis, Harold A., 1950). There is some literature - mostly to do with media imperialism - which has examined shortwave as an international control system through which metropolitan power relations are extended into peripheral global zones (see, for example, Hale, J., 1975; and Elias, N., 1978). But here I want to consider shortwave more broadly as a strategic national resource: that is as a medium by which the nation state may reflexively monitor relations with its citizenry and with other nations. In a sense this approach is more in line with most studies of Canada's domestic broadcasting services. Efficient communications and a state role in the communications sector have consistently been regarded by scholars and Canadian policy-makers as a condition of Canada's continued existence (see Collins, Richard, 1985, for a recent review of this literature). Shortwave radio, its history shows, can usefully be regarded as an instrument of nation state consolidation as well as a medium of colonial extension.

Radio Canada International's original statement of

purpose is instructive in this regard. Shortwave was (in 1942):

> 1)to establish closer contact with Canadian troops abroad.
> 2)to supply the United Kingdom and other commonwealth and allied countries with accurate and timely information about Canada and the national war effort.
> 3)to provide an essential means of self-defence and counter-attack against the continuous flow of Italian and German shortwave propaganda directed against Canada or transmitted to other countries in order to minimize the Canadian war effort.
> 4)to provide a second line of defence if the enemy were able to put the BBC out of operation.
> 5)to strengthen resistance within the enemy-occupied countries (Canada: Order in Council, Privy Council, 8168, September 18, 1942; cited in Hall, James, 1971, p.42).

Broadcasts were thus directed to the subject populations of Axis governments whose legitimacy was no longer recognized and, perhaps more importantly, to Allied governments as part of a coordinated war effort. International communications became fundamental to that process as opportunities for more direct face-to-face monitoring became rather restricted (Op. Cit., RCI History, ch.2, pp.17-8).

But fully 80 per cent of broadcasts were directed to Canadian armed forces abroad. The 1942 Standing Committee made the claim for a government duty to "bring country and home closer to Canadian forces at sea and on foreign soils" (Canada, House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, no.8,

June 12, 1942, p. 442; cited in Hibbitts, Bernard, 1980, p. 20). Canadians "of all backgrounds should be able to not just hear but taste and smell the home country" (Ibid). From the beginning of service operations, access to the broadcasting system was defined as a virtual citizenship right. The act of broadcasting became an act of national consolidation. Alphonse Ouimet, the CBC's technical director reported in 1942 that shortwave would provide the nation with the "longest arm science can bestow on our speech" ensuring "the equal enjoyment of the benefits and pleasures of this country by all, virtually instantaneously" (Ouimet memo, July 3, 1942; cited in RCI Handbook: Looking Back, 1973, p.1). Time-space distanciation in the extention of administrative control and the reflexive monitoring of domestic and international relations had virtually collapsed.

Canada's experiences during the second world war clearly provided the most potent energizing stimulus for the concentration of administrative resources and technological organization of the shortwave service. The administrative structure of the International Service was essentially the work of an Advisory Committee which included Norman Robertson, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs, Davidson Dunton, then General Manager of the Wartime Information Board, the CBC's General Supervisor of

programming Ernest Bushnell and its acting General Manager Auguste Frigon. Peter Aylen, a former liason officer between th CBC and government concerning wartime programming was appointed secretary of the steering committee and supervisor of the International Service. The Aylen Committee served as a model for the post-war consultations between the Department of External Affairs and the CBC concerning shortwave broadcasting in Canada (Op.Cit., RCI History, ch.1).

The committee's most enduring work was the development of a system of "target area broadcasting". Broadcast markets were ranked according to "size and importance of potential target audiences" - as determined by the Department of External Affairs in consultation with representatives of the CBC. Also considered was the "actual and potential quality" of transmissions received- as monitored by Frigon's technical staff with help from Canadian consulates in the areas concerned. The committee recommended that these monitoring procedures "serve as a practical guide for the extention of international service in years to come" (Op.Cit., Hall, James, 1971, pp.58-9).

In 1944 Peter Aylen travelled to Washington and London to study incorporation procedures instituted by foreign shortwave systems. The new service's fee and copyright statutes seem to have been directly appropriated from the

British Broadcasting Corporation world service charter (Op. Cit., RCI History, Ch.1, p.18). Aylen also developed a guide to measure foreign language facility on the air and what he later called a broadcaster's ability to "deliver the news fluently" (Ibid.). These in turn seem to have been based on the "precise and authoritative" management techniques he had been shown at the BBC. At Aylen's recommendation, the broadcast delivery of service personnel was to be "tested and improved" for at least 3 months at mock in-house sessions held at the Department of External Affairs offices in Ottawa and at CBC studios in Montreal. Aylen finally proposed a distribution and relay system for the service, based on the broadcast targets drawn up by the CBC-External Affairs committee. By 1945 program schedules were being forwarded to Canadian consulates and trade missions in Europe for distribution to the local press and affiliated foreign government agencies. Target promotional operations were then assigned to area supervisors. Most of these guidance procedures remain in place today. Aylen later recalled that at the age of 44 he had founded a "full-fledged government department" (RCI Information Bulletin, 1974, p.2).

The actual physical incorporation of the service took somewhat longer. As an interdepartmental concern, the Aylen committee was well-placed to keep track of broadcast resource development both in the public and private sectors

(Op. Cit., Hall, James, 1971, pp.52-5). Officials fom the CBC and the Ministry of Supplies and Services picked out a studio location on Montreal's Crescent street (since moved to Montreal's Blvd. Rene Levesque, both locations chosen as a hub between the Department of External Affairs and CBC's Montreal studios) and collaborated on the construction of seven 100 kilowatt transmitters in Sackville, New Brunswick. Officials from the Department of External Affairs requisitioned wartime supplies of steel and wire, the lack of which kept the International Service out of full service until a year after the war. Transmission costs at this time were in fact incurred as "wartime appropriations" (Ibid., p.55)

Plainly war was more than the political environment in which shortwave happened to develop in Canada but to a large extent the strategic condition of that development. The political procedures, target and programming guides, distribution networks, public works and appropriate technologies - many of which are recognizable in some form today - were the result of a centrally directed concentration of administrative resources, technology and organized science, founded of course on institutional arrangements which prevailed until 1945.

4. Legislation of Shortwave 1945-1968

In Canada, broadcasting legislation has consistently defined shortwave as a strategic medium for the transmission of "news and information from a distinct national viewpoint" (see, for example, Canada. House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, no. 8, June 12, 1942, p. 442; this mandate is reaffirmed in the Radio Canada International Task Force Report, 1973, p.2). Shortwave is described as an "instrument of foreign policy" in the 1957 Fowler Report on Broadcasting (p.48) and in the 1960 Joint Submission on the CBC International Service (p.1). When the International Service was formally integrated with the CBC and placed under "independent broadcast management", the 1968 Report on Broadcasting nonetheless stressed that "broadcasting to foreign audiences is still, and always will be, an indirect promotional aid for Candian policy" (p.179).

These are important distinctions. As a medium for the transmission of strategic specialized knowledge shortwave has been subject to a degree of authoritative political regulation virtually unknown in this country's domestic media operations. Students', broadcasters' and policy-makers' almost absolute fascination with the subject of political constraints on international broadcasting is

perhaps not surprising then (see particularly Davison, W. Phillips, 1966, for the classic statement of this position). Institutional studies of shortwave - both of Canadian and foreign broadcasting services - share a virtually total preoccupation with restrictive regulatory arrangements.(4)

While this foreign policy mandate has been consistently reaffirmed in broadcasting legislation, corporate and academic historiographers call attention to two very distinct institutional regimes governing shortwave news work at Radio Canada International which been established since the war (Stephens, Lynn, 1977, pp,108-134; Hall, James, 1971 pp. 121-286). The first regime, of what I will call "total control", was rather spectacularly introduced during the late 1940's and early 1950's with a series of measures for direct policy guidance of international broadcasting by the Canadian department of External Affairs . The second period roughly follows the enactment of the 1968 Broadcasting Act when the International service was integrated with CBC's External Service's division and officially renamed "Radio Canada International" (the Radio Canada International Task Force Report, 1973 provides a rather thorough corporate interpretation of the Act).

5. Total Control: Broadcasting during the Cold War

For the CBC International Service the Cold War period was one of expansion and redirection. New language services were instituted: Finnish in 1950, Russian in 1951, Ukrainian in 1952, Polish in 1953, and Hungarian in 1956, increasing the service's total number of area services to twelve.(5) The concentration on East European languages was no coincidence. Officials from the Department of External Affairs had asked that East Europe be considered a priority broadcast target area after the Communist party takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948 and the new services were apparently established to meet Canada's expanding foreign policy committments in the years that followed (Stephens, Lynn, 1977, pp.110-112).

In 1951 Canada's minister for External Affairs Lester Pearson told cabinet that Canada's "new foreign policy position" with respect to the the Soviet Union and its allies had created a need for "policy guidance at all levels of international broadcasting" (RCI Information: Broadcasting Behind the Iron Curtain, 1971, p.6). The question of monitoring the International Service's broadcasts and operations was raised several times in 1951, chiefly by emigre groups in Montreal which had organized listener committees to monitor the new regular service to

Eastern Europe. Several Conservative members had also complained of "political and nationalist idiosyncracies" in the East European sections (Ibid., p.13).

In July, 1953 a senior External Affairs officer was appointed director of the International Service. Jean Desy moved for two major administrative reforms: closer relations with the department of External Affairs; and a more disciplined internal organization (letter to CBC Chairman Davidson Dunton, July 8,1953; cited in RCI History, ch.3, p.3) Until 1953 general administrative decisions concerning the Service had been made by interdepartmental steering committees(see above); programming decisions were made by the service in consultation with the CBC and the department of External Affairs. The new director, however, sensed a need for all programming activities to be monitored from outside the service by responsible authorities and called for "firm and timely guidance for political programming" (Ibid.).

Desy proposed a system of "information sharing and document exchange" (Op.Cit., Broadcasting Behind the Iron Curtain, p.34) which would "bring Ottawa and Montreal closer together in shortwave operations". Beginning in September, 1953, liason officers from the department of External Affairs would relay government policy statements and "specific guidance on particular items and comments on

programming from missions and embassies abroad" (Service memo, cited in RCI History, ch.3, p.6). A full-time department advisor was soon assigned to Montreal for six month missions. Desy also created a new Policy Coordination Unit whose director would travel each week to Ottawa for briefings (Op. Cit., Hibbitts, B., p.15) and provide new scripts to all language services "based on what he had learned". Desy told his officials he wanted to "end the isolation and distance of the International Service from policy-making once and for all" (Desy memo, cited in Stephens, Lynn, 1977, p.120). In 1953 he actually advised transferring the whole CBC International organization "right there to Ottawa, on the spot, and at the earliest possible moment" (Ibid.). That proposal was never acted upon.

Desy's internal reorganization was more successful. Section supervisors were charged with overseeing the research activities and broadcasts of each language section. The Policy Coordination Unit in turn supervised the activities of the central news service which in its turn supplied news scripts to the language sections and vetted material from the service's various specialized writing sections. In that way "no center of information [in the service] could go astray" (Ibid., p.122).

The director envisaged a strict division of labour for shortwave broadcasting in which foreign language sections

would be responsible for program production in their areas while decisions concerning policy, administration and finance would be "left to senior staff, all of whom would be Canadian citizens, born and educated in Canada" (Op.Cit., Hall, James, 103). Foreign influence would be further contained by putting the East Europeans through a round of security checks in 1953. One staff member remembered how policy procedures were "internalized" that year:

> The general policy to be followed was, of course, carefully worked out with External Affairs. Then we were security checked and debriefed. Then, for about a month, we worked on a closed circuit operation - that is we weren't on the air. Then the scripts we had produced were checked out. Then when we went on there were always people making sure we followed the guidelines. We were almost always supervised (Canada, House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, Minutes, no.9, December 7, 1953, p.426, cited in op. cit., Hibbitts, B., p.43).

By 1954, Desy could claim that a "proper chain of command [was] being maintained and a constant check kept on all activities of the service" (Desy memo, cited in op. cit., Stephens, Lynn, p.126).

This was without question an extraordinary application of political constraint. The Desy regulations were surely as intensive and direct as anything instituted before or since in Canadian broadcasting - at least on a sustained basis (6). But the point I want to make is that consolidation of these restrictive institutional arrangements was by no means

neccessarily coincidental with enhanced social control of news work. This is most obviously the case because statements of managerial intent - virtually all the information we have concerning the Desy period - cannot stand by themselves as substantive measures of actual political control. Researchers of this period - like most researchers of "total" bureaucratic control systems - have offered virtually no evidence of how journalists responded to these working arrangements - nor do they seem very interested in the question (One current manager at RCI told me, however, that "you can't treat professionals like they did in the 1950's [at the International Service] and expect good broadcasting" [KR/04/02/86, p.3]).

This is in part an empirical difficulty but there are theoretical problems at stake as well . Social control at its base involves an ability to regulate the daily actions and movements of working journalists on a sustained basis. This, of course, is not total control. The effective management of time-space working arrangements may or may not be coincidental with long-term processes of legitimation or ideological penetration of the newsroom. Control, as I use the term, depends less on a generalized acceptance of dominant political-cultural values, or the justifiability of policy, than on a more immediate practical working acceptance of institutional arrangements by newsworkers on a routine basis. Even basic routinization of news work may be

a long-term achievement; it is not neccesarily contingent upon strict management plans.

Two kinds of production management, I would argue, have been integral to effective control at Radio Canada International: direct surveillance or supervisory control (see Giddens, Anthony, 1984, pp.117-135; 1987, pp.66-72; Foucault calls this "disciplinary surveillance"; Foucault, Michel, 1978); and mediated control, that is organizational control through the collection of information.

It now appears that from 1951 to 1956 - the period of the most concentrated application of political constraints on international broadcasting in Canada - shortwave news work was controlled almost entirely through supervision. The rather cumbersome "policy coordination" procedures of the time are, I think, a case in point. The regularized physical movement of officers and policy documents between Ottawa and Montreal is an expression of intensified organizational activity, of a complex allocation of labour and management resources - and of the supervisory control system's rather striking lack of temporal and spatial reach. Desy's proposal for an Ottawa-based service was an acknowledgement of the limits of supervision, what he called the "remoteness" of zones of authority from daily work contexts (Op. Cit., RCI History, ch. 2, p.17). In fact, courrier procedures became standardized because communications lines

and information storage facilities were considered fundamentally insecure at the time (RCI Information Bulletin, Looking Back, 1975, p.2).

The service thus lacked the resouces for mediated or extended time-space management. Control of shortwave newswork, and of overall corporate reproduction cycles, was largely exercised through face-to-face monitoring procedures in situations of labour-management copresence. There is surely reason to doubt management's claims concerning the effectiveness of these monitoring procedures - within what was, without doubt, a spectacularly repressive management regime.

6. Control and Corporate Autonomy: 1968-1986

In this section I will be focussing on the administration of newswork since "independent broadcast management" was established at the service in 1968. I will argue that effective "social control" has in some important respects been extended just as basic regulatory arrangements for shortwave news work have been relaxed.

When service officials speak of "normal" news operations they generally mean arrangements for managerial autonomy (RCI interviews, AF/02/24/86, p.1; BZ/02/04/86, pp.2-4; KR/02/04/86, p.3). Under these arrangements the

routine allocation of staff, technology and financial resources across time and space zonings essentially became the prerogative of broadcast management, subject to general budgetary and policy guidelines laid down by the department of External Affairs and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Overall spending levels for shortwave service are now arranged each year with CBC budgetary committees. Before 1968 Radio Canada International received direct annual grants from Parliament which appeared separate from domestic broadcasting budgets in the government estimates (RCI Information Bulletin, 1978, p.4).

Relations with the department of External Affairs have remained a subject of periodic review since 1968. Zimmerman says when she became service director in 1980 there was still some "confusion as to whether the department was still involved in programming" (RCI interview, BZ/02/04/86, p.3). Consultations are now formally limited to the overall establishment of language and target areas because "without the department's particular expertise in these areas RCI couldn't do its job properly" (Ibid.) (7).

Internal reorganization of management at Radio Canada International, according to Service director Zimmerman, reflects this new "consultative" relationship with

government (RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.2). The director and assistant director of the service are specifically charged with conducting "policy formulation" in consultation with the CBC and the Department of External Affairs. Service technical and programming managers and the eleven directors of the language sections are considered "implementers of policy" with specific responsibilities for programming operations. The general supervisor of sections is responsible for coordinating the work of the programming sections with the exception of the "emmissions speciales" departments which report directly to their own directors. In this system, says Zimmerman, direct monitoring of day-to-day broadcast operations by management is "kept to a minimum" (Ibid.).

But like most news organizations RCI maintains a number of supervisory control settings - formal locales in which the regularized observation of activities can be carried out. Arrangements for supervision of news work are generally quite discrete. Senior management operations are essentially confined to separate floors, section supervision bureaux to separate sections of the newsrooms. Direct supervision of newswork is in fact specifically limited to rather formal pre-scheduled contacts of brief duration, the most obvious example being the "team production meeting". Each week at RCI program or section personnel gather to assemble news shows in the presence of production supervisors (most

preparation for the shows takes place earlier in the week; see ch.3). Some news workers at the service consider such supervision a mere formality. In most cases supervisors apparently have little input into program content (RCI interviews, DQ/27/10/86, p.3) and many supervisors regularly miss the proceedings.

Contacts between newsworkers and senior policy-makers are still less frequent. They would occur on the fifth floor of the administrative section but are generally considered extraordinary occurences. Most of the journalists I interviewed for this study had only met senior management personnel once, upon entering the service (8).

The most basic link between policy and production at Radio Canada International is the "target area management" meeting, charged with "implementing total program content standards and planning strategy with the team (Basmadjan, Linda, 1985, pp.16-7). Each program team is assigned a production manager who is to make him or herself available as a "consultant" concerning program preparation, production and broadcasting. Formally prescribed supervisory control procedures are more akin to a full-fledged vetting process and are, I think, quite indicative of how policy is maintained at the daily operational level in situations of copresence. Program tapes are selected at random by an administration committee (usually composed of four to five

managers including the program director and personnel manager) and evaluated according to nine "quality" categories: target area orientation (counting for 12 %); topicality (12%), style (12%), programming mix (9%), portrayal of women (3%), portrayal of Canadian policy (12%), commentary (12%), and pace and rhythm of announcing(16%) (Op.Cit., Basmadjan, p.29). After these discussions the form is to be discarded and not kept in the producer's dossier (Ibid.).

Shortwave newsrooms also establish a fairly conventional range of locales in which news work can be observed and regulated on a more routine basis. Central news bureaux, specialized writing centers, and studio broadcast complexes, for instance, are generally constructed as open spaces with productive activities on display for authorized personnel. But the traffic of both workers and management personnel through these areas is regulated and very often restricted - sometimes by policies governing the movement of unauthorized personnel through the language sections, and often by informal conventions concerning division of labour at the service (see ch.3). I think it fair to say that surveillance within situations of copresence has become a rather circumscribed occurrence.

Social control has essentially become "mediated" at the service. Newswork is now administered - to an unprecedented

degree - through specialized record-keeping procedures. All phases of production are extensively documented (by both managers and news workers themselves): scripts are logged (from first to final drafts, each colour coded), tapes stored, acoustic details registered, even the pacing, delivery and pauses between program sections registered as a matter of routine record (RCI interview, GB/12/05/86, p.1). Program proposals, budget drafts, audience "consultations", broadcast reception reports all establish cumulative files for specialized administrative publics in which the routine movements of producers can be charted over time and, importantly, drawn upon to regulate future performance (9).

Officials at Radio Canada International claim these features of broadcasting are precisely regulated and that in the 1980's the service has become "a decent record-keeping and accounting organization" (RCI interview/kr/02/04/86, p.4) (10). One major complaint about shortwave newswork from newsworkers is, in fact, the paperwork. Journalists at Radio Canada International spend up to one third of their days reporting on themselves (RCI interview, GB/02/06/86, p.2).

The fundamental procedure of "mediated" control at Radio Canada International is, I think, the specialized allocation of staff. Such allocation is seen to guarantee organizational standards of production. Specialization plays a complex role in this sense. It is in part an allocative

strategy - that is a relatively efficient pattern of productive relations (see, for example, Epstein, E.J., 1973, pp.135-138). It also plays an ideological role - both as an obstacle to substantive knowledge (Tuchman, Gaye, 1978, pp.135-51) and as a sectional (managerial) definition of generalized (employee) interests (public employee unions such as NABET often criticize specialization procedures from this perspective; see, for example, Montreal Gazette, October 18, 1986, "NABET Employees Consider Strike Action, p.6).

But these are perhaps its most obvious aspects. Specialization is also an authoritative procedure by which news staff resources are routinely ordered within circumscribed working contexts, contexts within which journalists are accorded a substantial amount of autonomy to organize their own productive activities towards the achievement of organizational objectives. In the chapter that follows I will be examining specialization as it relates to the activities of the international service's Hong Kong special section - as an authoritative procedure ordered towards the construction of objectivity with which the service is charged. As such specialization is typically ordered to distanciate the temporal and spatial patterns of shortwave news work from those of outside social events. Shortwave journalism is routinely insulated as such, both from the newsworld it "describes" and from the fundamental

authority relations by which it is governed . At its most basic level specialization is a mandated "division of labour" by which movements of labour and management between working contexts are routinely restricted as an institutionalized guarantee of service standards of objectivity. And as one official told me supervision of staff under these circumstances is "often both useless and inappropriate" (RCI interview/AF/02/04/86, p.2).

7. Institutions and Shortwave Newswork

Plainly, institutional developments have introduced long-term changes and discontinuities in social control at Radio Canada International which in turn have had specific and fundamental consequences for producers in their daily lives.

In this chapter I have identified three broad control patterns at work in shortwave news production. These supervisory, documentary and professional control patterns have become institutions - sedimented practices - of shortwave news production over time. Now clearly there are no pure control types. "Total control" regimes have made specific if restricted allowances for autonomy and interaction: not all phases of news production could be supervised or carried out by reliable personnel. By the same token, "mediated control" regimes have retained at least

some degree of supervision - in the form of display settings, quality control procedures and vetting routines - which serves to regulate news on a more or less regular basis. And professional control, which essentially allows professionals some autonomy and control in their working lives, at the same time "compromises" that autonomy by requiring journalists to monitor themselves and their colleagues in daily work contexts. "Normal news operations", as present-day management at the service calls them, by no means entail a "suspension" of authority in daily institutional life. More or less autonomous news work remains routinized and grounded in bureaucratic procedures (such as target zonings, audience definitions, technical and program format regulations) which have become institutional legacies at the service.

In the balance of this thesis, however, I want to demonstrate more fully that these sedimented standards and routines must themselves be "made to happen". In other words, the institutions which constitute the conditions of possibility for shortwave news work are themselves grounded in practice and subject to change in principle. Specifically, in the chapter that follows I will be examining this recursive relation between institutions and practice as it operates on a daily basis at Radio Canada International's "Canadian Journal".

Footnotes

1) International broadcasting has been regulated by various agencies to varying degrees since the London International Frequency Management Conference of 1934 (Powell, A.,1988, p.112). Coordination of signals between states is still often non-existent or carried out on an ad hoc bilateral basis by countries sharing broadcast ranges. Most effective regulations are now issued by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) whose Telecommunications Planning Unit brings together the six largest western state broadcasters largely to coordinate signals, arrange distribution networks and forecast ionospheric and general reception conditions for the coming year. The ITU and the other international legal bodies with jurisdiction over the various aspects of shortwave transmission have consistently upheld the right of nation states to broadcast to other nation states (though nations have appealed to these bodies to censure specific foreign broadcasts). As of this writing over 143 nations send radio signals across their borders (Op. Cit., World Radio Television Handbook, 1988).

2) The World Radio and Television Handbook, an international broadcasting guide published in association

with the International Telecommunications Union, distinguishes "international" or "interstate" broadcasting from "transnational" broadcasting, the transmission of messages across borders by private citizens and institutions (World Radio and Television Handbook, 1987, p.2)

3) Howe argued with some of his cabinet colleagues that international broadcasting would allow Canada to assert its sovereignty and "assume its place in a new world community of nations" (RCI Information Bulletin, 1974, p.2). The minister rejected an offer from the British Broadcasting Corporation for a joint wartime information service, and Allied proposals for a Canadian-Free French station, insisting that international broadcasting be a "sovereign, inalienable operation under exclusive Canadian jurisdiction" (Ibid.).

4) Such analysis can lead to a rather superficial view of how broadcasting organizations interact with the state. The service's innaugural broadcast of a speech by Prime Minister MacKenzie King to Canadian troops in Europe is regarded by Fellhauer as an example of state manipulation of shortwave for partisan polical purposes (Fellhauer, H., 1978). Walters cites the speech as indication of the International Service's "ideological" role, by which he means its witting or unwitting promotion of a sectional (Liberal) interest as a (national) general interest (Walters, Tom, 1979, p.12).

One might argue the broadcast was all that but more; fundamentally an exercise, display and reaffirmation of national sovereignty to a peripherally situated population - hence not simply a "controlled" phenomenom but itself an exercise of control.

5) The service had already established services in English, French, German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Italian and Czech after the war. Scandinavian language service has since been discontinued while regular Mandarin and Japanese broadcast sections were established in the 1980's (RCI, Welcome to the World of Shortwave, 1987, p.2)

6) Though vetting procedures were rather strict in both public and private broadcasting outlets at the time in North American news organizations; see, for example, Bayley, Edwin R., 1981).

7) This is a point service officials make time and again - that the consultation process is not just a limiting factor but a positive authoritative resource for continuing regularized service operations. For the service, distanced political management is problematical in many respects. Above all it does not offer firm target priorities or credible efficiency formulas with which to evaluate organizational performance. Service documents sometimes refer to this as the "organizational inertia problem" (Op. Cit., RCI Task Force Report, p.4). Zimmerman now consults

with Ottawa officials at least once a week to maintain what she calls a "long-term consensus" on policy direction:

> All of us here are aware that programming services can't be opened and shut like a tap. We don't have that flexibility, we never have. Once we close a section we lose an audience and our investment. So we have
>
> to coordinate with Ottawa to do the job. (RCI interview, BZ/ 02/04/86, p.3) (22)

Under normal circumstances Ottawa and Montreal plan target line-ups at least two years in advance. Mandarin language service to China, however, was recently established six months ahead of schedule in response to the 1989 student protests in Beijing.

8) Contacts between journalists and government agencies are are now officially limited to formalized "display" settings such as public news conferences (RCI Interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.4; see also ch.3 of this paper concerning the service's "structured involvement" with policy-making communities). According to some personnel, the service maintains a routine presence at conferences to demonstrate its status as an autonomous news organization; it seems very few specific tasks of news work or information gathering are accomplished at these sites (RCI Interviews, AP/08/08/86, p.3).

9) Surveillance may be reciprocal in these situations; such procedures are not only - or even primarily - an

authoritative resource deployed against labour in the news room (Ericson et al. make a similar point in a recent volume on newsroom social control in Ericson, Richard V.; Baranek, Patricia; and Chan, Janet B.L., 1987, p.308) Journalists at Radio Canada International generally retain copies of stories on file in case of disputes with management or legal difficulties (RCI Interviews, JA/08/08/86, p.3). Such material has frequently been submitted to the Quebec Press Council to settle such disputes at other news organizations (see, for example, Conseil de Presse du Quebec, Rapport Annuel, 1984-5, p.10).

10) The monitoring and recording of shortwave broadcast conditions on a regular and sustained basis can be traced back to the early 1940's in Canada (see ch,2 of this paper). Director Peter Aylen made rather permanent arrangements for the exchange of reception reports with Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation's World Service which documented signal strenghth, atmospheric and ionospheric conditions and electronic interference in shared target areas during the war (Op. Cit., RCI History, chs.2-3). That information was documented and confirmed at test reception facilities in Stittsville and Britannia Heights, Ontario. Reception conditions in foreign metropolitan centers began to be monitored by Canadian consulates. Peripheral target areas were "covered" by a very dispersed network of

reception "stringers" (RCI Interview, KR/02/04/86, p.2) and, beginning in the 1950's by organized listener clubs.

Shortwave statistics are recurrently absorbed into processes of reflexive self-regulation. For example, reception report cards, issued to organized listeners, are the service's principal source of audience response and become a condition for further reflexive self-regulation as measures of "broadcast effectiveness". Audience response as such is a regular feature of budgeting discussions and organizational self-evaluations.

Until the 1970's extended broadcast penetration was achieved by the enlargement of transmission facilities at Sackville, New Brunswick, the improvement of relay facilities in the Caribbean and on the Pacific coast and - on the ground - by External Affairs promotional networks (which distribute taped human interest items called "topical disks" to local broadcasters). Since the 1970's broadcast penetration has largely been extended through sattellite relay systems. Relays are inexpensive compared to direct shortwave transmissions but are considered fundamentally "insecure" as they depend upon foreign line transmmissions (from local receiving centers to broadcast outlets; RCI interview, KR/02/04/86, p.2). During the 1970's, the service attempted to conclude sattellite-sharing agreements with other shortwave and domestic broadcasters in the Pacific

Rim region, without much success. Topical disk and sattellite feeds had to be broadcast from commercial stations in the region such as the Nihon Broadcasting Corporation and the Hong Kong Commercial Station.

Recent relay exchange agreements with Radio Japan and Radio Beijing, however, have made many of these arrangements obsolete and effectively extended the service's shortwave coverage to the whole Pacific Rim region and the Indian subcontinent (see chapter 3; similar agreements with the British Broadcasting Corporation's World Service, Radio Deutsche-Welle, and Radio Austria allowed the service to reach new European markets in the 1960's). All of these agreements are still in effect and Sackville has since become a major relay station for European and Asian service to North and South American target areas.

The regularization of news and information flows was in many respects the result of network arrangements made by the Desy administration in the 1950's. At that time the service established an East European information network which could receive and process up to 17,000 words about the COMECON countries every 24 hours (more than half of it from the BBC and VOA's flash teletype lines in New York). Desy's goal was to be able "report on a car crash in Moscow before Soviet radio even knows about it" (Op. Cit., Broadcasting Behind

the Iron Curtain, p.8). RCI now receives more than 100,000 words of teletype from 8 news services (see ch.3).

More or less "instant" communications did not always eliminate cost or effort (Hall provides estimates of the rising costs of shortwave transmission during the 1950's and 1960's; Op. Cit., Hall, James, pp. 213-217) but it does seem to have broken, once and for all, the coincidence of cost and distance in news-gathering operations and in this way facil itated the extention of administrative and corporate control patterns. Attempts to regulate shortwave information flows, drawing upon the technical knowledge and administrative resources of other shortwave and domestic broadcasting services, went well beyond what had occurred during the second world war and represent perhaps the most enduring organizational achievement of the Desy administration.

Chapter 3

Case Study: the Production of RCI's "Canadian Journal"

1. Development of the Program and its Audience
2. Processing the "Canadian Point of View"
3. Program Production and Journalistic Autonomy
4. The Production Week: a Study of Practical Knowledge
5. National Expression

Chapter 3

Case Study: the Production of RCI's "Canadian Journal"

This chapter is concerned with the activities of three journalists in Radio Canada International's "emissions speciales" section. The journalists - a newswriter and two announcer-producers - produce "Canadian Journal", a thirty minute weekly current affairs digest which was developed as a special service for the Hong Kong target market in 1984. The program is taped for broadcast on Friday afternoons, delivered to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Montreal offices, then relayed to Radio Canada International's Vancouver offices, and sent out by Teleglobe satellite for Sunday morning broadcast on the Hong Kong Commercial Station.

In this chapter, I will be examining how news work is produced within a contemporary institutional context. The "Canadian Journal", I will argue, is regulated by a variety of bureaucratic controls. News source useage is monitored and standardized; the most routine activities of the production week are observed by a range of supervisory personnel; and output - the broadcast texts of the ""Journal" - are documented and stored for extended surveillance by authorized publics. But along with these standardized procedures, news work must be "controlled" by

the professional knowledges and practices of journalists themselves. In this sense, the "Journal" provides considerable evidence that practice matters in news production.

This discussion proceeds as follows. In sections 1 and 2 I examine the development of program formats and definitions of audience as they have become institutionalized procedures of objectivity at the "Canadian Journal" (1). In section 3 I consider the organized daily work contexts of the "Journal" in more detail and assess the degree of autonomy these offer the "Journal" team in their work. In section 4 I offer a day by day account of the production week and consider the basic practical knowledges which journalists employ within routine work contexts.

These sections essentially argue that shortwave journalism is not simply a product of constraints but a "positive accomplishment". In the concluding section of this chapter I ask the question: a positive accomplishment of what? Here I define shortwave news work as a "constituitive" practice and relate this notion to some current constructivist theories of news work.

1. The Program and its Audience

"Objective journalism", acccrding to the Radio Canada International Task Force Report of 1973, "reflects the balanced variety of Canadian viewpoints on important issues, news and current affairs" (RCI Task Force Report, p.9). The fundamental task of shortwave broadcasting in Canada is to present a "full range of Canadian viewpoints clearly and coherently to listeners around the world" (Ibid.).

Now there is virtually no organized pre-constituted community of listeners in Canada which the service can routinely draw upon to produce objective programming. But Radio Canada International does work to maintain what the Task Force Report has called a "structured involvement with the Canadian community" (Ibid., p.9) (2). I want to begin this discussion with some general remarks about the "Canadian Journal's" programming format, structured as such. The institutional foundations of the format can be usefully examined in terms of the construction of a target area, the definition of a target audience and the presentation of a "Canadian point of view". These features form basic conditions of possibility for programming at the "Canadian Journal".

RCI's director Betty Zimmerman defines the target area as an "expression of a broad consensus about legitimate areas of Canadian interest in the world" (RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.4). Such a consensus is maintained through consultations with an advisory council composed of members with a "knowledge of international affairs, trade or communications" (Op. Cit., RCI Task Force Report, p.1). The service's "structured involvement" at this stage of programming is thus largely with specialized administrative groupings, generally officials representing the Department of External Affairs and members of Canada's broadcasting and business communities" (Ibid.).

With respect to the "Canadian Journal", the government first announced plans to establish a Pacific Rim section at the service in 1970. Officials from the department of External Affairs tentatively suggested the use of a British Broadcasting Corporation relay system to secure limited coverage (RCI Information Bulletin, 1971, p.2; Op. Cit., RCI History, ch. 5,p.5). That proposal was never acted upon, however, and during the 1970's service to the region was limited to the distribution of "topical disks" (current affairs recordings distributed to Pacific broadcasters for extended use) and some program collaboration with the Nihon Broadcasting Corporation for the Japanese market. Direct shortwave broadcasting to the Pacific was formally considered in 1979 and rejected in 1980 because of the

estimated $50 million cost of constructing a transmitter in British Columbia.

In 1984, the new federal Conservative government declared the Pacific Rim a "second priority foreign policy area" (second after Eastern Europe) and later that year the service received a formal request from the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian High Commission to begin regular English broadcasts to Hong Kong by satellite. The Canadian High Commission in Hong Kong produced a series of profiles of the broadcast market while the Canadian Chamber of Commerce found a link-up with the Hong Kong Commercial Station and arranged for program sponsorship by the Royal Canadian Mint and Richardson, Greenshields and Company. "Canadian Journal" began broadcasting later that year.

The "Canadian Journal" is a flagship project for RCI, explicitly designed as a first service for Canada's highest growth trading market of the time, the Pacific Rim. Program development can take up to two years in the service's Emissions Speciales section (RCI interviews, KR/22/04/86, p.2) but regular broadcasts of the Journal were begun less than seven months after its formal inclusion as a specialized target area. Technical and demographic research for the program was considered a "top priority" at the

the service in 1984 according to Keith Randall, the service's corporate director of Development and Promotions (RCI interviews, DQ/02/04/86, p. 2).

Procedures for defining the "Journal's" audience draw upon institutionalized demographic practices at the service. Radio Canada International has monitored relations with various target audiences since the 1950's by organizing listeners into shortwave clubs and other respondent groups. Relations with the public are reflexively monitored: organized listeners are issued a range of survey forms with which to report various aspects of broadcast and reception quality. And this information is appropriated as a measure of "broadcast effectiveness" and thus as a condition for further broadcasting to the area.

But RCI director Zimmerman acknowledges there is no really broadly-based listening public which the service can engage in a structured way. "Its never easy to determine your audience", she notes:

> There is always a discussion, for instance, with the ethnic communities in Canada when we're setting up a program. There's also a lot of general knowledge. Some of our people go down to the Caribbean for the Caribbean Broadcasting Union meetings. And now there is pretty regular contact with the Asian Broadcasters' Union. So we can sound things out with the broadcasters in the area. Its hard to reach an audience and have them articulate whats of interest to them but you can talk to a broadcaster. And its very much through that group that we have gathered a lot of

> our information. There are, of course, the ethnic communities here but they are often very specific, say a group of Jamaicans or whatever, and they may not have broader concerns . We have to keep it broad (RCI interviews/BZ/02/04/86, p.4).

The service thus routinely relies on organized communities to define its audience. Programmers, to cite another instance, regularly consult with the research facilities of other news organizations for profiles of a region and a target area (the Caribbean Broadcasters' Union, for example, sends quarterly reports on the Caribbean basin broadcast market; RCI interviews, DQ/13/18/86, p.7). Service contacts with the target public, and the movements of RCI personnel through a target area are, as well, generally coordinated with the time-space working arrangements of other news bureaucracies and the department of External Affairs. Fact- finding missions are usually pegged to international broadcasting conferences or scheduled around formal consultations with local broadcast authorities, often arranged by Canadian consular officials (3).

The newswriter for the "Canadian Journal" first visited the Hong Kong target area in June-July of 1986 for a meeting of the Asian Broadcasters' Union. Virtually all of his excursions were scheduled by the Union or by the department of External Affairs. In fact, the "Journal" writer only encountered journalists and diplomats on that trip. And these were, quite simply, the only audience he had

met in three years of working on the show (RCI interviews, DQ/08/08/86, p.3).

This is not altogether surprising. Audience feedback is rare (the "Canadian Journal" receives no more than several dozen letters a year; RCI interviews, GR/02/04/86, p.1) and, official populist pronouncements to the contrary, generally considered partial (or "sectional"; RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.3), unreliable ("partisan" and often "inarticulate"; RCI interviews, DQ/08/08/86) and unpredictable (irregularly corresponded and often "inaccessible", especially if not administratively organized within a community grouping; RCI interviews BZ/02/04/86, p.3).

The "Journal's" program format is thus a rather clear expression of the "bureaucratic affinities" between news organizations and other bureaucracies (Fishman, Mark, 1980, p.143 ; Fishman uses the term specifically to describe relations between news organizations and government agencies). That is, only other bureaucracies and organized publics can be expected to satisfy the bureaucratic input needs of Radio Canada International and produce regular and reliable accounts of a region and a target audience.

2. Processing a "Canadian Point of View" at the "Journal"

The "Canadian point of view" on news and current affairs is a bureaucratic idealization which must be routinely constructed. Service director Zimmerman stresses that Radio Canada International must offer consistently objective programming to be credible to audiences around the world (RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.2). "Credibility is the most important thing", says Zimmerman, "and anything one can do to build that, to ensure that, that's at the base of all our policies" (RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86,p.3). Service officials insist that, because they are unable to properly monitor broadcast coverage or control the various contingencies of ionospheric conditions, they must assume their world audience to be a transient one, entitled to a "full range of Canadian views" within each program on all controversial issues" (RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.2; KR/02/04/86, p.3).

There are some formal guidelines in this area. The service has enforced rather strict regulations concerning "fair balance" since its inception (see Hall, James, 1971, pp.33-42). The rules in force since 1968 are the "most elaborate", according to current management (RCI Interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.4). Programmers are advised "above all" to draw upon "Canadians in their own voices concerning

important issues, keeping in mind the prevalence and weight of views within the Canadian scene" (Op. Cit., RCI Task Force Report, pp.17-18).

Balanced programming is seen to be achieved on a day-by-day basis by the monitoring and editing of accredited news sources. Radio Canada International now receives a rather broad international news package - including the nationally-based Canadian Press, Presse Canadienne and Broadcast News associations; the Quebec news service Telebec; Reuters (English and French services); Agence France Presse (French and English); and the Third World based Inter Press and Caribbean News agencies.

Until 1984 wire copy was ripped and fed by clerks into section "in-baskets". With the new computerized wire systems, however, producers are expected to monitor these wire sources up to fifteen minutes before airtime (RCI interviews, KR/21/04/86, p.3). In theory, most news stories can be processed four to six hours after they happen.

Reliance on the wire as a source for stories is almost absolute at the "Canadian Journal"(4). But wire service can become problematic enough as a resource for objectivity to require journalistic intervention - far more frequently than takes place in most case studies of "second-hand" news reproduction in Canada (see, for example, Clarke, Deborah,

1981). The "Canadian Journal" producers insist that each wire service operates according to seasonal rhythms, determined in large part by the work rhythms of government and corporate bureaucracies. The notorious summer lulls which grip Canadian Press, for example, are considered the direct result of parliamentary recesses, the CP's own corporate reliance on seasonal labour and, perhaps, a certain Toronto-based dementia (CP is frequently taken to task for its apparent Central Canadian perspective; RCI interviews, DQ/27/10/86, p.7).

During low seasons editors scramble for what they consider regular reliable sources. Beginning in mid-June, the "Journal" writer receives a daily log of CBC radio's "World at Six" news broadcast and builds up his own emergency cross-Canada newspaper file for background and confirmation of regular wire stories which, he thinks, become "questionable" - inaccurate and unbalanced - after July 1. There is genuine concern that the wire may "dry up" as a regular and reliable source of news. And during the summer non-topical human interest stories are routinely hoarded against that day (RCI interviews, DQ/27/10/86, p.6).

Even in regular seasons different wire services are thought to have different strenghts and used accordingly. Time and circustances permitting, several wires will be conterbalanced in a text according to their perceived

styles. Reuters is thought by the "Journal" writer to be "clear, concise and reliable about most areas of the world". Inter press news service is "lengthy, boring but sometimes informative about the Third World". Agence France Presse is "quirky", with some "great scoops, particularly about the socialist countries" but "not enough attribution" (RCI interviews, DQ/27/10/86, p.7).

Corporate policy dictates that no story go on the air at the service without verification by at least two accredited news sources. Single source stories are not unknown but even when lack of corroboration is noted in the text (as it always is; e.g. "Reuters news service reports that...") news editors are generally uncomfortable with the procedure. The "Journal" newswriter explains that he "can't accept a story as truth when it hasn't been backed up. We have a duty to tell our listeners that the story hasn't been verified by at least one other source" (RCI interviews, DQ/27/10/86, p.5).

Accredited wire services are thus rather central resources for objective news at the service. Now the economic reaso ns for producing "second-hand" wire-based news are fairly well-known (see, for example, Clarke, Deborah, 1981). There are evident economies of scale to centralized news production (though these may have been overestimated in the literature on news production; see, for

example, Porter, Brian, 1985, for a statement of this argument). But the nearly absolute reliance on bureaucratically produced and reproduced statements has become a fixture of shortwave newswork, beyond the contingencies of budgets and deadlines, as Zimmerman explains:

> One thing that we all agree on is that we can't be investigative journalists [at Radio Canada International]. First of all, we don't have the money. For that you have to spend a lot and give people a lot of time which we don't have. But there's also the consideration that we simply can't do a story that hasn't been checked and double-checked....[A story] has to appear somewhere else first. We're representing Canada, we're mirroring this country. You can't mirror a country by doing a story on your own that hasn't been taken up elsewhere. That would be made very clear to someone even before they started working at RCI (RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.4).

A "Canadian point of view" as articulated at the "Journal" thus depends almost absolutely on a bureaucratically processed and reprocessed universe of events. The program's news section is, by and large, made up of bureaucratically-produced statements - issued and often reissued by government bureaucracies and various organized communities - which are in turn processed and reprocessed by the accredited news agencies to which Radio Canada International subscribes. Objectivity is seen to be achieved through institutinalized regimens of wire useage. At the same time, these sedimented routines are monitored and, if

neccesary, repaired by journalists themselves in the course of their activities. Second-hand news processing at the "Journal" is in this sense a fixed institution grounded in practice.

5. Program Production and Journalistic Autonomy

In this section I examine in some detail the divisions of labour, scheduling procedures and architectural patterns which constitute the "Journal" work setting. I then consider the degree of autonomy and the-extent of product control these arrangements offer the "Journal" production team.

The "Journal" has a rather special position within the corporation. The show has been assigned a permanent staff of two announcer-producers and a newswriter in residence - a unique arrangement in the Emissions Speciales section. The newswriter was recruited by the producers during the show's pilot stage in 1984; he is, in fact, the only senior news editor at Radio Canada International to be assigned to a specific target area. Permanent postings are not considered cost-efficient at the service and the "Journal" newswriter is still expected to provide press reports for other program departments. He may also fill in as announcer-producer in the Spanish and German sections. Many of these assignments he chooses himself (RCI interviews, DQ/28/04/86, p.7). With the budget cuts of the last several years, multiple job

responsibilities have become quite common at the service. But the newswriter, like his colleagues, plainly considers the "Journal" a rather long-term and hence special assignment:

> We see it as a reward for our professionalism. The corporation has put a lot of time and money into this project. It shows they believe each of us can do most of the jobs needed for the show. And it shows they think we can be mostly left to our own devices to get on with things. There's no one looking over our shoulders here (RCI interviews, DQ/23/08/86, p.4).

Divisions of labour are relatively flexible. The show's producers devised their own 30 minute format in 1984 which usually includes seven minutes of news; a two minute business and stock market report from the Toronto "Financial Post" newspaper; a syndicated commentary from assorted freelance journalists and from the CBC domestic service; a musical break, usually of Canadian content; and a cultural or human interest feature item supplied by a Montreal or Quebec City freelancer. This format often calls for the writer to announce and the announcers to edit copy up until airtime. The staff feels this arrangement "livens up the show and breaks the monotony [of daily production routines]" (RCI interviews, DQ/28/06/86, p.1). It also gives them "professional flexibility" to divide their tasks as fits each production situation (RCI interviews, GR/28/06/86, p.2)(5).

Management has as yet rarely interfered with these working arrangements. In fact, in two years of programming, the show had not once been subjected to the rather strict quality control procedures which have been routinized elsewhere in the Emissions Speciales section (RCI interviews, DQ 22/06/86, p.3). "Quality control" is essentially exercised by the "Journal" staff themselves with production monitored on a rather irregular bimonthly basis by the show's section supervisor. All in all the staff feels rather unsupervised and unencumbered by bureaucracy (RCI interviews, DQ/08/08/86, p.3).

The architecture of the "Journal" work setting only partly reflects these autonomous working arrangements. The news editor's "office" is actually the corner of a room shared with two members of Radio Canada International's French language team. The room is cluttered with abandoned word processors, oversized desks and file cabinets and, somewhat inexplicably, a table and chair for visitors (I was apparently the only visitor in two years). The newswriter feels he sometimes has "no room to think or breathe in his office" (RCI interviews, DQ/28/04/86). Final team meetings, on the Friday afternoons before broadcasts, are generally held in the somewhat more spacious and muted offices of the production supervisor down the hall.

Much of the "Journal's" production week thus takes place in public. Friday afternoon taping sessions are perhaps the most spectacular example of a supervised and controlled work setting. Broadcasts are attended by at least two corporate technicians - who feed in the pre-taped portions of the show and monitor the proceedings for acoustic quality and by at least one broadcast producer who regulates the pacing and articulation of studio delivery and assures fidelity to prepared texts. Broadcast work essentially involves the production of faultless speech (Goffman, Erving, 1974). The Journal's news section must be delivered in shortwave "special English" in which speech is paced at about 120 words a minute with syllables and consonants clearly emphasized. (Hong Kong is defined as an "intermediately fluent" target area by service standards; RCI interviews, KR/22/04/86, p.3). The "Journal" standards for "clips" of recorded speech also tend to be quite rigorous (see below, ch.3).

But even within such "totally controlled" production settings some allowance is made for autonomy and interaction. At the "Journal", broadcasts conform to the standard format arrangements devised by the staff and approved by management in the show's first year of production. The news section is scheduled to take up seven minutes of the half hour broadcast so each delivery of a news item is generally double-timed (by the "Journal"

newswriter and the broadcast producer). The "Journal" producers usually regulate themselves in these areas, taping over misarticulations and compensating for pacing errors as the show proceeds. The "Journal" producers have, in fact, agreed to allow themselves only 15 seconds leaway in the total allotted news section. The broadcast producer believes that no more than that time period can be added or subtracted from the rest of the show without holding up the production schedule (RCI interviews, LC/31/07/86, p.1). Working with these arrangements, the thirty minute show can usually be taped within the hour.

Clearly this type of production surveillance does not operate on a strictly hierarchical basis or directly reflect broader institutionalized relations of production at the service. The "Journal" producers as often as not regulate themselves in the control room and the broadcast producer, considered a junior news manager at the service, will often defer to their judgment in these areas (As one such producer explained to me, "they [the "Journal" team] have been here longer than me and they definitely know what they're doing in the studio"; RCI interviews, LC/31/07/86, p.1) (6).

Script preparation displays the same complement of bureaucratic control and self-regulation. Script supervision is certainly not unknown at the service but producers - including those at the "Journal" - can generally withdraw

their work from public settings with official approval. Producers, for example, make frequent use of the work rooms reserved by Emissions Speciales journalists for deadline production, areas which might, in effect, be considered officially sanctioned "back-spaces" where journalists are able to engage in concentrated production procedures without interruption.

In a similar fashion, the "Journal" producers may, with perfect impunity, manipulate time schedules to remove their work from conventional display situations . During the week, the newswriter often arrives at work at 5 a.m.to scan the wires in private. The management officials I spoke with at Radio Canada International seemed to regard this practice with approval (RCI interviews, BZ/02/04/86, p.4; AF/02/04/86; KR/22/04/86, p.2). Cycles of organizational use, in fact, have come to vary widely at the "Journal" and the flow of traffic through office regions tends to be rather diffuse. The "Journal" news editor compares his uninterrupted work time in the mornings to the "stable conditions" which used to exist in shortwave newsrooms of the past; the "civilizing difference", he thinks, is the new communications technology of news production (RCI interviews, DQ/06/08/86, p.6).

The production floors where the "Journal" is based contain an abundance of technology - wire terminals,

computer systems, cartouche processors and the like - which, along with officially-sanctioned organizational boundaries, help define the regional setting and allow some degree of autonomy in production. The "Journal" newswriter says the wire system gives him "more control over the production process" and allows him to do the job on his own time, "without anyone's help" (Ibid.), in effect redefining the formalized supervisory contexts in which work takes place.

Much of the word processing equipment in the "Journal" offices had been specifically requisitioned by the production team and effectively "appropriated" for the show. Because of his knowledge of languages, the Journal newswriter is the only member of the broadcasting organization with effective regular access to the complete RCI wire services (in English, French, Spanish and German) (7). He regards the special wires as a sort of "personal information base" (RCI interviews, DQ/31/07/86, p.1). The news editor has, in effect, acquired a range of practical technologies and skills by which he himself may monitor and regulate the accomplishment of his organizational tasks.

How do these arrangements faci litate journalistic autonomy at the "Canadian Journal"? From a strictly ethnomethodological point of view, provisions for unsupervised newswork would constitute a sort of protocol of

"colonization" - of news workplaces by newsworkers who have managed to "construct a tolerable world within the interstices of time and space" (Goffman, Erving, 1969, p.128). I think it important to keep in mind, however, that fundamental relations of authority in the newsroom are not suspended - or even necessarilly relaxed - in unsupervised workzones. Activities which are unsupervised may be very precisely monitored and regulated indeed.(see above, ch.2).

Moreover, the very idea of "colonized" back regions - as hidden places where activities which would otherwise be disapproved of can be carried on - would seem to imply that the public front rituals of the "Journal" are mere social facades. Giddens argues, quite rightly I think, that Goffman may have underestimated actors' affective involvement in public rituals and routines. "Actors (agents)", he notes, "do not generally feel themselves to be actors (players)" (Giddens, Anthony, 1984, pp.125-6). I am suggesting that the "Journal" producers generally - though perhaps not exclusively - use "back regions" for the autonomous accomplishment of these front rituals in their work activities. Shortwave news work is considered by those who manage it and those who do it to be a very precisely controlled phenomenom indeed.

7.The Production Week: a Case study of Practical Knowledge

Until now I have addressed the issue of practical knowledge in news work only implicitly - for example, with respect to the construction of balance and the use of various "front" and "backspaces" in the production setting. In this section I want to examine the monitoring and editing routines of the production week and consider more explicitly the implication of practical knowledge and skill in organized production. In the conclusion of this chapter I will consider how this notion of practical knowledge relates to current constructivist theories of news work.

Production week at the "Journal" officially begins Monday morning, but the beginning of the week is considered to be "generally very slow for news" by the staff (RCI interviews, DQ/28/04/86, p.1). Monitoring of the wire begins mid-week in accordance with the perceived temporal rhythms of the news flow. The news editor insists that "news generally hits on Wednesday when everyone [journalists and policy-makers] is getting into gear". On that day he receives a log of basic CBC domestic newscasts - The "World at Eight", The "World at Six", CBC television's "The National" and the local Montreal newscast "City at Six".

Wednesday news items are, for the "Journal's" purposes, developing news items. By mid-week the staff may casually anticipate a story but "there's no committment" (RCI interviews, DQ/27/10/86, p.7). Even starting to write a news story before Thursday for the Friday broadcast is considered "second-guessing the news" and, effectively, a waste of time. Rough drafts on top stories are drawn up on Thursday mornings but only as "open texts" which can be revised up to airtime.

Newsmaker clips from the "World at Six" and the "World at Eight" are usually sent from the dubbing rooms on Thursday afternoons and much of the rest of the day will be spent preparing them for broadcast. This is a rather lengthy process, again because of the exacting technical standards of shortwave broadcasting. Speakers must clearly articulate their statements at a pace of no more than 160 words per minute - slightly faster than the special english news narrative - and use a fairly elementary vocabulary which the foreign audience can easily understand. They have about 2,000 words to choose from (RCI interviews, DQ/31/07/86, p.2) (8).

The editor may also require "complementary pieces", that is clearly stated opposing points of view from an accredited news source. If not, such a point of view must

usually be paraphrased in the narrative text (RCI interviews, DQ/07/07/86, p.5).

The clip is thus stricly regulated according to the needs of the production discourse. The tapes are carefully assembled to reinforce narrative themes and this assembly is considered one of the most exacting procedures of shortwave newswork. Slurs, pauses and all extraneous points not related to those the editor wishes his speaker to make are routinely deleted from the tape. Splicing - competently done - will allow the editor to "take the S's right off [a speaker's] words" (RCI interviews, DQ/31/07/86, p.2).

By late Friday morning the "Journal" newswriter is ready to take this work to the production meeting; and at this stage the team is usually ready to assemble a whole program text. Most stories have been written, edited and timed with accompanying clips. Musical breaks have been chosen, freelance pieces have arrived along with the Financial Post item, a news commentary and a sportscast from the domestic network. Together these elements will constitute the show.

There is little talk at this stage of a story's significance or even its potential interest to the target area. Target area specifications are generally of a technical nature. Once stories have been technically

processed to meet those specifications, they are judged more as discursive contributions than as discrete informational items for a listening audience. In other words, stories are measured largely according to their reference to other stories in the broadcast, and to past stories on the "Journal". The text here is conceived as a continuing series of "Journal" programs (despite the fact that the "Journal" audience is assumed to be a mass of random listeners).

Stories at this stage are thus arranged and rearranged to achieve coherence and narrative force of the text. The "Journal's" newswriter is acutely aware of the line-up's narrative flow. He will pursue ongoing national themes using rather conventional narrative structures.

The week of February 28, 1986 is quite typical. The show opens with a story on the resignation of Liberal politician Jean Chretien as a member of Parliament (passage into private life) and closes with an obituary to New Democratic politician Tommy Douglas (passage out). A story on the Canadian federal budget fits well as a second item showing that "life goes on" in the face of these transitions. As the newswriter observes, "there will always be a budget" (RCI interviews, DQ/28/02/86, p.8). The next report on the shooting of a Winnipeg policeman fits in as part of the "ongoing story" on crime in Canada. The editor learns the alleged killer is a native Canadian but later

decides to leave this information out of the broadcast as it is a "possibly misleading detail" and "not pertinent to the main point about changes taking place in Canadian society". A piece on a Cape Breton snowstorm ends the show on an "up note, with a bit of local colour" (the editor also finds a howling wind clip for atmosphere).

February 28 is considered a busy news week so much of the team meeting is devoted to paring down the line-up from eleven potential stories to a final line-up of nine news items. A story on a possible postal strike ("another perennial item") is considered to be a "developing story" which can be included in a future show. Another on a cruise missile crash in the Beaufort Sea is considered for the line-up as a "complementary piece to the Cape Breton story, indicating the show's continuing coverage of "remote areas of Canada". But the editor decides there is not enough time.

Finally these stories are checked for overlap or conflict with current affairs and commentary items. On February 28 these sections complement each other quite nicely. Obituaries for Tommy Douglas and hockey player Jacques Plante reinforce the passage theme while a freelance piece on a Montreal department store's Caribbean promotional campaign "shows the ethnic variety of Canada in a sort of light way" (RCI interviews, DQ/28/02/86, pp.9-11).

Even at this late stage, selection and presentation routines may be modified in principle. During the course of this study the routine negotiation of time constraints had become problematic enough for the staff to require discursive revision . The problem for the July 24 edition of the "Journal" was how to achieve a "balanced" Canadian perspective within a six minute newscast. A team exchange concerning the coverage of an Ontario doctors' strike and a tainted tuna fish scandal in New Brunswick helps illustrate: a working negotiation of conflicting organizational standards of balance and brevity:

> AP: Can you tie doctors and fish together in one blurb? That's too much to ask?
>
> TM: I don't think we need to worry about time this week.
>
> AP: We could do it in 10 seconds - "once there was a strike, now its over" - no reactions, nothing. The strikers won't care. Neither will the fish for that matter.
>
> NE: We could do that...God, I hope these guys don't get shortwave.

But clearly these arrangements are considered unacceptable for the long term. According to the newswriter, the staff is "just tempted to squeeze more and more into the broadcast; it's our training". In his view "is hard to know what to do in these situations. If you leave the story out you're not fairly representing these people. And if you squeeze too many stories in you're not representing them either" (RCI interviews, DQ/24/07/86, p.4). At the next

production meeting the program format is brought up for review. The staff and area supervisor agree that the line-up should be reduced from nine to seven "in-depth" items (usually of a minute to a minute and 15 seconds in length).

Typifications of wire stories are also somewhat negotiable at this stage. A Canadian Press July, 1986 item about a federal judge's injunction against news (about a seal hunting commission) was seen, by the "Journal's" announcer-producer, for example, to be a "self-serving" way of handling the story. This was "obviously not a deliberate attempt [by the judge] to stifle the press. Judges are not that stupid", he concluded. There was a team consensus this is not a "freedom of the press" story and the headline was changed to read "Canada's seal hunt: it may be gone but it's not forgotten" with the court injunction cited in passing as an indication of "just how heated the debate over seal-hunting is in Canada". The bulk of the report dealt with reactions to the findings of the commission. But in the end a CBC news clip concerning the judge's defense of his injunction was included because it was the only tape available for that portion of the show (RCI field notes, 31/07/86, pp.2-7).

These news judgments plainly draw upon a range of practical knowledges. I would argue that the competent use of typifications involves not just core linguistic

competencies - that is the syntactical mastery of sentences and linguistic forms - but a broader and fairly exact professional knowledge of the social contexts in which those forms are employed (Tuchman, Gaye, 1978).

The practical knowledges employed in these story discussions are several and varied. They include: a familiarity with the technological conditions of broadcast, the time links, broadcast ranges and potential acoustic qualities of the Montreal to Hong Kong relay transmissions; a range of hypotheses concerning the socio-linguistic competencies of the Hong Kong audience, including a measure of their familiarity with the particular language of the text, their understanding and sharing of Canadian social values,; a number of judgments of the social position of newsmakers which allow the "Journal" producers to decide whether Justice Malouf's ruling represents an institutional or personal position, whether he or the court - or the press - are in any sense partisan in this matter, whether and in what sense other organized communities have a right to speak on this issue as part of a "Canadian perspective"; and a more general working (idealized) notion of what constitutes the normal procedures of such a debate - this notion underlying the assessment of judicial proceedings as social rituals which have "gone off without a hitch", serving as a measure of the social significance of a court injunction in a case of this kind, and defining a "need" for

public consultations at this stage of the proceedings within a Canadian "pluralist" framework. I think employment of typifications without reference to at least some of these contexts would constitute not just incompetence but pathologically unprofessional behaviour in the production meeting.

It is partly in this sense, I think, that typifications are grounded in knowledgable practice. Bureaucratic facticity frames are routinely monitored, not just linguistically but in a more broadly contextual sense, and this is considered, by those who do it, a core competency of shortwave newswork. Second-hand journalism is seen to be untypical and incompetent at the "Journal" - not so much because it is "unoriginal", but because it has not been reflexively monitored as such towards the competent reproduction of organizational standards of objectivity. For this reason, service personnel argue - with some divisions in the ranks of both labour and management - that the routine useage of international news sources is quite consistent with presenting a Canadian perspective on current affairs (9). The "Canadian perspective" on news and current affairs is thus achieved in part through standardized professional control procedures.

Typifications and production procedures are, to be sure, rarely held up for discursive review as such. More

often they are rather unproblematically reconstituted in the production meeting as a frame for the ongoing presentation and assembly of news (see Tuchman, Gaye, 1972, 1978 for similar observations of newsroom practice). Unanimity is an operating strategy here. A professional consensus - the "Journal" frame - must be regularly and competently reproduced to get on with the job and have the show ready for airtime. The purpose of the production meeting itself is essentially the constant regrooving of established program formats in the face of a weekly stream of news events. With its conclusion, subject to amendments by last-minute story developments, the "Journal" is ready for broadcast.

5. National Expression

I want to conclude this section with one final appraisal of newswork as a situated political and cultural activity. I have argued so far that shortwave journalism is not simply the product of constraints, regulatory, financial or otherwise, but a positive accomplishment. But the hard question remains, I think, a positive accomplishment of what?

The shortish answer is that journalism is the accomplishment of knowledge through the combination of a range of discursive articulations. Cultural production is, in this view, essentially recipe knowledge - with some

indexical and contextual complications. Both code and frame theories easily slip into this line of thinking (see, for example Leiter, Kenneth, 1980; and Ericson et al., 1987) though, again, there is generally a recognition that typifications cannot simpy be mechanically employed without a knowledgable regard for social settings. The employment of practical knowledge as such is plainly endemic to the construction of reality.

But I think an argument can be made that, in some important respects, these theories of typified meaning remain theories of representation. With words, journalists manage - competently or otherwise - to frame representations of the social world (10). What is lacking in these constuctivist theories of meaning is a really convincing account of the activity in which the connections between words and referents arises and is sustained.

I think a more expressivist theory of meaning might address some of these issues. The production of national discourse I have described at the "Canadian Journal" I would argue, is not simply a deployment of a conventional typification of "Canada", however adept that deployment is seen to be. In this section, I want to consider such a case of institutionalized typification at the "Journal" - not as the employment of a given stock of knowledge but as a

discursive formation grounded and sustained in expressive practice.

Perhaps the best way to get at this expressive dimension of journalistic practice is to see what constitutes a good news story for the "Journal" producers themselves. The producers plainly judge their own work in somewhat broader than representative terms. An ideal story cited repeatedly by the newswriter at the "Journal" is a deceptively simple case in point. The story concerns a town in the province of New Brunswick which was nearly washed away by high tides and spring floods in April of 1986. The editor and his colleagues I spoke with at the "Journal" remembered the piece for one image: the townspeople wading through waters which were "chest-deep". That, according to the newswriter, was

> a simple picture which just drove the whole story home, drove home the humanity of that event as we would see it in Canada. I wanted everyone to share that feeling of loss, that sense of community. I think that was my work at its best (RCI Interviews, DQ/08/08/86, p.1).

Now I think there are several ways in which this image might be considered a "key" element in the story. It might simply be taken as a designative sign which essentially adds information about the level of a flood wash. Or, I think much more plausibly, it might be seen as a stock typification of a "sense of community" as this is conceived

in Canada. But again, in each case the language activity essentially involves the framing of a representation of an essentially independently constituted meaning.

For the "Journal" producers, the image does much more than that. It is in a sense a formulation of a conception of Canada, of the terms in which people experience the nation; this involves, according to the "Journal" editor "conveying a sense of what this country is all about, something I and I guess all Canadians have to grapple with every day" (Ibid., p. 2). Effective newswork, from this perspective, does not simply take up these meanings of nation; it somehow brings them to a fuller consciousness. Expressive language activity both describes and conveys a conception of Canada (see Taylor, Charles, 1985 for an informed discussion concerning expressive language use).

The language of the "Journal" thus takes on a constitutive dimension which much constructivist theory, I think, has as yet only dealt with implicitly. The flood story is, in the words of the "Journal" editor, "part of an ongoing story of what this country stands for" (Ibid., p.1). It stands as an expression of the standards by which Canadians experience the nation (even if they lack a precise formulaic definition of that experience) and hence enters the national reality it is "about". National expression as such is separate from and irreducible to representation.

It is worth emphasizing that expressive activity at the "Canadian Journal" which conveys this sense of "nationhood" is institutionally mediated, indeed quite exhaustively so. Canadian broadcasters have an historical mandate not just to transmit or even share information with their audience. Broadcasting services in Canada have since the Aird Commission been specifically charged with the creation of a formal public space, an image with which public broadcasters in this country have been almost totally obsessed since plans for a national broadcasting service were first drawn up in 1929. "Canadian broadcasting at its best", as defined in the 1973 Radio Canada International Task Force on Broadcasting, "brings Canadians together in a national dialogue, in a common act of focussing on what it means to be Canadian" (p.2). As such, RCI programmers have a mandate not just to describe Canadian reality but to express an ongoing conception of the nation for the listening audience.

In this institutional context, the "Journal" producers essentially invoke the image of the flood level as a standard in relation to the citizen subjects of the story and to a community at large;. The national story does provide a measure of the New Brunswick tide; and in a sense, I think, it "frames" a socially acceptable and ideologically

convenient representation of an event. But more fundamentally, it reaffirms a sense of community among the listening audience and, even if in a most minute and banal way, enters the language and practice of national discourse.

Footnotes

1. I will be following Fishman in treating objectivity as essentially an administratively useful account (Op. Cit., Fishman, Mark, pp.116-118).

2) According to the Task Force Report, the service is specifically charged with the consultation of "members [of the Canadian community] with a knowledge and expertise in international matters who might be prepared to assist programming in an advisory capacity" (Ibid., p.9).

3) In areas which "can't be credibly covered by other means", the service will sometimes rely exclusively on audience profiles from the department of External Affairs - though the department's structured relations with foreign citizens are generally acknowledged to be rather formal and restricted; RCI interviews, DQ/08/08/86,p.4).

4) The "Canadian Journal" newswriter will often arrive early
at his office, take work home and monitor some select outside news sources, particularly the CBC's domestic "World at Six"radio broadcast (RCI interviews, DQ/08/15/86, p.7). He does not consider such activity a break with established production trajectories as his supplementary source use is organizationally approved and, moreover, fully documented in

both final and preparatory news scripts.

4) Radio Canada International has since concluded separate relay exchange agreements with Radio Japan and Radio Beijing effectively extending its coverage to the whole Pacific Rim region and the Indian subcontinent. The April, 1989 agreement with China - the first ever with a communist country - gives Radio Canada International access to state transmitters in Xian province for three years; during this time Radio Beijing will be given an equal amount of broadcast time (two hours a day) at RCI's Sackville station. In neither case is the broadcast supposed to be aimed at the country where the transmitter is located and each service is, according to the RCI's present director of programming Alan Familiant, guaranteed complete editorial freedom in its broadcasts (Toronto Globe and Mail, Saturday, July 1, 1989, p.1). RCI's Mandarin language service to China is broadcast from Radio Japan's Yamato relay station.

5) Newsworkers at Radio Canada International make routine use of a number of practical skills on the job. News processors are generally tested for their knowledge of domestic and international affairs, current events, foreign languages and modern idioms and as well for their writing, announcing and engineering abilities. Even news workers who claim staff is being overworked and underpaid at RCI - and many feel this to be the case - allow that the service offers opportunities for the acquisition and use of a broad

broadcasting skills, opportunities not available in many other media organizations (RCI Interviews, JA/31/07/86, p.4).

6) There are, in fact, strict though unofficial conventions governing the flow of managerial traffic even through formally supervised work settings. In the course of my fieldwork only one senior manager was present for any of these formally displayed taping sessions (he observed from the control room). And that official's presence was clearly considered inappropriate, to the point that taping simply came to a halt pending his departure. The manager, it was pointed out, was not a "news professional" and therefore had nothing to contribute to the production session.

Newsworkers here strictly distinguished between productive and unproductive supervisory situations (RCI interviews, JT/31/07/86, p.8; another routine supervisory setting - the weekly program meeting in the Emission Speciales supervisor's office - is seen to be "productive" because the supervisor is a veteran shortwave journalist whose presence - and advice - is considered an asset rather than an interference in effective production routines [RCI interviews, DQ/06/08/86, p.2]).

7) The "Journal's" newswriter is the only anglophone processor regularly monitoring the french language wires at the service. Francophone news processors, on the other hand, routinely use Reuters' english service for their international news broadcasts (RCI Interviews, LB/08/08/86,p.1).

8) In the last weeks of my fieldwork "Journal" newscasts were picked up for the corporation's shortwave English service to Latin America. Linguistic capacities - and ionospheric conditions - are considered variable in these markets and technical standards for the "Journal's" taped sections became somewhat more rigorous.

9) According to Zimmerman, "there are still some people [at the service] who would prefer that we retain a whole Canadian news line-up. I've had that discussion some years ago and I haven't heard it lately but I'm sure its still one people have to think their way through" (RCI interviews, BZ/ 02/04/86, p.3).

10) This to be sure is a debatable reading of Tuchman's work. Tuchman essentially defines news as both a reflexive and indexical accomplishment and moreover notes that news "does not just reflect society but helps to constitute it as a shared social phenomenom" (Op. Cit., Tuchman, G., 1978, p. 184). Generally this discussion concerns news as it constitutes a "natural attitude" and rather generic "stocks

of knowledge". But Tuchman, I would argue, never covincingly portrays news work in reflexive interaction with specific institutionalized social orders. Her "historical" discussion (Ibid., pp. 156-181) - which, drawing on the work of Shudson (1978) and Dahlgren (1977), outlines how the news media "gave life" to a system of "corporate capitalism" - is abstract and brief .

Far more specific and convincing, I think, are Tuchman's thoughts concerning the imposition of structure on the women's movement and the constitution of that movement as a public phenomenom during the 1960's and 1970's (Ibid., pp. 133-155). I think it fair to say, however, that Making News does not examine news work as a more globally reflexive phenomenom - in ongoing reflexive interaction with the broader social conditions of its production.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

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Radio Canada International's "Canadian Journal" is a good example of what sociologists call "constrained" news production. The journalists here - like organized journalists everywhere - produce a news package within the limits of institutionalized program formats, available technologies and deadlines. As members of a public broadcasting organization they contend regularly with limited, often declining budgets.(1) As Canadian news producers they draw on a limited range of foreign and domestic news sources.(2) As news processors they must negotiate all of these constraints within the time-space zonings of the broadcasting organization.(3) And, importantly, as state shortwave programmers the "Journal" team produces news within a rather minutely regulated strategic medium.(4)

But a simple chronicle of constraints, formidable as they may be, hardly explains the production and reproduction of the "Canadian Journal". Traditional models of news production offer two basic theories of practice which, I think, are of little help here. Classic gatekeeping models view journalistic practice as a deliberate act of selection achieved within a largely incidental (organizational) environment. Organizational models, for their part, have tended to account for practice as a largely passive

response to organized functional "needs". In neither case are we offer ed a credible explanation of how news work makes a reflexive contribution to the organizational artifact, the news.

Constructivist models of news work developed by Hall (1973; 1978; 1979; 1979a; 1980) and Tuchman (1972; 1973; 1978; 1983) offer a very different, and I think more productive, view of journalism as an organized activity. These approaches try to make sense of cultural production as a positive social accomplishment in time and space mediated by variously conceived discursive frameworks. In attempting to implicate both interaction and institutionalized structures in the social construction of reality, these approaches have avoided the more obvious dichotomies between agents and structures so endemic to classical news sociology and must, I think, serve as a critical base for further thinking in the field.

I want now to take final stock of just what these approaches have had to say about the central phenomena of news production - practice, institutions and texts. I will outline where the work of Tuchman and Hall in particular has run into some difficulties in each of these areas and how a theory of news structuration might resolve at least some of these difficulties. I think this the most convenient way of explaining what I have tried to achieve in this paper.

The ethnomethodological case for news as a reflexive practice is quite straightforward; Tuchman's work on news as frame remains perhaps its most developed statement to date. Organizational procedures of newswork, in Tuchman's Making News, are grounded in knowledgable practice, produced and reproduced in indexically monitored situations of production. Newsworkers competently invoke their stock knowledge of the past to typify the present and produce the news on a routine basis. News work , in its turn, is "structured" - as I understand Tuchman's useage of the term - insofar as it becomes sedimented in the temporal and spatial arrangements of the institution.

Making News' concerns are, I think, primarily ethnomethodological. This and other works by Tuchman are essentially field studies of the interactive orders of journalism and the more immediate time-space frames in which journalists accomplish their work. The limits of this approach have been well-documented but I want to begin by noting what I see to be the strengths of Tuchman's "parochialism".

The most convincing elements of Tuchman's work are found in the rather extensive discussions concerning situated social control. Tuchman insists quite rightly that routinization and control of newswork is effected within specific regionalized settings and time zones of the

workplace. This is a valuable approach, I think, and is essentially the framework I have adopted to examine managerial regimes at Radio Canada International. Social control of shortwave broadcast operations has plainly been subject to severe discontinuities in Canada and I think temporal and regional rezonings at the service have been quite integral to these changes. Supervised newswork has become in many important respects mediated newswork, routinized through rather precise documentation procedures (many of them undertaken by journalists themselves). Supervision of newswork - that is the surveillance of newswork within situations of labour-management copresence - has become a rather circumscribed occurence since Radio Canada International's integration as a fully "autonomous" news organization within the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

At its most basic level, social control involves the ability of administrative networks to manage time-space working arrangements within the boundaries of the organization. This is essentially how I have defined specialization as a control procedure - as an authoritative ordering of time-space working arrangements towards the achievement of organizational standards of objectivity and product quality. That sort of control may or may not be coincidental with the legitimation of dominant value structures and an ideological penetration of the newsroom -

the phenomena of control with which functionalist and many constructivist approaches have, in their own separate ways, been most concerned. Specialized control depends less on ideological hegemony than on the working acceptance of institutional arrangements by journalists on a routine basis. Tuchman is right to insist that control is contextualized and less than total.

In other respects this ethnomethodological concern with the immediate time-space zonings of news work is less successful. The reflexivity of news work, from an ethnomethodological perspective, essentially involves the grounding of specific organizational procedures in practice and, in turn, the sedimentation of news work in the temporal and spatial arrangements of the organization.

This is about as far as reflexive cycles go. In fact, Tuchman's ethnomethodological work has about it a rather tentative quality: on the one hand, it stands as a sustained critique of endogenous models of organizational change; organizations, she insists, are not closed cybernetic self-regulatory complexes. On the other hand, we are offered almost no account, even in Tuchman's later work, of how organizational sedimentations are themselves mediated by temporally and spatially dispersed institutional frameworks. Wider power relations, if they are mentioned at all (for example in Op. Cit., Tuchman, G., 1978, pp. 156-181), are

chronically undertheorized - as backdrops to localized reflexive production cycles.

In this paper I have approached the reflexive integration of shortwave newswork within broadly-based political and cultural institutional regimes as follows: I have considered shortwave news work as, in part, a substantive contribution to reflexive monitoring capabilities of the nation state (undertaken at home and abroad, during and between periods of national crisis). Shortwave service has in fact been regulated by successive Canadian governments as a strategic national resource for the assertion of state sovereignty and the generation of administrative control across time and space.

The institutionalization of shortwave has in turn been rather decisive for these operations. The war years are more than just the political environment in which the shortwave happened to develop in Canada. In many respects they constitute the strategic condition of that development. The political procedures, target and programming networks, public works and appropriate technologies of Canada's shortwave service are in many respects the result of a centrally directed concentration of administrative resources, technology and organized science - founded in large part on the institutional arrangements of wartime, and reconstituted and reshaped by the peacetime institutional

regimes which have followed. I think it fair to say that ethnomethodological approaches offer no systematic framework with which to analyse this evolution because they lack a specific and plausible model of institutionalization as such.

My concerns with Hall's model of "news as code" are, of course, somewhat differently oriented. The fundamental problem here, I think, lies with Hall's rather uninteresting theory of code-governed interaction. Just how language activity - as this is conceived in this model - reflexively contributes to the institutional conditions of its production is, I think, far from clear in Hall's work to date. Discursive rules of language may be knowledgably and skillfully employed but they are never really practically sustained in Hall's model . This is not altogether surprising since Hall's primary concern is with the structural conditions which mediate language acts - the structured interrelations between cultural production, distribution, consumption and reproduction which he rightly insists cannot be bracketed out of communicative analysis. Language activity figures as a sort of signification process in this context - a process in which given codes are combined with more or less communicative skill.

I think it is clear that communicative competency from this perspective essentially involves a descriptive understanding of social production contexts. For Hall social communication normally takes place within such monitored situations of production. The mechanical deployment of codes - without reference to sedimented and more immediate contexts of production - would clearly constitute ineffectual language activity; at least this would be activity in which the alignment of encoding and decoding procedures is by no means assured. This for Hall is the practical contingency of the communications process.

I would agree that monitoring is a routine feature of almost any cultural production situation, certainly of news production in general. Even within the apparently deskilled production routines of shortwave broadcasting the following must surely be considered core competencies - competencies without which news processors would be utterly unable to produce news on a routine basis. These include at the very least: basic professional knowledges of the transmission requirements of shortwave broadcasting and of the linguistic competencies of the target audience (as these are defined by the corporation) (5); a fairly exact understanding of the bureaucratic phase structures of news and of the reflexively grounded production routines undertaken by governments, corporate bureaucracies and accredited news agencies; and a

series of judgments of the social position of individuals and corporate communities which claim a right to speak on issues of "national importance" within a Canadian "pluralist" society.

Now code theory and constructivist theory in general is right to insist that communicative activity is grounded in practical knowledge as such. Knowledge of context is a feature of language activity which, I think, has been rather drastically understated in functionalist theories of cultural production, perhaps to the detriment of communications studies as a whole (see Op. Cit., Ericson, Richard V.; Baranek, Patricia M.; and Chan, Janet B.L., 1985 for a statement of this position). But there are distinctly reflexive dimensions of language activity for which constructivism has as yet given a somewhat less satisfactory account. There is still lacking in the work of both Tuchman and Hall a plausible and specific account of the reflexive activity in which the connections between words and their referents arises and is sustained.

Productive activity at the "Canadian Journal", I would argue, is in two very fundamental respects reflexively implicated in the institutional conditions of its production: firstly, notwithstanding the extensive corporate discourse concerning service "disengagement" from Canadian society, the "Canadian Journal", as Radio Canada

International's first national current affairs digest for the Pacific Rim, is expected to "represent" but also to formulate and articulate a "Canadian point of view". The "Journal" does not simply take up the meanings of Canadian events but, I would argue, somehow brings them to a fuller consciousness.

Secondly I think it essential to remember that national public affairs radio, according to Radio Canada International's Task Force Report of 1973, is constituted to "bring Canadians together in a common act of focussing" (p.7). This is a project which involves not so much the transmission or sharing of information with listeners but more fundamentally the creation of a formal public space - the maintenance of a Canadian community in cultural practice. It is perhaps primarily in this sense that the "Journal" is reflexively implicated in the production and reproduction of the Canadian community of which it is a part.

News work thus matters in news production in two essential ways. First, it operates as "professional control" which to a large extent keeps organizational standards and routines grounded in the everyday practice of journalists themselves. At Radio Canada International, the oft-cited "dichotomy" in news production between (journalistic) autonomy and (bureaucratic) control is a

false one because journalists themselves routinely produce and reproduce the program standards and rules of operation which, officially at least, "define" the organization.

Secondly, news work matters as a reflexive accomplishment of culture. Shortwave practice is implicated - partly by design, partly by consequence - in the production of national discourse. News work as such is not simply a "positive" or "relatively autonomous" organizational accomplishment as constructivist theories have demonstrated. It is an accomplishment of considerable cultural consequence which contributes to the ongoing structuration of both the organization and the wider society of which it is a part. The "Canadian Journal", I think, demonstrates that organizational and broader social structuration is a constitutive feature of even the most "standardized" forms of organized news work.

A central paradox in critical news sociology is this: current theories of news production were essentially founded on the principle that the various functionalist attempts to displace cultural practice from the center of sociological attention had been straight failures as social theory; traditional Marxism and organizational cybernetic theory were particularly held to account on this basis. But some twenty years later, I think, code and frame problematics have once again made cultural practice an essentially

uninteresting topic in the field; in the final analysis, neither model offers a systematic conception of culture grounded - strictly speaking - in organized practice . The theory of news structuration I have outlined in this thesis is perhaps a first step towards resolving this continuing problematic in the field.

Footnotes

1) Down 4% in the year of my study from the 1985 level of $15 million).

2) See McNaught, Carlton, 1940; Cumming, Carmon, 1980; Robinson, Gertrude J., 1982; and Clarke, Deborah, 1984 for an historical overview of the limited news sources available to Canadian news producers.

3) Tunstall distinguishes office-bound news processing from routinized news gathering roughly on this basis (Tunstall, Jeremy, 1971, pp.30-32). Golding and Elliot argue that broadcast news is subject to temporal, spatial and technological limits distinct from, and generally stricter than those at work in print journalism (Golding, Peter and Elliott, Philip, 1978, pp.40-47). By most sociological standards, broadcast news processing is a highly constrained form of journalistic practice.

4) Most of the literature on shortwave has focused on these political constraints. But sociologists have generally been more interested in the content than the actual production procedures of shortwave programming. That is, most studies have assumed that decisive political

constraints are operative during production and go on to search for traces of official "bias" in the text.

5) These "conditions of reception" are routinely monitored at the "Canadian Journal"; Hong Kong market profiles are drawn up by the Canadian department of External Affairs, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong and affiliated foreign broadcasters where they become conditions for further broadcasting from Montreal.

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