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Authority in Canadian news : an examinatin of the voices, perspectives and interests favoured by Canadian broadcasters

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AUTHORITY IN CANADIAN NEWS:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE VOICES, PERSPECTIVES AND INTERESTS
FAVOURED BY CANADIAN BROADCASTERS

by

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Abstract

Authority in Canadian News:
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While the mainstream news media can be said to play a variety of roles, what is certain is its potential to inform public opinion and our understanding of the world we live in, both on a national and global scale. One of the ways this is accomplished is through the use of authority; the active decision by media outlets to invoke the trust we have in certain voices while reflecting and shaping our notions of the roles of others. When given the choice between experts, political leaders, victims, etc., of all genders and cultural backgrounds, whose voices are heard in mainstream media, and as a result, whose influence is reflected in the public's understanding of the world; an understanding so crucial to a functioning democracy? Filling in the gaps in this under researched area, this thesis explores the issue of how authority plays out in the Canadian national context.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores the use of authority in Canadian newscasts. While the mainstream news media can be said to play a variety of roles, its potential to inform public opinion and our understanding of the world we live in is uncontested, both on a national and global scale (Jordan & Page, 1992; Kim, et al., 1999; Semetko, et al., 1992). The perspectives found in the media are what people use to interpret institutional problems, to shape society's collective consciousness and organize and define cultural content (Altheide & Snow, 1991, p. 11; Champlin & Knoedler, 2002, p. 459). To be sure, our knowledge of the world beyond our own experiences is a result of what we see on the news. Though this influence may work covertly at times, the current breadth of critique and analysis of the mainstream media available – from the work of public intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky and Robert Hackett to the appealingly dissimilar tactics of figures like Jon Stewart – ensures that the opportunity remains open for scrutiny and dissent, as would be expected in a liberal democracy.

The attention of scholars and activists to the content of news media is not a new phenomenon, either. As early as 1893, a content analysis was completed of newspapers in New York which quantified article topics over the course of twelve years, demonstrating the move from "coverage of religious, scientific and literary matters in favor of gossip, sports, and scandals" (Kripendorff, 2004, p. 5). Unfortunately, as the news media have progressed through technological, political and ideological changes into a highly concentrated, transnational industry, public interest in this type of critical analysis of news content and modes of production has not been overwhelming (McChesney, 2000, p. 113). Nevertheless, the Canadian public continues to take an interest in the news itself, both public and private. According to a

nationwide poll commissioned by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 2003, the

majority of Canadians are "extremely interested" in international issues, and believe that news

coverage can contribute to tolerance and diversity. This optimistic viewpoint is in sharp contrast

with theorists who speak of the media's ideological effects as "helping to secure ruling

hegemony, legitimizing social inequality and thwarting moves to participatory

democracy" (Cottle, 2000, p.428). To exacerbate this alleged controversy, liberals and

conservatives alike claim media bias against their own at every turn, when certainly both cannot

be correct simultaneously. Despite such differing accounts, the disparities of which seem to

demand further analysis, the media's[1] potential for influence is significant, whether towards a

positive impact or one that is thoroughly detrimental.

1.1 Research Questions and Thesis Outline

One of the ways this influence is exerted is through the use of authority; the active

decision by media outlets to invoke the trust we have in certain voices while reflecting and

shaping our notions of others. These voices may be more commonly referred to as news sources,

or as for our purposes here, 'Actors'. Particularly in times of political, cultural and economic

uncertainty, and considering Canada's relatively diverse ethnic composition, it is important to

have an understanding of which voices are privileged to speak in mainstream news if we are ever

to determine the effects of news content on everyday Canadians (CBC, 2003; Nossek, 2004). In

addition to their role as one of Herman and Chomsky's five filters (1988), sources subtly

influence news content "by providing the context within which all other information is

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[1] From this point, the term "media" can be taken to mean mainstream television news media. This conflation is admittedly reductive particularly in light of the vertical integration and conglomerate nature of all communications that characterizes the transnational organizational structures of global Big Media. However, for the sake of this discussion, unless otherwise specified, it is the influence and authority of broadcast news that I will be referring to.

evaluated" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 178). The chief problematic of this thesis, then, is with respect to who is privileged to speak in Canadian news. Essentially: *When given the choice between experts, political leaders, victims, etc., of all genders and cultural backgrounds, whose voices are heard in Canadian news media, and as a result, whose influence is reflected in the public's understanding of the world; an understanding so crucial to a functioning democracy?*

Presented throughout this thesis are the results of the Canadian component of an international comparative study of news coverage by broadcast television networks. As will be discussed in more detail shortly, the study is taking place in eighteen countries in parallel using identical tools and procedures. Questions of topic, measures of salience, sources, levels of conflict, sensationalism, relevance to the country of broadcast and a detailed analysis of who is privileged to speak, amongst other factors, have been coded for each news item across a 4-week sample, and an exploration of the first results compiled here. Through this detailed content analysis, including 1,675 minutes of news coverage, 749 news items and 1,406 individual Actors given a voice, I will be exploring the use of authority in Canadian newscasts by means of three primary variables. The first of these is the 'Role' of each individual presented, that is, the position they hold in society and in relation to the news story which grants them authority on the topic at hand. The roles identified here will be delineated further shortly, but can include political figures, industry professionals, experts, victims, witnesses, etc.

RQ 1: What are the roles of those given authority on Canadian national news?

The second question I will explore pertains to the presentation of gender in each Actor, determining the conditions under which men and women are privileged to speak.

RQ 2: What are the conditions under which males and females are given authority in Canadian national news?

Last, I will focus the discussion on the Country or Organization each Actor represents, bringing a crucial international perspective. This is particularly noteworthy considering the quantity of foreign news, as we will see shortly.

RQ 3: What role does national / organizational affiliation play in the use of authority in Canadian national news?

These variables will be compared across the data collected from CBC's *The National* and the CTV *Evening News*, as well as held against other variables within each item. By examining each of these three primary variables in turn, I will have established who is privileged to speak and under what conditions. From these essentials, I will be able to explore a variety of more contextualized inquiries, examples of which include: are victims more often male or female in local / international stories? Do items related to labour issues tend to privilege more corporate, political or citizen voices? Are representatives on both sides of an international conflict typically allowed to speak, or is only one or even a third party given authority? How do the answers to these and other questions differ when comparing Canada's public and private broadcasters? As we will see from a survey of existing media research below, a number of interesting possibilities may be confirmed or rejected by this explorative analysis. For instance, one might posit, though admittedly through as much a sense of idealism as a knowledge of political economic processes, that the publicly funded CBC's use of authority would include a more equal distribution of Roles, Genders and National / Organizational affiliations across their Actors than the private CTV. Or, that American political voices are most prominent in items which pertain to Middle

Eastern conflicts. Below, we will examine the theoretical foundations which might support these and other possible findings.

Study of the media is by nature interdisciplinary, and with a mind to Robert McChesney's cry for a more holistic political economic practice, I have chosen to supplement what is primarily a political economy of communication lens with the appropriate literature for each variable, including gender studies, media democracy and communication studies. The political economy of communication as a discipline has been described as examining "how media and communication systems and content reinforce, challenge or influence existing class and social relations. It does this with a particular interest in how economic factors influence politics and social relations" (McChesney, 2000, p. 110); a definition I will use broadly so as to provide an applicable analysis of my data. *Chapter Two* will outline my use of this framework within the context of neoliberalism, particularly as it pertains to the study of media content and authority – a significant news device and one with a rich history of scholarly study. A review of the existing body of work on an international basis and across both television and print media will be included here. *Chapter Three* will lay the theoretical groundwork for my analysis of each of the three primary variables – Role, Gender and National / Organizational Affiliation. Past studies on representation of each will engage with the established framework, revealing gaps in our knowledge of how authority plays out in Canadian broadcast news.

The study itself consists of a detailed Content Analysis. Described as "both powerful and unobtrusive" (Kripendorff, 2004, p. xii), this methodology is unique in its ability to provide both objective and quantifiable data while analyzing texts in the context of their uses. *Chapter Four* will explain the history, strengths and limitations of Content Analysis, particularly as it pertains

to my own Research Design. This chapter will also outline the research design itself, along with

the data corpus.

As we will see, this study captures some eighty-eight variables, which will be crossed and

correlated to reveal the conditions under which the Role, Gender and National / Organizational

Affiliation of Actors are used in positions of authority in broadcast news. The quantitative

analysis of the three primary variables will be detailed in *Chapter Five*. The findings of each

will be followed by a discussion of the results and their implications; using the established

theoretical framework to draw conclusions with respect to the use of authority in Canadian

national news. *Chapter Six* will determine the greater role that the findings of this thesis should

play with respect to diversity and the responsibilities of the media in a democratic society, while

pointing toward future prospects for international development and comparisons of the available

data.

1.2 Contributions and Limitations

A significant body of work exists on the effects of mass media in its various roles on an

international basis (Boyd-Barrett, 1980; Chalaby, 2005; Chang & Lee, 1992; Cohen, et al., 1996;

Fallows, 1997; Flourney & Steward, 1997; Gilboa, 2005; Hargrove & Stempel, 2002; Herman &

Chomsky, 1988; Jordan & Page, 2002), but there is much to learn from a definitive study of how

authority plays out in the Canadian national context, contributing to a broader theoretical

understanding of the power and implications of both local and international news coverage. This

is especially relevant in an era marked by increased globalization and interdependence among

nations, where providing citizens with pertinent information about countries and societies other

than their own is vital to democracy (Keane, 1991; Perry, 1990; Robinson, 2002). The

interdisciplinary framework of this discussion and the conclusions drawn from the results will not only contribute to the public discourse regarding the media's influence through the use of authority, but also provide a framework for any action or practical reform that may be deemed necessary by the findings. However, being that the research design consists of a detailed content analysis of news coverage, and not – as might be recommended by a political economic approach – a more in depth analysis of the *processes by which news items are selected*, certain limitations are to be expected. I will not be theorizing with respect to the organizational-level modes of production that result in news content. Rather, I will draw on the existing literature which my data complement and extrapolate accordingly. Likewise, I do not seek through an analysis of manifest content to suppose the responses of audience members. The larger study from which this data is gleaned includes a planned global audience survey as well as interviews with content producers, as will be discussed in *Chapter Six*, but this is not taken into consideration here. It is merely through the lens of the existing political economic, media and communications theory that I will be exploring the results of the analysis, engaging with the current body of knowledge in this area.

Chapter 2: Political Economy of Communication

Political Economy "views the world as a struggle for power and aligns itself with the underprivileged" (Babe, 1995, p. 82). This is a noble take on a discipline which suffers from a lack of privilege itself throughout academic institutions, particularly in the U.S. (McChesney, 2000). However, the struggle for power which political economy addresses – as well as the one it endures – can best be understood within the context of neoliberalism as a dominant paradigm. Indeed, it is this paradigm which informs the global development of inter-, multi-, and trans-national big media conglomerates, and in so doing provides the context within which Canadian news media operate (Barney, 2004). Canadian programming has been subject to protectionist policies for decades, the details of which are beyond the scope of this paper.[2] However, what deserves our attention to set the stage here is the political economic environment in which Canadian news content is produced. This is particularly relevant where the use of authority is concerned, considering the immense diversity of Canadian life as well as the cultural strength of Canada's neighbouring country. Notions of neoliberalism have established the global media context reflected by the larger study from which the data here have been taken, particularly the choice to include both a public and private broadcaster for each country involved. We need to have an understanding of the forces at work if we are to effectively explore the Canadian news media's portrayal of the Roles, Genders and National / Organizational Affiliations of those who are given authority.

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[2] From CRTC regulation with respect to Canadian Content (CRTC, 2009), to a wealth of discourse regarding the impact of American culture by way of programming, products, advertisements, etc. (Comor, 1997), Canada has a significant history of defining itself as 'non-American' and producing its own content within a political economic environment which incentivizes Canadian culture-building (Bird, 1988). This is somewhat noteworthy when considering the distribution of foreign versus domestic news in the data here, but does not generally apply to news items themselves, and is beyond the topic at hand.

2.1 Neoliberalism

According to the tenets of neoliberalism, "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). Taking its hold during Brian Mulroney's regime of the 1980s – more commonly associated with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher – this market-based, hyper-individualistic trend is now the predominant ideology governing Western societies. Despite the most recent disastrous global economic events, the two primary principles of neoliberalism – privatization and deregulation – seem indelibly marked on the collective social consciousness, like any myth, as both inevitable and good (Williams, 1977, p.58-9). These principles and their effects on mainstream news media content have been key in the decision to include one public and one private station from each of the eighteen countries involved in the larger study. Despite popular opinion, these supposedly natural tenets of 'freedom' – a term used interchangeably with 'capitalism' in neoliberal discourse – "permit a relative handful of private interests…to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximize their personal profit" (McChesney, 1999, p. 40). These areas of social life include such necessities as water, energy, education, and the media. Indeed, in the neoliberal context, a democratically elected government is ill suited to provide social services, despite the mandate it receives to do so. The market, however, "is the 'invisible hand' that allocates resources in the most efficient way possible, rewarding the meritorious with financial success and growth while eliminating the inefficient" in an odd sort of neo-Darwinism which applies the model of human evolution to big business (Babe, 1995, p. 80).

Of course, positioning abstract, omnipotent mechanisms like an uninhibited market in charge of human affairs annihilates the pursuit of justice, (Ibid., p. 81), serving instead to commit a "generalized assault on social programs, wages, and working conditions" (Lebowitz, 2004, p. 8). The conditions under which public opinion might side with a governing philosophy which "represents the immediate interests of extremely wealthy investors and less than one thousand large corporations" (McChesney, 1999, p. 40), which demands "the sacrifice of many for the benefit of the few" (Babe, 1995, p. 81) could not have come about arbitrarily. On the contrary, private ownership of mass media – free of regulatory oversight through a proliferation of new regulations which transferred networks from public to corporate interests (Graham, 2006, p. 496; Schiller, 1996, p. 3-5) – is certainly not above using such networks to ensure public acquiescence, at the very least. It is in revealing the processes by which these neoliberal myths are produced, distributed and consumed that the political economy of communication as a discipline finds its place. Will we find in our Canadian media that corporate representatives have more authority than say, members of marginalized communities? Or that Americans are privileged to speak regarding issues of Middle Eastern conflict? Or that men are favoured over women as authorities on any number of social matters? It is the work of a holistic political economic framework to reveal the answers to these and other inquiries.

2.2 History of Political Economy

Robert Babe outlined three historical strands of political economic theory, each with its own social justice underpinnings and determination to "demystify"; that is, to "challenge the established power system" insofar as it is based on the mythology of neoliberalism (1995, p. 72). The first of these is liberal political economy, dating from 1776 and Adam Smith's "The Wealth

of Nations". The liberal strand believes in the power of competitive markets to increase overall good, but only if decentralized. Support of the neo-Darwinist notions of the market as a mechanism which rewards strength while oppressing the underprivileged is sometimes falsely attributed to liberal political economists, who counter this by "advocating for government to preserve competition in the face of monopolistic pressures, and to enact social measures to redress economic and social inequities" (Babe, 1995, p. 73).

The second strand Babe identifies is Marxist political economy. This line of thought views the liberal notions of a competitive market free from economic concentration through regulatory measures as "sheer fantasy" (Ibid., p. 74). Instead, Marxists looks to the elimination of private property as the primary method of achieving class equality. As the traditional Marxist concepts of domination and subordination have "widened out from class to include race and gender" (Garnham, 1997, p.58), neo-Marxist political economists such as Theodor Adorno (1991) have redirected the focus on modes of production to the "cultural industries", that is, to mass media and communications as a "system of indoctrination and propaganda" (Babe, p. 75).

The third strand Babe identifies is institutional political economy. Rather than focusing on the market, modes of production or even cultural industries, institutional political economists point to "the organizational structure of a society [as]…the real determinant of whatever allocation occurs". In this line of thinking, "the market only gives effect to prevailing institutions" (Ayres, 1957, p. 26; quoted in Babe, p. 76). Unlike Marxist political economy, institutionalists view the economy and technology as dynamic; an evolving system in which conflict can exist at all levels rather than simply between classes. The work of Thorstein Veblen and John R. Commons around 1900 brought about this strand, clearly influenced by Veblen's

formal education in laissez-faire, neoliberal economic policies, combined with the revolutionary

notions of Charles Darwin at that time. Such writers as Harold Innis and Clarence Ayres have

furthered institutional political economy into the present.

What liberal, Marxist and institutional political economy share is the determination to

reveal what mainstream economists today insist on segregating for analytical purposes; economy

from power, and politics from business (Babe, p. 69). Increasingly, political economists of all

strands are:

> Turning to information and communication to analyze sources and dispositions of
> political / economic power. Communicatory power derives from and contributes to
> economic power and the [described notions of] mythology and ideology indicate. Those
> in control of the media of communication…are among the most influential in the political
> economy; the messages they propagate help sustain and extend the pattern of dominance
> and economic control. (Ibid., p. 72; Chomsky, 1989 cited in Babe., p. 72)

Though the political economy of communication as a field struggles for the prestige

associated with more traditional social sciences (McChesney, 2000), it is in this power wielded

by the media that the political economy of communication has direct relevance to

communication studies, making the choice of the discipline as a framework for analysis a crucial

one. The following section will outline this critical application in further detail.

2.3 Political Economy of Media as a Theoretical Framework

The application of neoliberal ideology to the governance, production and distribution of

communication media requires nothing less than the most critical political economic perspective

to address. The media's influence can be felt on every facet of society, and while market-based

principles tout myths of equal access free from the mythological dangers of regulation, "media

and communication systems have emerged as central areas for profit making on modern

capitalist societies" (McChesney, 2004a, p. 3). According to Keane, the "contemporary market

liberal case for freedom of communication is spoiled by its fetish of 'market competition, which always produces market censorship" (1991, p. xi). It can even be argued, as by liberal political economists, that a degree of market competition is not negative in and of itself; that instead it allows for a range of media sources to distribute an abundance of perspectives to a politically engaged and actively discerning audience. If this were the case, we would see a variety of Roles, Genders and members of various National / Organizational groups given authority in news items. Perhaps, however, we will discover that this is naïve, and that the current system has lead to levels of media concentration which render all notions of an idealistic 'free press' moot. Indeed, such "bogus assumptions about government and private sector in media fog our ability to see the actual power relations at hand, and therefore inhibit our capacity to move toward establishing a more democratic or humane system" (McChesney, 2004a, p. 3).

What is made clear by these assertions is the necessity of an interdisciplinary framework like political economy to reveal the myths whose purpose it is to obfuscate the underlying power relations which influence media content. This includes, as we will see, the use of authority. A number of contemporary theorists have posited varying approaches to political economic analysis, one of which will be detailed here; by no means an exhaustive list. This, however, when providing a framework within which to look at media texts, takes crucial care to go beyond the neoliberal assumptions of perfect markets, radical individualism, perfect and equal access to information, and full and democratic participation (Graham, 2006, p. 494). These are myths propagated by commercial media, the exposure of which is political economy's strength and vital contribution.

The following framework also recognizes, however, the potential risks of a thorough political economic analysis. In exposing the power relations that govern media industries, there exists a danger of cynicism, in which any hope for reform seems all but impossible. Space for resistance must be left open in any discussion of corporate structure, lest the movement toward positive change be confined to the margins of a despondent, or worse, apathetic populace.

2.3.1 Mosco's Political Economy Research Themes

Vincent Mosco emphasizes research themes that serve as an entry point for political economic analysis, avoiding the deterministic approach that often associates the field with a disagreeable pessimism. Briefly outlined, Mosco's principal processes include commodification, spatialization and structuration. *Commodification* stems from the Marxist strand of political economy to describe the transfer of market (exchange) value onto an item which was previously considered to be outside the scope of the marketplace. Mosco describes commodification as an entry point to understanding specific political economic relationships. For instance, whereas communication media were at one time considered public services, the neoliberal movement of the 1980s led to the "increased commercialization of media programming, the privatization of once public media and telecommunications institutions, and the [neo]liberalization of communication markets" (Mosco, 2004, p. 9). We will see what influence this has had on Canadian media's use of authority when comparing our publicly funded CBC with the private CTV.

Spatialization refers to the processes by which mass media and communication firms are able to transcend geographical space. This ability is key to political economy as it is not only the technologies themselves, but the carefully established policies of deregulation that allow

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transnational media conglomerates to overcome the "constraints" of time and space in social life (Ibid., p. 2). This is also addressed as the "institutional extension of corporate power in the communication industry…manifested in the sheer growth in size of media firms" (Ibid., p. 11). Mosco also draws a definitive line from the process of spatialization as encompassing globalization, and the path to commercialization, privatization, liberalization and finally, internationalization, resulting in a complete shift in economic and political authority to a centralized group of regional and international treaties (NAFTA or GATT, as examples). The implications of this trend may be made manifest by the Roles and National / Organizational Affiliation of those given authority in Canadian news. As we will see in the following chapter, the larger Foreign News on TV study has also coded the use of visual material from international broadcasters such as BBC-W and CNN-I. Spatialization may prove to play a key role in the way authority plays out when using international material on our national broadcasts.

Finally, *structuration* refers to the structural class divisions established in Marxist political economy. However, Mosco calls for a reexamining of the entirely class-based approach of the Marxist strand, recommending that it be expanded to include other dimensions of structuration that both complement and conflict with class, including gender and race (Ibid., p. 13). Addressing the intersection between political economy and feminist studies, as well as the extensive work of communication studies on imperialism, are key strides towards a more holistic view of the social costs of structuration processes elucidated by political economic analysis. Indeed, Clement and Williams attest that political economy itself examines the "processes whereby social change is located in the historical interaction of the economic, political, cultural and ideological moments of social life, with the dynamic rooted in socio-economic

conflict" (1989, p. 7). Garnham goes as far as to say that "one cannot understand either the genesis, forms or stakes of the struggles around gender and race without an analysis of the political economic foundations and context of the cultural practices which constitute those struggles" (1997, p. 71). To fully appreciate the strength of this relationship, Mosco does well to expand structuration in this way.

What remains is to clearly outline the application of this political economic framework to the existing body of research on authority itself.

2.4 Authority in Broadcast News

While the framework discussed above seeks to address the political economic environment in which broadcast news is produced, we will now focus on one particular practice across all news media, whether private or public in each of our eighteen countries: the use of authority. "Put succinctly, who gets 'on' or 'in' the news is very important" (Cottle, 2000, p. 427). As described at the outset, the news itself is a key source of information about the world, and one which studies have shown that Canadians are interested in and optimistic about (CBC, 2003). More than just information, however, "news is a representation of authority. In the contemporary knowledge society, news represents *who* are the authorized knowers and *what* are their authoritative versions of reality" (Ericson, 1989, p. 3). A number of individual studies have been completed on the use (or absence) of certain groups as authorized knowers, many of which will be outlined in the following chapter as a starting point for the data discussed here. Robert Hackett, for instance, has published a foundational Canadian text which investigates newspapers as a mass medium and their democratic potential, in the stream of James Winters' work (1996; 2001; 2007) and that of Robert McChesney (1999; 2004) amongst others. Though like these

scholars, he develops furthest the issue of story topics - both included in the coverage he assesses, and missing from it - he speaks to the role of the media in a democratic society as one of accountability, "giving voice even to those without wealth or political influence" (2000). It is under the same assumption that this study investigates the voices privileged in Canada's national television news. Drawing from Shoemaker and Reese's hierarchical model of influences on media content, Hackett identifies the following dimensions of potential corporate influence on Canadian newspaper content, summarizing a content analysis by NewsWatch Canada: (1) the offsetting tendencies of content rationalization and duplication in chain papers; (2) newspaper coverage of their own parent companies, and of the media industry; (3) the influence of newspaper editorial positions on news coverage; (4) some potential impacts of advertising; and (5) potential double standards related to politics and social class. While the research is exploratory, there is evidence of systemic neoliberal influence, particularly on the second, third and fifth dimensions. With respect to authority, he expected "double standards in news content favouring market liberal over progressive political perspectives, and the sensibilities of the urban managerial and professional classes over those of workers and the poor" (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003, p.334). Indeed, his findings included a quantitative increase in "positive, upbeat coverage" of business over labour voices (Ibid.).

Becker speaks of a "hierarchy of credibility" in which "participants take it as given that members of the highest group have the right to define the way things really are. And since ... matters of rank and status are contained in mores, this belief has a moral quality ... Thus, credibility and the right to be heard are differently distributed through the ranks of the system" (1967, p.241). Cottle notes that this influential notion directly references both social

structure and cultural mores, suggesting that, as Becker's writings were penned over forty years ago, the current neoliberal conditions may not be entirely to blame for the uneven distribution of perspectives across news media.

Twenty years later, Ericson approached the issue of authority from an institutional standpoint, explaining that "through the process of displaying the place of authorized knowers in the knowledge structure of society, and conveying the type of knowledge that gives them that place, news organizations underscore their own authority" (1989, p.5). A symbiotic relationship begins to manifest itself here, emphasizing the significant role authority plays in mainstream news and the way in which those privileged to speak are able to benefit the news organizations as they are, in turn, benefited by them. It is not surprising, then, that Cottle and other theorists have found practices of news access to "routinely privilege the voices of the powerful and marginalize those of the powerless, whether as a result of media ownership, control and instrumental design; prohibitive costs of market entry, advertising pressures [or] the commodification of news" (Cottle, 2000, p.427). Mosco's principles when applied to the current political economic environment of global big media further justify Cottle's strong assertions, perhaps even reinforced by the social structure and cultural mores of Becker's depiction of authority.

These notions seem to apply even to the form that news media takes when presenting its selection of perspectives. A 2006 study identified the use of excessive conflict so as to increase entertainment value - and as a result, viewership, as per market forces - despite the tendency of such sensationalized coverage to "decrease public evaluations of political institutions, trust in leadership, and overall support for political parties and the system as a whole" (Forgette & Morris, 2006, p.447).

Continuing on the vein of customizing news coverage to increase ratings, Hargrove and Stempel found through a series of phone surveys that newspaper readers preferred news stories involving "ordinary people" over politicians and government officials (2002, p.46). While this may be the case, the use of authority is also influenced by the availability of sources; something Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model outlines explicitly (1988). While individual journalists are inevitably limited by time and funds, political and corporate sources have the opportunity to "keep reporters preoccupied with things they are bound to be interested in, and by easing their workload in the process, can offset the likelihood of incursions into private spheres" (Ericson, 1989, p.18). These two aspects of news production— the practical pressures of constantly working against the clock and the professional demands of impartiality and objectivity—combine to produce a systematically structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions (Hall et al., 1978, p. 58). The powerful become "primary definers" of events (Ibid.).

Others studies have gleaned more optimistic results with respect to the effects of authority in news media. A 1999 study concerned with political participation reported a variety of perspectives in the news media sampled, which were found to be "closely associated with the frequency of political conversation in daily life both at general and issue-specific levels; a willingness to argue with those who have different opinions; ... and that news media use and political conversation had positive effects on certain measures of the quality of opinions" (Kim, et al., p.361). However, even these findings are countered with an oddly chicken-and-egg phenomenon in Bennett's 1990 study on American press-state relations. He concluded that "mass media news professionals...tend to 'index' the range of voices and viewpoints in both

news and editorials according to the range of views expressed in mainstream debate about a given topic" (p.106), effectively mirroring the existing discourse. This seeming dispute between representative authority in news as reflective of public life versus authority which dictates public opinion entirely is not an issue we have any hope of settling here. Indeed, popular opinion tends to be that news sources ought to reflect the variety of perspectives, roles, genders, ethnicities, etc. of the society in question; a task complicated by a geographically sprawling and diverse nation such as Canada (Nossek, 2004). While much of the research on this topic to date has sampled American news media, the data here will fill the gap in our own public discourse regarding the use of authority in Canadian news.

Chapter 3: News Sources

Media content has a rich history of scholarly study, the details of which will be outlined in *Chapter Four* from a methodological perspective. With our framework and key political economic principles in place, as well as a good understanding of their application to the use of authority on the whole, a brief review of the existing research regarding the three variables on which my research questions are based: Role, Gender, and National / Organizational Affiliation, will help us to better position this thesis within the current body of work. The following seeks to provide a reasonable selection of studies in the past twenty years, but is by no means exhaustive. Indeed, as we will learn in the next chapter, media content has been the subject of research since as early as 1893 and has increased in popularity significantly since then. The purpose here is to position my data within a body of work which might inform my analysis, as well as highlight the gaps in our current understanding of authority in Canadian news which this thesis might begin to fill.

3.2 Role

The way authority plays out in terms of Actors' roles has been investigated in a variety of contexts and using a number of research methods. For instance, Jordan and Page focus their 1992 study on American foreign news, concluding that "the president – and even more so administration officials and fellow partisans – have loud voices in TV broadcasts of foreign policy news" (p.227). They found connections between public opinion and U.S. foreign policy through opinion surveys in tandem with TV news broadcasts. It was also found that "reported statements and actions by media commentators, allegedly nonpartisan 'experts,' opposition party figures, and popular (but not unpopular) presidents had the largest effects [on public opinion],

while the impact of other sources was negligible" (Jordan & Page, p.227). These correlations with respect to the shaping of public opinion suggests the importance of a Canadian data set to build on, particularly as many of the specific roles they chose to code are mirrored by this thesis. Their use of opinion surveys also points to the validity of the plans already in place for future development of the larger research project here.

Page also works with Danielian in a 1994 study which seeks to establish some of the often-theorized political economic viewpoints discussed in the previous chapter by looking at interest groups on TV news. Danielian and Page determine that "imbalances resulting from differential command of money and other resources, seem to violate norms of equal access, representativeness, balance and diversity" (p. 1056). Using protests as an indicator - a methodological tactic we will discuss in detail in the next chapter - they found that news stories "commonly cast the citizen groups in an unfavorable light because they came across as unruly, rebellious, radical, or simply just out of the mainstream (Berry, 2000, p. 121). While this study deals with groups and not individual actors, it is nevertheless relevant to *perspectives*, and as a result, the roles which receive authority.

Hackett and Uzelman's NewsWatch Canada summary mentioned in the previous chapter is also relevant here, including some very specific Canadian data. For instance, in the newspapers analyzed, "labour sources were much more likely to be counter-balanced by opposing sources than were business spokespeople" with a total of 18% business sources versus 10% labour sources overall (2003, p. 339) With respect to the framing of poverty, the decade between 1987 and 1997 saw an increase in business and government sources alongside a decrease in the use of advocacy groups (Ibid., p. 340).

John Langer takes a somewhat different view to the selection of actors in his study of tabloid television, arguing that "what journalists like to refer to as news sense has as much to do with priorities of 'form' as it does with institutionalized sanctioned content" (1997, p. 133). He explains how a limited repertoire of news narratives position 'celebrities', 'ordinary people' and 'victims' "symbolically to enact or perform standardized roles within the mythic structures of tabloid news stories (Cottle, 2000, p. 433). Though my data do not deal with tabloid television, there are opportunities to differentiate between hard and soft news through the topic codes assigned to each item, as will be outlined in the research design. It will be possible to determine if similar "standardized" roles operate within the same types of stories. Langer also explored the use of victims and witnesses, developing the formula which "victim stories" follow and the social implications / purposes of these stories. He concludes that witnesses "lend truth value to the story, giving it validity in the realm of personal experience; and, it creates a position for the audience to enter into the tale – enhancing the possibilities for a sympathetic response, one of the conditions for the production of 'good victims'" (Langer, 1997, p. 90). While following the archetypal / folklore formula, he does not go into gender roles, social status, etc. as I will in the second section, however, most of the examples cited are of victimized women and children. Male victims, when present, are used to illustrate how people in position of power - the Premier of New South Whales (Ibid., p. 77) or a famous athlete - can be brought down to the audience's level through cases of misadventure.

Similar to the notion of 'form' over content, Dayan and Katz used the framework of event types in their 1994 study to identify the roles of those privileged to speak. According to their findings, "the corpus of events can be subdivided into Contests, Conquests and Coronations.

These are story forms, or 'scripts' which constitute the main narrative possibilities within the genre. They determine the distribution of roles within each type of event and the ways in which they will be enacted" (p. 25). Again, the detailed topic codes of my analysis will allow comparisons of the use of authority to be made across event types in a similar way, perhaps even with a mind to this '3 C's' framework.

Quite recently, Bullock completed a content analysis of Utah newspapers which suggested that routine coverage of domestic violence fatalities and attempted homicides is built primarily on official sources. Rather than a "typical crime-coverage pattern", she had hoped these stories would "include a diversity of sources and provide context that could help readers make sense of a complex social issue" (2008, p.6), but found that law enforcement sources far exceeded the use of even domestic violence experts, let alone any other relevant actor. While limited in scope, these findings may also find some application to my analysis of the role gender plays, particularly with respect to the proportion of female victims.

In a similar vein, Husting conducted an in depth examination of the portrayal of female and activists' voices in a scathing juxtaposition of "American media coverage of the Gulf war and the war on abortion" (1999, p. 159). This study, though also American, looks at the positioning of both women and activists as "outside the sphere of normal politics and reasonable opinion" (Ibid.) in an international issue as well as a national one, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The range of parallels drawn between my study and Husting's will provide a useful point of comparison in the beginning stages of my analysis for both the roles of actors, as well as my second research question regarding gender. We will now take a closer look at some of the existing research on the role gender plays in the use of authority.

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3.2 Gender

The body of work regarding news sources is by nature interdisciplinary, but perhaps none more so than for the study of gender. Just as Mosco's principle of structuration calls for a reexamining of political economic analysis to include dimensions such as gender, so too does traditional gender studies intersect with political economy and communications when investigating notions of authority and access.

One finding has been consistent across all studies of gender representation in news sources, and that is a significant concentration of males (Freedman & Fico, 2005, p. 289; Armstrong, 2006, p. 66), whether looking at newspapers or broadcast news.[3] Cohen's 1987 study of three U.S. networks found 83% male interviewees. Armstrong looked at eighteen U.S. dailies to find that men were mentioned three times as frequently as women in front page, local page, lifestyle page and sports page stories (2004), after an earlier study of three dailies from 1986-1996 found male sources outnumbering females by more than three to one, with the most concerning disparities involving international news (Zoch & Turk, 1998). In 1996, female university professors were found to be underrepresented in newspaper and magazine articles about topics such as government/politics and business/economics, while larger minorities of these experts were used as sources in entertainment/arts stories (Berkowitz, et al. qtd. in Freedman & Fico, 2005, p. 260). A 2002 study of major weekend political talk shows found that female experts spoke an average of 10% fewer words than men, and that "when they did appear,

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[3] It should also be noted that much of the research on the use of gender has sought to find connections between the male or female journalists and the sources they choose (Craft & Wanta, 2004; Devitt, 2002; Freedman & Fico, 2004; Kurpius, 2002; Liebler & Smith, 1997; Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1998). While interesting and a significant portion of the existing body of work on this subject, the findings of such studies cannot play much of a role in this portion of my research, since the content analysis does not code the gender of the journalists.

they were more apt to appear on later, less prestigious segments of the shows" (Talking Heads, qtd. in Ibid.).

There are a number of purely logistical explanations for these disparities in gender representation. Some suggest that "women are more reluctant than men to take the definitive stances that journalists prefer to use in stories" (Freedman & Fico, 2005, p. 289), or simply have qualms with being seen on camera. Alternatively, Powers and Fico discovered through interviews with veteran reporters that gender does not factor into source selection at all, rather, that source credibility, accessibility and time pressures were the most influential variables (1994). Along these lines, Gans asserts that in the case of beat stories, "the most regular sources develop an almost institutionalized relationship with the news organizations, for beat reporters are assigned to them. The beat reporters become virtual allies of these sources, either because they develop symbiotic relationships or identify with them" (1979, p. 144). This, though perhaps seeming purely logistical, can be extremely problematic. To be sure, "if the same depictions and portrayals are repeated continuously, media audiences may develop more traditionally based gender roles, where men hold positions of authority and women serve in subordinate roles" (Armstrong, 2006, p. 68). These notions will engage also with the first research question regarding actors' roles.

Beyond simple representation, Allan has also noted explicit gendered markings reserved only for when an actor is female. For instance, he reports that "a woman's age, physical appearance and marital status are much more likely to be seen as relevant than they will be for men" (1999, p. 148). These and other specific indicators of bias or inequality are likely to be missed by the content analysis of this thesis.

There is also a school of though which does not take individual-level explanations of time and availability constraints as reasonable causes of these disparities. Gertrude Robinson, for instance, points to fundamental sociological inequities within communication itself, saying:

> Being female or male in our society immediately creates presences and absences, accesses and exclusions, spaces for voices to talk and spaces where as a wo/man one has to remain silent. Gender also creates ways of exchanging and not exchanging information, help, emotional sustenance, ethical enlightenment, and human closeness. Gender does not cause communication practice, it is communication practice. And this practice is structured by deep-seated assumptions about inequality. (1998, p. 65)

Through a lens of gender inequality and engaging with a feminist discourse previously unheard of in the field of Communication Studies, Robinson insists that "audiences co-construct the meanings of media outputs and that 'truth' is merely consensual" (Babe, 2000, p. 223). To her, all reality is socially constructed and never objective, painting a grim picture for idealistic notions of objectivity in journalism. It does emphasize, however, the important role that news sources play in constructing these realities. Allan takes a similar stance, pointing to the use of gendered sources as an issue of 'feminine knowledge' versus 'masculine truth'. He suggests that the current proportions "naturalize a set of dualisms whereby 'masculine' discourses about reality (held to be objective, rational, abstract, coherent, unitary and active) are discursively privileged over 'feminine' ones (posited to be subjective, irrational, emotional, partial, fragmented and passive)" (1999, p. 134-5). While these types of latent constructs may not lend themselves well to direct comparison by means of the content analysis here, the framework they provide with respect to the interdisciplinary nature of gender studies is invaluable. From a political economic perspective, principles of structuration insofar as they relate to not just Marxist class-based inequalities, but racial and gendered ones as well, may also account for this use of female sources. Neoliberal values which privilege the voices of the powerful - white

voices; male voices - while marginalizing the rest (Cottle, 2000, p. 427) seem to be supported by much of the existing research in this area. Before we hold the data of this thesis against this body of work, we will add a review of previous research on our third variable: national / organizational affiliation.

3.3 National / Organizational Affiliation

The details of an actors' national / organizational affiliation bear some introduction. First, as will be detailed in the research design, an actor can represent only one country or organization. This means that ethnic minorities within countries, and most notably within Canada, are not coded. Actors speaking from within Canada who do not actively represent some other country are Canadians. The implications of this choice affect the analysis in a rather nuanced way, in that we will primarily be discussing the use of certain countries or organizations as sources, rather than the individuals themselves. As we will see from the review of existing literature below, this is an important distinction, and one that speaks to the unique contribution of this study. The combination of codes which capture the location of a news item and the role of the individual source will differentiate between, say, a source in China versus the Chinese ambassador to Canada - both of whom would be Chinese affiliated for the purposes of this research question. This type of complexity has resulted in a variety of applicable past studies, each with its own parameters and methodological choices:

Most comparable to my own content analysis, Chang and Zeldes found from a sample of 549 news stories in the New York Times, Washington Post, LA Times and Houston Chronicle that only the latter newspaper did not routinely favour Israeli over Palestinian sources (1990, p. 353). Political economic analysis of America's devotion to Israel go far beyond the scope of this

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thesis, but the study itself demonstrates the ability of content analysis and the use of national affiliation generally to elucidate these relationships.

Similarly, while Clayman's more recent work tends to focus on Presidential interviews and conversation analysis, a 1988 study analyzes three specific procedures used by interviewers in their interactions with guests on U.S. television news. The second of these is the most applicable to this thesis, "attributing statements to third parties" (p. 474). Clayman's format and Interviewer / Interviewee framework for analysis is best used in a more close-study approach than my data lend themselves to, but presents a context for which to look at actors, both individuals and groups, who are quoted but not seen, as well as countries who are involved by means of a mention rather than an event taking place. As I investigate conflicts in which third-party individuals and especially nations are privileged to speak - such as a Middle Eastern conflict wherein a member of the U.S. government is quoted - Clayman's work provides a useful framework.

With a mind to Mosco's principle of spatialization and the goals of the larger study with respect to international comparisons of foreign news, Nossek's 2004 analysis of the role national identity plays in international news coverage is relevant. Using the coverage of four events in three countries - the U.S., Britain and Israel - Nossek seeks to prove that journalistic practices "become subordinate to national loyalty" when a foreign news item is defined as "ours" (p. 343). Supposedly, coverage is 'professional', that is, neutral and objective, primarily when reported as a third party nation, suggesting consistent media bias in domestic news. As my own data capture all levels of foreign involvement, including each event's location, mention of other nations, those privileged to speak as well as any footage from international broadcasters, Nossek's work here

sets a noteworthy precedent as our understanding of international news develops with respect to the selection of sources and beyond.

In addition to quantitative studies of news access, a body of work also exists on the role of international sources in society. Perry studied a sample of adults from Alabama to find that representation of countries in the news generally leads to "greater knowledge and more favourable attitudes towards those countries" (1990, p. 353). This conclusion supports assertions of the importance of sources established at the outset, and though the countries used in this particular study included Britain, India, Japan, Mexico and the Soviet Union, the implications no doubt apply to more recently controversial nations such as Israel or Afghanistan.

Semetko et al. come to a similar conclusion in their 1992 study on the influence of foreign news on public opinion about foreign countries. Utilizing a range of research methods, the study draws on a content analysis of U.S. network news and wire service coverage of nine countries over a six month period, as well as a nationally representative survey of 1,117 U.S. adults which measured opinions about these countries (p. 18). Notably, Semetko et al. determine that TV is more important than newspapers for influencing public opinion about foreign countries, and "attention to foreign affairs news, rather than simple exposure to news, best predicts general liking of a country" (Ibid.). Visibility is key, rather than the quality or type of coverage of each country, speaking to the validity of my own quantitative approach.

Having now reviewed the existing work on each of the primary variables of my research, we will now detail this approach's history and application, along with my own research design.

Chapter 4: Content Analysis

As we have seen in the previous chapter, study of the media, and news content in particular can take a number of forms. Though the political economic lens described above might seem to lend itself to a critical discourse analysis or series of qualitative surveys and interviews, I must reiterate what was established at the outset. Despite the institutional forces at work in the shaping of media content and the selection of news sources, the purpose of this thesis is not to dwell upon the organizational-level modes of production. As mentioned, the larger international study has plans for interviews with gatekeepers, audience surveys and other methods which seek to paint a full picture of news media processes from production through to consumption and social effects. For our purposes here, I have selected Content Analysis (CA) as the primary research method to provide an objective and quantifiable indication of the use of authority by means of the three specific variables discussed above. CA as a methodology is well suited to this preliminary exploration of manifest content, as outlined briefly by the following.

4.1 History and Applications of CA

Kimberly Neuendorf traces the origins of CA back to Aristotle's rhetorical analysis 4,000 years ago, with its characteristic focus on message content and form (2001, p.31). Biblical concordances made their mark in the following millennia, as quantitative methods of organizing a series of cross-listed biblical terms became key for retrievability, long before the aid of computers (Ibid.). Content Analysis as an objective, scientific method for studying news content goes back as far as 1893, when newspaper topics in New York were quantified over the course of twelve years and used to demonstrate the move from "coverage of religious, scientific and literary matters in favor of gossip, sports, and scandals", as mentioned at the outset

(Krippendorff, 2004, p.5). In 1910, the simplistic approach of measuring column inches to indicate newspapers' attention to particular subjects introduced a method that's been used even recently by one of the best known media studies theorists of our generation, Noam Chomsky (1988). Bearing a similar sense of familiarity were the Payne Fund studies of the 1930s, which, after arming a group of coders with such categories as "social values", sent them to watch 115 movies to determine what content children were being exposed to (Neuendorf, 2001, p.34). In 1949, Harold Laswell - to whom the classic definition of communication as "*who* says *what* to *whom* via what *channel* with what *effect*" is attributed - released a book on quantitative methods of studying the content of political messages (Ibid., p.33). By this time, Laswell had decades of experience developing an increasingly systematic methodology for content analysis through the study of propaganda. While CA was useful in fields such as psychology and beyond, the 1950s saw the first heavily funded media content applications since the Payne Fund studies with the advent of television. Focusing primarily on the *what* and *effects* of television violence to begin with, this concentration soon expanded to include portrayals of women, minorities and other social factors (Ibid., p.39). With lessons learned from Laswell's determination for scientific rigour and honesty with respect to the limitations of his own work at various stages, CA has since been used with increasing frequency by a growing array of researchers (Ibid., p.27).

A number of contemporary definitions exist with respect to CA, many with a set of common principles. Berger, for instance, describes it simply as "a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something ... in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art" (1991, p.25). Neuman describes it as a "technique for gathering and analysing the content of text", specifying that "the 'content' refers to words, meanings,

pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The 'text' is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication" (1997, p.272-3). Neuendorf, one of the foremost theorists currently working with and writing on CA, approaches the method as "one tool for testing relationships within a basic communication model" (2001, p. 52). She identifies this basic model as the classic Shannon-Weaver framework of "source-message-channel-receiver" (Shannon & Weaver, 1998),[4] and from it, Berelson proposes five key purposes for CA: "(a) to describe substance characteristics of message content,... (b) to describe form characteristics of message content, (c) to make inferences to producers of content, (d) to make inferences to audiences of content, and (e) to determine the effects of content on the audience" (1952). It is primarily the first two of these proposed purposes which will be utilized here, with some mind to inferences regarding producers and audience insofar as the political economic framework might suggest. However, as mentioned, these aspects of media processes will be more relevant to future portions of the larger news study. Neuendorf provides a six-part definition which generally incorporates the contemporary essentials, and which I will use as an outline for the method's applicability to this thesis:

First, CA must rely upon a strict scientific method, as established by Laswell. This includes such sub-principles as objectivity, an *a priori* design ('before the fact'), reliability, validity, generalizability and hypothesis testing (or research questions). This principle has been key to this portion of the larger study from which my data were gleaned. Coordinating a research design in which, as we will see in detail in the next section, up to ten coders from each

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[4] Critiques of this model as reductive, or reference to the Hypodermic Needle or Magic Bullet model of communication are noted, but not relevant insofar as the model is used as a basis for the purposes of CA. Shannon & Weaver have been criticized for removing agency from the the audience, suggesting that all content is void of connotation so as to prevent alternate readings entirely. This is a potential critique of the usages of CA itself, and will be touched upon, but does not affect the application of CA to this thesis.

of eighteen countries are coding a sample using matched tools and procedures with the expectation that the results will be compared across all data sets, makes such issues as objectivity and reliability the utmost concern. The Canadian data were coded solely by myself, and so while issues of inter-coder reliability are moot for this thesis, it has been important throughout the study that the codebook and design be replicable not just for future researchers - as one tenet of a scientifically rigorous CA would demand (Berelson, 2000, p.203; Carmines & Zeller, 1979) - but for seventeen other groups of scholars simultaneously. CA's objectivity and strict adherence to scientific methods make it an ideal choice for a study of this breadth, and Neuendorf herself has been involved personally in making recommendations to the study's designers with respect to the most reliable use of these methods. The data for this thesis, as a result, are peer reviewed internationally and held to the highest scientific standards.

The second principle of CA is that the message itself must be the unit of analysis and/or the unit of data collection (Neuendorf, 2001, p.13). Unlike many of the social and behavioural sciences in which individual people serve as these units, "there must be communication content as a primary subject of the investigation for the study to be deemed a content analysis" (Ibid., p.15). While the theoretical framework described in previous chapters may serve to contextualize and even permit inferences from the data, the research questions themselves are concerning Laswell's classic *what*; that is, the manifest content. Notions of neoliberalism, Mosco's principles of political economic analysis and the like will position our findings in the environment in which they were produced, but the research design itself is concerned only with the unitizing of news content, clearly indicating the applicability of CA.

Third, CA must be quantitative (Neuendorf, 2001, p.15; Janis, 1943; Kaplan, 1943; Kaplan & Goldsen, 1943). Despite the exploratory nature of this thesis, with its dependence on research questions rather than hypotheses and preliminary analysis over the type of strict statistical analysis which will be applied to future reports on the data, the quantitative nature of CA is key to the kind of contribution this research will make. Neuendorf explains that "a content analysis has as its goal a numerically based summary of a chosen message set. It is neither a gestalt impression nor a fully detailed description of a message or message set" (2001, p.16). While the lack of a 'deep reading' associated with CA can be considered one of its limitations, the objectivity associated with quantitative research methods is also one of CA's strengths. This is not to say that qualitative analysis must be any less *empirical* than quantitative, and indeed, CA can be known to forfeit a degree of depth and detail for its lack of qualitative results (Ibid.). However, Newbold et al. rather boldly caution that "the logic of deconstructing latent meanings, and privileging them over the more obvious 'manifest' ones, is questionable, for the audience may not see this latest dimension; the analysis may be longer than the text. The task is time consuming, and often tells us what we already know in a language we don't understand" (2002, p.249). This is simply one critique, and reference to it does not seek to undermine semiotic or other qualitative analyses of media texts on the whole. It does emphasize the value of a 'broad stroke' approach to this first look at authority in Canadian news media content - an under researched area until recently - with plans to account for and supplement the limitations of all methods with future surveys, interviews, etc. as part of the larger study. This thesis provides a first glance at an accessible and quantitative data set which will prove useful for future analysis.

Neuendorf's fourth principle comes in a similar vein; content analysis as summarizing. Consistent with the nomothetical approach to research methodology, in which scientific findings seek to be generalizable - rather than the ideographic approach which focuses on a full and precise conclusion about a single case/text (2001, p.16.) - "content analysis summarizes rather than reports all details of a message set" (Ibid.). With an ultimate mind to establish generalizable conclusions which can contribute to the field as a whole, a summary of quantitative data serves best.

Fifth, it is noteworthy that CA is applicable to all contexts, and not simply to mass media texts. Neuendorf lists individual messaging, interpersonal and group messaging, organizational messaging, and even applied contexts as additional application of CA (Ibid., p.23). Mass messages - most commonly mediated via television, newspapers or radio - are a popular choice for CA, with studies of journalistic coverage increasing significantly over the past twenty years (Ibid., p.30). Indeed, many of the studies mentioned in the previous chapter utilized CA as a research method as well, setting a standard for the field.

The sixth principle is one of some contention, and vital to an effective overview of the strengths and limitations of CA. Neuendorf takes the view that "all message characteristics are available to content analyze" (Ibid., p.23). This includes latent content. It was discussed at the outset that content beyond what is manifest - and so also organizational-level modes of production and audience response - would be outside the scope of this study, and indeed, a partial result of CA's limited application. Within the last decade, researchers have sought to quantify the deeper meanings of messages using variables as indicators of these latent meanings. Neuendorf cites a 1999 study in which the latent construct 'sexism' was coded through twenty-

seven manifest variables in a variety of texts, as well as a 1998 study of website 'interactivity'

using twenty-three easily measurable manifest variables (Ibid., p.23).   Pointing to a school of

thought which criticizes the "manifest-latent dichotomy", she suggests instead a continuum

"from 'highly manifest' to 'highly latent'", or even a hybrid model in which latent content *can* be

measured, but only through the use of manifest indicators (Ibid., p.24). As we will see from the

comprehensive research design below, there are certainly series of variables which, combined,

could serve as indicators of a variety of latent constructs. Krippendorff, with respect for the

notions of scientific objectivity that underpin the emergence of content analysis itself, believes

that today's mass media requires this type of larger-scale approach to be useful (2004).   For the

purposes of this thesis, however, the content analysis will focus entirely on manifest variables,

with only some mind to inferences based on potential indications of latent constructs. The

framework established in *Chapters Two* & *Three* will aid in validating these inferences. The

following research design outlines clearly the application of CA as a methodology in this study.

4.2 Research Design

By employing an interdisciplinary political economic framework to a content analysis of

national broadcast news, this research will fill the gap in our current understanding of how

authority plays out in the Canadian context. As touched upon at the outset, the data are part of

the *Reporting the World: Comparative Evidence on Foreign Television News Across the Globe*

study spanning eighteen countries: Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Finland,

Germany, Hong Kong, Israel, Italy, Japan, Poland, Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, Taiwan

and the United States. The following took place across each participating country in parallel.

To begin, a sample of news coverage was recorded which coincides with that of the other countries involved. One public and one private broadcaster was chosen to represent mainstream Canadian news: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Canadian Television (CTV), respectively. The sample consisted of the main evening newscasts of CBC's *The National* and the CTV *Evening News* during four one-week periods over three months. The dates included were January 20-26, 2008; February 10-16, 2008; March 2-8, 2008; and March 23-29, 2008. This selection provided four sequences of news, thereby enabling the analysis of developing stories within a given week, while also a broad array of topics over the 3-month period. Contingency plans were made to postpone the recordings in case of a catastrophic event during the sample period which could distort the news coverage.

Next, each newscast was itemized. Distinguishing between items was based on two criteria: content and / or format. In the case of content, a new item within a newscast was identified whenever there was a change in issue and / or topic and / or country / location. The most common of these instances can be illustrated by a 'block' of foreign news events in sequence, in which each event is considered as a separate item, even if there is no separate formal introduction of each item by the anchor or reporter. When itemized by format, a new item was identified following a formal breaking point, regardless of the content. For example, an edited news report, often including a voice-over, would be considered a whole item together with the news anchor's introduction, regardless of the content prior to or following it.

Each item was then categorized by Keywords, which can be used to provide points of comparison across both CTV and CBC coverage of any given event, and ultimately, matched with coverage of the same event worldwide.

Next, a detailed content analysis was completed for each of 749 items.[5] The codebook itself[6] is shared by each of the eighteen countries involved, ensuring consistency by use of matched tools and procedures. As stated, each item began by taking note of the country of broadcast, the station (CBC or CTV), the date, and the item's placement in the newscasts' line-up. The topic for each item was then coded, listing up to three topics per item due to the extremely detailed list of 284 possible codes.[7] Variables such as an item's mention in the newscast's headline, use of an anchor, archive material, sources for the item's visuals (CNN International, BBC World, Al-Jazeera, etc.), sensationalism, perspective, scope, impact, domestication, international involvement,[8] conflict and violence were coded for each.

The final variable was the item's 'Actors'. Actors were defined as people who appeared in each item, either as individuals or as representing some entity such as a country, commercial firm, social group, etc. Actors could be identified as either speaking themselves, or being represented by way of a quote. In the case of a quote, both a direct (e.g., "The Prime Minister said: 'we will make the right decision'") or an indirect (e.g., "The Prime Minister said that his party would make the right decision") were treated identically. All identifiable actors were coded, whether identified verbally by reference to their name and / or with a visual caption on the screen, or through their status as a well known person such as a country's leader, even when no formal identification was provided. If an individual was seen but not quoted – that is, not given authority or privileged to speak – then they were not coded. Once identified, each of a

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[5] See Appendix 1 for complete coding sheet.

[6] See Appendix 2 for Codebook.

[7] See Appendix 3 for list of Topic codes.

[8] See Appendix 4 for list of Country / Organization codes.

total 1,406 actors were coded by role,[9] their representation of a group or individual, gender, country or organization, the language they speak and / or are quoted in and the length of this privilege, as well as the extent to which they are identified.

As specified and similar to the Topic codes, the Actor's role codes consist of four representative digits. The first two digits indicate the topic area, while the third and fourth digits break down the function or professional sector and the level of the actor, respectively. This will allow for a variety of analyses as not only specific roles can be cross-evaluated with each Actor's gender, country / organizational affiliation, etc. but each Actor's level, professional sector or general topic area as well. This system, as with the Topic codes, also allows for any discrepancies in inter-coder reliability. Where an inconsistency – however unlikely – might exist on the third or fourth digit, the area from which an Actor's role is identified leaves far less up to the individual coder, both nationally and when making comparisons on an international basis.

Another potentially subjective variable that merits discussion is Gender, for which three options exist: 'Male', 'Female' and 'Both'. While the coding of 'Male' and 'Female' are fairly self-explanatory, the latter may require some clarification. 'Both' was utilized when an actor was identified as representing a group *without* privileging an individual whose gender could be determined. The Individual / Group variable captures actors who were identified – in many cases by both name and role – as individuals who spoke on behalf of a group. Wherever possible, the coding of 'Male' or 'Female' was considered a fundamental characteristic in these cases, even and especially in the case of group representation. However, groups were represented at time by ambiguous individuals, making gender an unreliable variable within those actors. For

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[9] See Appendix 5 for list of Actor codes.

example, a particular organization's representative could be quoted or even privileged with an androgynous-sounding voice over, without identifying the actor by name. In cases such as these, while there was an identifiable actor insofar as all other variables were concerned, no gender could be assigned. 'Both' does *not* refer to a transgendered individual of any kind. Rather, cases such as the quoting of a particular group without enough mention of an individual to warrant reliable gender identification were used here.

As mentioned, the codebook itself was developed by the group of scholars associated with the larger international study. My use of this instrument, rather than making any modifications or developments for the Canadian component, will aid in future international comparisons as my own analysis can be held distinctly against those of the other countries involved. Indeed, the research design is supported by an internationally recognized level of accuracy and scholarship. It is true that this focus on manifest content can be argued as limiting when seeking to develop a broader picture of the latent intentions and responses to that content (Berelson 2000). However, as discussed in the previous section, the objective, quantifiable and consistently repeatable systems associated with content analysis provide a far better complement to the existing body of work pertaining to more covert political economic processes.

It is also noteworthy that future components of this international study have yet to be completed, which include more qualitative methods. I recognize entirely the limitations of a purely quantitative approach, and would not argue with McChesney's assertion that that it is "wrong intellectually and pragmatically" to "ape the existing social sciences" by way of quantitative methods rather than incorporating a less popular, contextualized political economic analysis. I posit this thesis as the first phase of a broader political economic method.

4.3 Data Corpus

The following data corpus (Tables 1-5) describe the entire sample:

Table 1
Summary of Sample

Sample	Quantity
Newscasts	56
Items	749
CBC *(public broadcaster)*	406
CTV *(private broadcaster)*	343
Minutes of itemized news	1,675
CBC	1,102
CTV	573

Table 2
Total Actors in Sample

Sample	Quantity
Items involving Actors	475
Actors	1,406

Table 3

Distribution of Twenty Most Common Roles Amongst Actors in Total Sample

Role	Frequency	Percent
"Man in the Street"	66	4.7
Expert: Social Relations	61	4.3
Relative/Friend of Victim	52	3.7
National Candidate in Election	50	3.6
Federal Political Party Leader	43	3.1
MP / Provincial Party Leader	42	3.0
Citizen: Other	37	2.6
Head/High Ranking Company Official	33	2.3
Person Involved in Social Relations	33	2.3
Federal Minister	30	2.1
"Victim" of Some Event	29	2.1
Foreign Head of State, Politician	28	2.0
Head of Police/Emergency Service	27	1.9
Relative/Friend of Protagonist	27	1.9
Journalist/Photographer	26	1.8
Head of Health or Medical System	25	1.8
Scientist or Technology Expert	25	1.8
Head of State (President, King)	24	1.7
Senior in Emergency/Security Service	23	1.6
Employee of Large Company	23	1.6

Table 4

Distribution of Gender Amongst Actors in Total Sample

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	996	70.8
Female	384	27.3
Both	26	1.8

Table 5

Distribution of Top Ten Countries/Organizations Amongst Actors in Total Sample

Country / Organization	Frequency	Percent
Canada	944	67.1
United States	238	16.9
United Kingdom	29	2.1
France	20	1.4
Israel	19	1.4
Pakistan	16	1.1
Cuba	11	.8
Palestine	10	.7
Zimbabwe	10	.7
United Nations (org.)	9	.6

This analysis demonstrates several patterns with respect to the preference of political voices, male over female actors, and Western authority. In the following sections, we will explore the three aforementioned Research Questions by correlating the above data across other Actor variables, as well as the item variables found in Tables 6-11.

Table 6

Distribution of Foreign/Domestic/Hybrid Items in Total Sample

Nature of Event	Frequency	Percent
Domestic	247	33.0
Foreign	232	31.0
Domestic with Foreign Involvement	175	23.5
Foreign with Domestic Involvement	95	12.7

Table 7

Distribution of Items Containing Conflict in Total Sample

Conflict	Frequency	Percent
Yes, Social	288	38.5
No	280	37.4
Yes, Interpersonal	146	19.5
Yes, Can't Determine	35	4.7

Table 8

Distribution of Geographic Scope of Items in Total Sample

Geographic Scope	Frequency	Percent
Country	274	36.6
City/Town	232	31.0
Region	101	13.5
World-Region	95	12.7
Worldwide	47	6.3

Table 9

Distribution of the Potential Impact of Items in Total Sample

Potential Impact	Frequency	Percent
National	230	30.7
No Explicit	192	25.6
Worldwide	134	17.9
World-Region	98	13.1
Region	54	7.2
City/Town	41	5.5

Table 10
Distribution of References to the Past in Total Sample

Reference to Past	Frequency	Percent
More Than One Year Ago	278	37.1
No (current day only)	142	19.0
Unspecific Reference to the Past	101	13.5
Previous Week or Several Days	80	10.7
Previous Year or So	68	9.1
Previous Month or So	39	5.2
Previous Day	32	4.3

Table 11
Distribution of References to the Future in Total Sample

Reference to Future	Frequency	Percent
No (current day only)	273	36.4
Unspecific Reference to Future	252	33.6
More Than One Year to the Future	62	8.3
Next Year or So	50	6.7
Next Few Days or Week	41	5.5
Cannot Determine	28	3.7
Next Month or So	27	3.6
Next Day	16	2.1

This basic assessment of key variables will be referenced throughout the following analysis, as I explore the conditions under which Actors of each Role, Gender and National / Organizational affiliation are given authority in Canadian news. In the subsequent discussion, I will answer the three Research Questions listed at the outset by correlating the above data with that of the 1,406 Actors, while engaging the existing body of work which addresses the news media from a political economic perspective. This detailed content analysis will result in a broader understanding of how authority plays out in the Canadian context and the contribution of that knowledge to public discourse regarding news media content.

Chapter 5: The Use of Authority in Canadian National News

When given the choice between experts, political leaders, victims, etc., of all genders and cultural backgrounds, whose voices are heard in Canadian news media, and as a result, whose influence is reflected in the public's understanding of the world; an understanding so crucial to a functioning democracy? I will now explore this question by means of three primary variables: Role, Gender, and National / Organizational Affiliation.

5.1 Research Question One

1,406 actors have been coded from a list of 154 possible roles in 20 categories. From this data, we may begin to shed some light on the first research question: *What are the roles of those given authority on Canadian national news?*

5.1.1 Internal Politics

As indicated by Table 12, political representatives - heads of state, members of parliament, election candidates, etc. - are the most common sources at 22.4 percent. Of the 167 items these 315 actors are quoted in, only 92 items, or 55.1 percent, are actually on news topics of internal politics. The remaining 75 items which use political representatives as sources range in topic, primarily concerning Internal Order, Military and Defense, and the Economy; issues which are often the subject of public debate and prone to the influence of news sources (Jordan & Page, 1992; Kim et al., 1999). With respect to official sources, that is to say, powerful members of society (Cottle, 2000), we might choose to group this category with authorities in Business, Internal Order and International Politics, effectively raising the percentage to 45.8; nearly half, and far above the 18.9 percent which makes up citizen voices. This does not negate the fact that the second most common role category is Citizens, as we will see in the next section.

Table 12

Distribution of All Actors by Role Category

Actor Role Category	Frequency	Percent
Internal Politics	315	22.4
Citizens	265	18.9
Business, Commerce & Industry	129	9.2
Internal Order	114	8.1
Social Relations	100	7.1
International Politics	81	5.8
Sports	81	5.8
Health, Welfare and Social Services	78	5.5
Culture	38	2.7
Military and Defense	34	2.4
Communication	31	2.2
Science and Technology	30	2.1
Religion	27	1.9
Environment	20	1.4
Labour	17	1.2
Transportation	17	1.2
Education	13	0.9
Celebrities	9	0.6
Population	2	0.1
Royalty	1	0.0

Note. Differentiation between Roles and Role Categories as per Appendix 5

Roles within the Internal Politics category range from head of state to a volunteer or activist in a national organization. Table 13 indicates the types of political actors who are given a voice, not simply by frequency, but also in overall time spent speaking or being quoted, as a percentage of the total time given to actors in this category. The role given the most authority in both frequency and time is the national election candidate. This is due in part to the coverage of the U.S. Primaries, which preliminary analysis is suggesting to be one of the most widely covered topics internationally. Of 178 total items dealing with topics of Internal Politics, 70, or

39.3 percent deal with Elections, 41 of which are in the U.S. Of these 70 Election items, 55 use actors, totaling 167 individuals. National election candidates make up 27.5 percent of these, meaning that over one quarter of all sources authorized to speak on election topics are national candidates. The second most common actor privileged on the topic of elections is the 'Man in the Street' opinion statement, at 9.6 percent. This particular role will be investigated further.

Table 13
Distribution of Actors in Internal Politics

Actor Role	Frequency	Percent	% Time
National Candidate in an Election	50	15.9	16.5
Political Party Leader	43	13.7	9.9
Member of Parliament	42	13.3	14.0
Minister	30	9.5	7.7
Head of State (President, King)	24	7.6	6.6
Volunteer / Activist in National Organization	17	5.4	3.9
Prime Minister	16	5.1	4.8
Local Leaders / Members of Parties	15	4.8	3.2
Head of Regulatory Agency	13	4.1	3.3
Head of Commission of Inquiry	12	3.8	12.5
Other	11	3.5	6.1
Mayors of Small Towns	8	2.5	2.3
Head of Regional Government (Premier)	6	1.9	2.1
Regional Candidate in Election	4	1.3	0.005
Head of Parliament	3	0.9	0.006
Mayors of Large Cities	3	0.9	0.008
Member of Commission of Inquiry	1	0.3	0.001
Local Candidate in Election	1	0.3	0.008

The next three roles, Minister, political party leader, and Member of Parliament, are similar in frequency, totaling 115 actors between them and 32.4 percent of time given to this category. These roles have been collapsed due to the similar nature of their political authority, but

it is noteworthy that the lowest status amongst them, the Member of Parliament, is never sourced without the use of either a Minister or a political party leader in the same item. This is despite the fact that in terms of time, Members of Parliament are privileged with 14 percent of the total for this category, while party leaders and Ministers receive 9.9 and 7.7 percent, respectively. The total use of these three roles combined spans 51 items, over one-fifth of which include election coverage (Table 14). Inter-party relations in the Internal Politics category make up 13.7 percent, while over one quarter of these items deal with wars between countries and international tensions and disagreements combined. A closer analysis reveals no overlap between these latter two topics, despite their similarity; they represent the use of Ministers, political party leaders and Members of Parliament in 14 separate items pertaining to these types of international political conflict.

Topics dealing with a commission of inquiry make up 11.8 percent of these items, all of which take place in Canada and are broadcast on CBC. Indeed, 85.7 percent of all items which discuss the commission of an inquiry are reported by the public broadcaster. Over half of these concern the release of the Manley Report, commissioned by the Canadian government to address Canada's future military involvement in Afghanistan. The Manley Report itself is reported on CTV, but in only four items - compared to 15 on CBC - and uses actors in just two. These actors included one Minister and two party leaders. The prominence of this story also explains the use of a head of commission or inquiry (Table 13). While the frequency of privileging this role with authority is 3.8 percent, this actor speaks or is quoted 12.5 percent of the total time given to all internal political roles.

Table 14

Most Common Topics Wherein a Minister, Party Leader or Member of Parliament is a Source

Item Topic	Frequency	Percent
Election	11	21.6
Inter-Party Relations	7	13.7
Wars Between Countries	7	13.7
International Tensions and Disagreements	7	13.7
Commission of Inquiry	6	11.8
Statements and Activities of Individual Politicians	5	9.8
Military Activities	5	9.8
Government Defense Policy and Action	5	9.8

Note. n=51. Each item is coded for up to three topics, resulting in some overlap.

Volunteers and activists in national organizations make up 5.4 percent of internal political actors, but are only authorized for 3.9 percent of the time (Table 13). Of the 13 items they appear in, eight are on CBC. Six of these items are domestic, or nine if combined with domestic with foreign involvement. Only one is purely foreign. While nearly 70 percent of these items pertain to social conflict, the topics in which these actors are privileged range considerably. The most common topic category is Internal Order, with two of five items pertaining to peaceful demonstrations. Four items pertain to Internal Politics, while the rest range from Health and Population to Sports, Culture and Religion.

The final internal political role we will investigate is that of Prime Minister, authorized in 16 items and totaling 5.1 percent of all internal political actors (Table 13). Fourteen of these represent the Canadian Prime Minister, with two - one per station - as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. CBC and CTV appear to privilege the Canadian leader similarly, with the public broadcaster sourcing him six times versus CTV's eight. Considering the amount of time he is given to speak or be quoted, CBC devotes a sum of 91 seconds while CTV totals 96 seconds. It

is when looking at the percentage of total time given to all sources on each station that the difference between the two broadcasters is apparent, as CBC uses the Prime Minister 0.004 percent of the time, while CTV privileges him with 1.7 percent. All but three items involve internal political topics, combined with International Politics, Internal Order, and Military and Defense. Two items deal strictly with the economy.

5.1.2 Citizens

On the opposite end of the spectrum, and as we saw in Table 3 (p. 43), the most common actor voiced across the entire sample is the 'Man in the Street' with a frequency of 66 out of 1,406 actors, or 4.7 percent. These are individuals, known to journalists as 'streeters' who are selected literally from the street to share their opinions as 'ordinary people' on the topics at hand. Of 475 items involving actors, this role is used in 42, or 8.8 percent of actor items. While audiences have been shown to prefer news about ordinary people over politics, economics, disasters, etc. (Hargrove & Stempel, 2002, p. 46), the use of ordinary people as sources is not restricted to any one type of news story. Table 15 provides a breakdown of the ten most common topic categories included in this 8.8 percent. The first two categories listed here can also be broken down into specific topics, since they make up the majority. There are 20 items in these two categories combined which use a 'Man in the Street', including eight elections, four crime investigations and three murders.

As Figure 1 indicates, many of the stories in which a 'Man in the Street' is given authority are foreign. This can be accounted for by the common use of ordinary people in the coverage of the U.S. Primaries, which also makes up much of the Election topics of Table 15. Interestingly, if domestic and domestic with foreign involvement are collapsed, and foreign and

foreign with domestic involvement are likewise, the use of the 'Man in the Street' is almost even, at 22 and 20 items, respectively. The use of this source does not often appear in hybrid items, suggesting that this type of citizen opinion is not authorized to comment on issues or events of an international nature. While 19 percent of domestic stories which involve another country do use the 'Man in the Street', only 7 percent of foreign stories which involve Canada authorize this type of opinion statement. Overall, it is also noteworthy that when considering the amount of time in seconds devoted to the 'Man in the Street', the 4.7 percent frequency is reduced to 1.7 percent total time. This is reflective of the brief nature of these types of statements.

Table 15

Ten Most Common Topic Categories wherein a "Man in the Street" is a Source

Item Topic Category	Frequency	Percent
Internal Order	16	38.1
Internal Politics	14	33.3
Weather	9	21.4
Human Interest	8	19.0
International Politics	6	14.3
Accidents / Disasters	4	9.5
Economy	3	7.1
Business / Commerce	3	7.1
Transportation	3	7.1
Social Relations	3	7.1

Note. n=42. Each item is coded for up to three topics, resulting in some overlap.

The second most common citizen voice is the relative or close friend of a victim with 52 actors, or 3.7 percent of all actors, across 41 items. Nineteen of these involve topics of Internal Order, six of which pertain to murder. Accidents and disasters make up nearly one third of these items, with items pertaining to health, welfare and social services at approximately one quarter (Table 16). Nearly half of these items are purely domestic in nature, at 48.8 percent. This

number increases to 63.4 percent when grouping domestic and domestic with foreign involvement. Only 17.1 percent of items which authorize a victim's relative or close friend to speak are entirely foreign.

As indicated in Table 3 (p. 43), victims themselves make up 2.1 percent of all actors, with 29 individuals given a voice. Twenty-seven actors are relatives or close friends of a protagonist - differentiated from a victim - at 1.9 percent. Witnesses make up 1.6 percent of actors with 23 individuals privileged to speak. Many of these citizen voices will be addressed in more detail in the discussion of the second research question, as gender is one of the most noteworthy variables which distinguish the use of these roles.

Table 16

Five Most Common Topic Categories Wherein a Relative/Friend of a Victim is a Source

Item Topic Category	Frequency	Percent
Internal Order	27	65.9
Accidents and Disasters	13	31.7
Health, Welfare and Social Services	10	24.4
Human Interest	8	19.5
International Politics	5	12.2

Note. n=41. Each item is coded for up to three topics, resulting in some overlap.
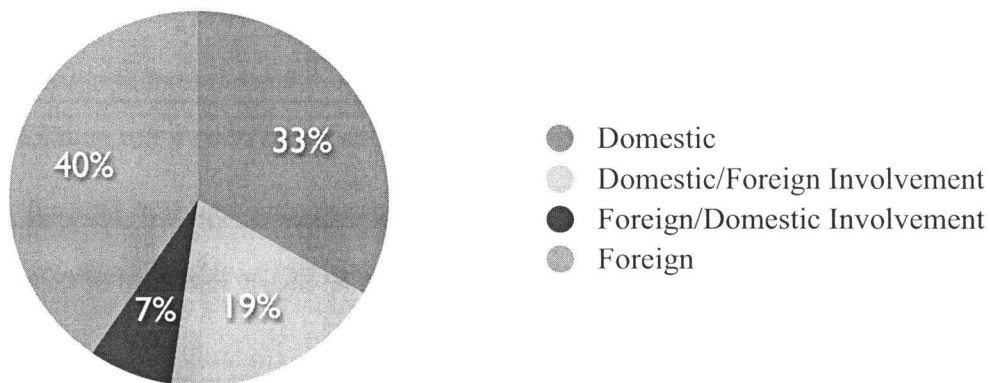
Figure 1. Distribution of items which use 'Man in the Street' as a source by Nature of Event.

5.1.3 Business, Commerce & Industry / Labour

We will now investigate further the third role category in Table 12, 'Business, Commerce & Industry'. As outlined in the research design, each role category is coded using a four-digit system which delineates the actor's status within that category. This is noteworthy as the difference in authority between a company official and an employee of a small business has considerable implications with respect to privileging the voices of the elite. As we see in Table 17, it is indeed company officials who garner over 25 percent of the voices from this category, followed by employee representatives of these large companies for a total of 43.4 percent when grouped together. It is only after an additional 16.3 percent from small business owners that citizen voices - here clearly identified as consumers - make up 10.9 percent. Heads of regulatory agencies and advocates for regulation contribute a combined 7.7 percent. The amount of time given to each of these roles is even more striking, bringing company officials alone to nearly half of all coverage with 47.6 percent, while cutting consumers to 5.5 percent.

Table 17

Distribution of Actors in Business, Commerce & Industry

Actor Role	Frequency	Percent	% Time
Head or High Ranking Officials of Company	33	25.6	47.6
Employee of Large Company	23	17.8	16.5
Small Business Owner	21	16.3	10.5
Consumer	14	10.9	5.5
Other	13	10.1	6.0
Investor	10	7.8	6.0
Head of Regulatory Agency	8	6.2	4.3
Central Bank or Federal Reserve President	2	1.5	1.4
Employee of Small Business	2	1.5	0.007
Journalist/Advocate of Regulation	2	1.5	1.2
Tourist	1	0.8	0.002

We may choose also, as Hackett and Uzelman did (2003), to compare the use of business voices with those from the labour category. Labour voices make up 1.2 percent of all actors (see Table 12) but when considering the amount of time given to this group, the percentage becomes 0.006. Over 70 percent of these actors are the lowest status; that is, rank and file members of a trade union or workers. A trade union leader or a high ranking official of a trade union are authorized only once each out of the entire set of 1,406 actors. Fourteen individual items pertain to labour topics, 11 of which contain a total of 34 actors. Of these, four items authorize nine labour voices. Eight actors are from the business category, running the gamut from company officials to consumers. The internal politics category is represented with six actors. Of all items which authorize labour voices, regardless of topic, 45.5 percent also include business authorities to "counter-balance" them (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003, p. 239).

5.1.4 Experts

Codes were provided in the research design for experts on a number of topics, in an effort to determine the conditions under which these individuals are called upon to add their knowledge to the public discourse through the forum of broadcast news. As a result, the second most common role overall is that of an expert in the area of social relations with 61 individual actors and a total of 4.3 percent (Table 3). These actors are found in 49 items; just over one tenth of all items containing actors. Of these 49 items, 40 are from CBC. Not surprisingly, these experts are authorized with 11.1 percent of the total time CBC allots to actor quotes in any category. The remaining 9 items are broadcast on CTV and make up 1.2 percent of time spent on actors for that station. Of these, five take place in the United States, four of which are entirely foreign. Three of these are on the topic of the U.S. Primaries. Of the four domestic CTV items which authorize

a social relations expert, two are with foreign involvement. CBC's 40 items include 24 domestic, 15 of which have no foreign involvement. Of the nine items with foreign involvement, five involve the U.S. - on the topic of the U.S. Primaries - and two involve Afghanistan. Twelve items are entirely foreign, five of which take place in the U.S., including four on the U.S. Primaries. These are reflected in Table 18, outlining the topics in which social relations experts are given authority. Ten of the twenty topics in the Internal Politics category deal with the U.S Primaries, while five of those categorized under Internal Order involve demonstrations; three violent and two peaceful. Without the election coverage, the types of topics on which social relations experts have authority appear to range considerably. Only Military and Defense topics are noticeably underrepresented, with just one of 49 items authorizing an expert of this type. This is noteworthy in light of the role social relations play in international conflicts, particularly with respect to the Manley Report and the public discourse regarding Canada's military role in Afghanistan.

In addition to the social relations expert, four other codes have been assigned to experts in different fields: transportation, demography, environment, and science/technology. The most common of these by far is the latter, with 25 actors (Table 3). Two thirds of these are domestic, with four involving Outer Space. Table 19 details the topic categories which scientists and technology experts are given authority on, including only nine items which actually pertain to science and technology.

No demography experts are authorized, which is likely due in part to there being only three items on the topic of population. Four transportation experts speak, two of whom are in a domestic item involving natural disasters, while the others are used in separate hybrid items with

the U.S. Three environment experts are actors in two weather stories - one domestic and one taking place in Antarctica - and one domestic story regarding the commission of an inquiry, despite a total of 23 items which pertain to the environment. As there are 23 stories in total pertaining to the environment, it may be that experts on this topic are more often portrayed as activists, since there are ten actors coded as environmental activists on these topics. Each station authorizes five of these ten actors, and while CBC gives a combined total of 86 seconds as compared to CTV's 27 seconds, each provide environmental activists with approximately 0.004 percent of their total time. These actors fall into six items, including four on CBC and two on CTV. Interestingly, both of CTV's topics are with respect to demonstrations, while CBC's are divided equally between threats to the environment and conservation.

Table 18

Distribution of Topic Categories Wherein a Social Relations Expert is a Source

Item Topic Category	Frequency	Percent
Internal Politics	20	40.8
Internal Order	17	34.7
International Politics	7	14.3
Social Relations	7	14.3
Culture	4	8.2
Human Interest	4	8.2
Health, Welfare and Social Services	3	6.1
Communication	3	6.1
Sports	3	6.1
Economy	2	4.1
Labour	2	4.1
Education	2	4.1
Religion	2	4.1
Military and Defense	1	2.0

Note. n=49. Each item is coded for up to three topics, resulting in some overlap.

Table 19

Distribution of Topic Categories Wherein a Scientists or Technology Expert is a Source

Item Topic Category	Frequency	Percent
Science and Technology	9	42.9
Health, Welfare and Social Services	9	42.9
Communication	4	19.0
International Politics	2	9.5
Business, Commerce, Industry	2	9.5
Environment	2	9.5
Sports	2	9.5
Accidents and Disasters	2	9.5
Weather	2	9.5
Housing	1	4.8
Transportation	1	4.8
Economy	1	4.8
Internal Order	1	4.8
Human Interest	1	4.8

Note. n=21. Each item is coded for up to three topics, resulting in some overlap.

5.1.5 Discussion

While this is hardly an exhaustive analysis of the 154 possible roles in this study, patterns begin to emerge with respect to who is given authority to speak in Canadian national news. Political representatives are most common, in line with past research (Jordan & Page, 1992) and our current understanding of the types of individuals which journalists have relatively easy access to (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Hall et al., 1978). In some respects, this may be accounted for by the types of stories which are considered newsworthy. Indeed, the topic of politics in national news is an important one when striving toward an informed public in a liberal democracy, and "it makes sense that news stories about particular issues [would] include sources that relate to that issue" (Armstrong, 2006, p. 77). However, only about half of the items which

contain political sources pertain to political topics, with the rest primarily concerning internal order, the military and the economy. As Kim et al. noted, public opinion regarding these issues is particularly susceptible to the influence of political voices, and diversity in the coverage of these topics is crucial considering their common place in the public discourse (1999; Jordan & Page, 1992).

It must be emphasized that the paradigm which is against an overrepresentation of political voices does not speak from a place of distrust in government, regulation, etc. as with the tenets of neoliberalism described in *Chapter Two*. To be sure, a balanced selection of viewpoints across the political spectrum would be beneficial to a democratic nation, aiding Canadians in making informed choices, both politically and in their every day lives. Rather, the potential problems with this proportion of political voices pertain to the political economic principle of reinforcement of existing power structures (Babe, 1995). At the time of the sample and the writing of this thesis, Canada's federal government consisted of a Conservative minority ruling; a result of the multi-party system which allows a party with less than half of the total votes but with the highest number of members in parliament to rule, provided they maintain the confidence of the rest of the House (Forsey, 2005). While cooperation is the order of the day in these cases, the perspectives found in this study do not reflect the bipartisanship or diversity of Canada's elected House of Commons. Rather, the Conservative Party of Canada - with whom Brian Mulroney succeeded in bringing the wave of neoliberal policies to Canada which defined the Reagan / Thatcher era of the 1980s - and its members are disproportionately the most common actors. This authority is made manifest by the privileging of Ministers, the Prime Minister himself, and the fact that Members of Parliament - representing all perspectives - are never cited

without one of the other two to "counter balance" their voices (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003, p. 239). While notions of access may be called upon to justify this discrepancy, suggesting simply that the Prime Minister and his Cabinet are the most accessible sources for a journalist on a budget and tight time line (Ericson, 1989, p. 18; Hall et al, 1978, p. 58), the variation between CTV and CBC with respect to time alloted to these voices renders this argument moot. The CTV devotes 1.7 percent of all time spent on actors to Prime Minister Stephen Harper, as compared to 0.004 percent of time on CBC. Indeed, this phenomenon is in line with past research on the "double standards in news content favouring market liberal over progressive political perspectives" (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003, p. 334).

Further to the differences between CBC and CTV with respect to political items, an inquiry commissioned by the federal government - the Manley Report - was released during the sample, recommending the course Canada's military should take in Afghanistan. Despite the significant concern to Canadians which an ongoing war represents, whether socially, economically, in terms of national identity, etc., only four of 19 items pertaining to this inquiry are found on CTV. Two of these items use sources, including one Minister and two political party leaders; a reflection of the partisan nature of the private broadcaster's coverage. Alternatively, CBC's fifteen items on this topic include John Manley, the head of the commission of inquiry himself, as a source with no less than 12.5 percent of all time given to internal political actors. These types of discrepancies imply the results of news media's commodification (Mosco, 2004), as Canada's public broadcaster, which considers the news to be outside the scope of the marketplace, is in a position to provide more balanced coverage of this pertinent issue. The commercially driven private broadcaster maintains the authority of those in power, including the

current Conservative Government whose interests are served by continuing the war in Afghanistan with or without the public's informed consent. On another level, CTV's broadcasts are half the length of CBC's; a result of cost-saving measures and a reliance on quick-paced sensationalism typical of commercial media (Fallows, 1996; Ericson, 1989, p. 18; Hall et al, 1978, p. 58). The type of in depth coverage which attempts to privilege a range of pertinent actors is better served by CBC's longer format and focus on use value over exchange value (Mosco, 2004).

Insofar as political topics are concerned, the U.S. Primaries merit mention by virtue of their being the most widely covered event across the entire international study. Coverage of this topic in Canada is so extensive that the role of national candidate in an election is the most common internal political role overall, as well as making up over one quarter of a total of 55 actors on this topic. Most noteworthy, however, is that nearly all other actors given authority in election coverage are political or military voices, or as we will see, brief 'Man in the Street' opinion statements from voters themselves. What is missing here are a diversity of perspectives whose interests might help paint a broad and balanced picture of a large, heterogeneous nation. Just four actors do not fall into the above mentioned categories, including two religious leaders and two large company representatives. Despite the prominent talking points of the Primaries themselves, voices from environmental, cultural, even social or ethnic perspectives - beyond those pertaining to the race and gender of the candidates themselves - are missing entirely. Granted, the coverage is of a foreign election, and as such may not be held to the same standard of balance and diversity with respect to Canadian identity and values. However, as we will see in the discussion of Research Question Three, Canadian and American culture and events of this

kind are inextricably linked. The volume of U.S.-based news events and sources speak to the necessity of a similar standard across foreign and domestic items.

This privileging of official sources is exacerbated when considering Cottle's notion of powerful members of society (2000), which suggests that we combine political voices with business interests and internal order, ultimately making up nearly half of all actors. Though there are individual roles within other categories which may be considered powerful, the combination of political, business and enforcement categories represents a certain set of perspectives which citizens, activists, and particularly working class individuals are excluded from. While we will continue to break these roles down further, what we can see from this stage is Mosco's principle of structuration at work, in its purest, Marxist form (2004). The "hierarchy of credibility" addressed by Becker is also reflected by these results, demonstrating the credibility that comes of rank and status, irrespective of rights or diversity (1967, p. 241).

Business, Commerce and Industry as a role category does leave room for citizen voices, taking the form of consumers or, in some cases, investors and small business owners. However, the findings of this study point to a total of 64.1 percent of time spent on large company officials and employees alone, further reflecting Becker's hierarchy (Ibid.) and Mosco's structuration principle (2004). As always, the same justifications may apply with respect to time constraints and the accessibility of those who represent large companies' interests (Ericson, 1989, p. 18; Hall et al, 1978, p. 58). A contrast with labour-related voices suggests an alternative explanation. Like the roles delineated for actors in the business category, so too has the labour category been divided up by rank or status. While business voices are primarily high ranking, 70 percent of labour voices are the lowest status, speaking to the value of their group's authority. It is unlikely

that the heads of labour organizations are so much less accessible than corporate officials so as to justify this discrepancy. Likewise, the analysis of a group's prominence by time spent provides a clear picture of the coverage given to labour voices: 0.006 percent. As Hackett and Uzlman found in their own study, we see here a favouring of "the sensibilities of the urban managerial and professional classes over those of the workers and the poor" (2003, p. 334). To account for the possibility that this lack of prominence is purely a reflection of the topics being covered - though this would be a concern in and of itself - a breakdown of items by topic finds 14 in the labour category, only four of which include labour voices. In all topics, actors representing a labour perspective are "counter balanced" with business voices nearly half of the time (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003, p. 246). Danielian and Page determine from their study's similar results that "imbalances resulting from differential command of money and other resources, seem to violate norms of equal access, representativeness, balance and diversity" (1994, p. 1056).

Despite this vast majority of powerful voices, citizens do make up the second most common role category; indeed, the 'Man in the Street' opinion statement is the the most common individual role across the entire sample. Of 475 items which use actors, 8.8 percent of these privilege this type of voice, 40 percent of which are foreign. Many of these foreign items pertain to the U.S. Primaries, as opinion statements in electoral items are perhaps a time-sensitive and inexpensive method of obtaining a range of perspectives. The predominantly domestic and foreign nature of items with these actors, however, is noteworthy as a possible indicator of the level of authority they are given. Hybrid items, either taking place in Canada within a global context, or occurring elsewhere with a mind to localization or Canadian involvement, rarely privilege this type of citizen voice. Internal Order, Internal Politics, the Weather and Human

Interest stories are the most common items in which the 'Man in the Street' is quoted. While Hargrove and Stempel indicate a preference by audiences for news about ordinary people over politics, disasters, economics, etc. (2002, p. 46), the use of these individuals as authorities tends to be contained to items of limited scope or impact. This further emphasizes the type of credible authority which those in powerful positions hold in Canadian national news.

This study also finds that experts in the area of social relations are given authority in just over one tenth of all items containing actors. This role represents an alternative perspective to both powerful voices which reinforce the current system, as well as everyday citizens. These experts speak on a range of topics, bringing an otherwise potentially underrepresented viewpoint to nearly every topic category. CBC's extensive use of this type of actor is noteworthy, as the public broadcaster is responsible for 40 of the 49 items in which social relations experts are authorized, totaling 11.1 percent of all the time CBC devotes to actors. One third of the remaining items, broadcast by CTV, pertain to the U.S. Primaries, pertaining to the ethnicity and gender of the candidates. An interesting topic which this expert may be missing from is that of Military and Defense, particularly in light of the Manley Report discussed above and the social relations at play within international conflicts of this kind. The debate regarding Canada's military role in Afghanistan was established - as the mainstream media is in a position to do (Altheide & Snow, 1991) - without a voice representing the larger social implications of whichever choice is made. While CBC authorizes this perspective in a variety of contexts, demonstrating further Mosco's commodification principle with respect to the diversity which freedom from market forces allows (2004), this crucial voice is missing from any debate surrounding the Canadian military under Conservative power.

While other types of experts are authorized under various conditions, the use of environmental experts is the most striking after accounting for newsworthiness and station ownership. Three environmental experts are authorized throughout the entire sample, though there are 23 items pertaining to the environment. This study finds that within these items, ten actors are coded as environmental activists, which perhaps is more a result of experts being portrayed as activists than a lack of experts. The implications of this distinction include a delegitimizing factor with respect to environmental science, particularly as pertains to climate change, conservation and threats to the environment, as many of these items do. If experts in social relations, technology, demography and transportation are positioned as such while their environmental counterparts are portrayed as mere activists, this serves the corporate interests who seek to gain from thwarting policy measures which might infringe on their profit margins for environmental purposes. Indeed, Dennis points to the "anti-business stance of the environmental movement, whether real or a matter of appearances" as part of the reason these sources are not always given authority (1991, p. 62). Any notions of media influence on public opinion through the use of authority has application in this case (Cottle, 2000; Jordan & Page, 1992; Kim, et al., 1999; Semetko, et al., 1992). Likewise, past studies have demonstrated the portrayal of activists in news media as somehow "outside the sphere of normal politics and reasonable opinion" (Husting, 1999, p. 159). This subtle portrayal of environmental experts as illegitimate is exacerbated by the differing topics across CBC and CTV which these actors are authorized to speak on. While both stations give environmental activists 0.004 percent of their total time devoted to actors, the items on CBC which use them as sources pertain to topics of conservation and threats to the environment. Both CTV items, alternatively, are stories about

demonstrations. Past research has shown the propensity of protest coverage to cast groups "in an unfavourable light because they come across as unruly, rebellious, or simply just out of the mainstream" (Berry, 2000, p. 121). With no expert sources in these items to contribute effectively to the public discourse surrounding the issues at hand, CTV's use of authority in the coverage of these items may be a result of commodification (Mosco, 2004) and the corporate interests reflected by the station's ownership (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). As Mosco asserted, however, the political economic principles at work here manifest themselves in a variety of ways. The next section will outline this study's findings with respect to the use of gender.

5.2 Research Question Two

Each of the 1,406 actors have also been coded as 'male', 'female' and in 26 cases, 'both', as outlined in the research design. Table 20 demonstrates the most common role categories for men and women, and will be referred to as we explore the second research question: *What are the conditions under which males and females are given authority in Canadian national news?*

5.2.1 Gender by Role

To begin, it is instantly apparent that a discrepancy exists in the use of male and female actors, with the latter group making up little over one quarter of all sources (Table 4). The largest frequency of male actors occur in internal political roles. The largest gap between the percentage of males over females - excluding Population - is in International Politics at 89.7 percent (Table 20). Females are most often presented as Citizens, making up 48.5 percent of this group and nearly one third of all female actors. Military, Internal Order and Labour roles demonstrate similarly poor female contingencies, in both frequency and percentage. In health-related roles, however, women are authorized in 41.2 percent, while Environmental actors are evenly split between both genders.

Table 20

Distribution of Gender by Role Categories

Role Category	Females		Males	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Internal Politics	45	15.2	**252**	84.8
International Politics	8	10.3	70	89.7
Military and Defense	4	11.8	30	88.2
Internal Order	19	17.1	92	82.8
Business, Commerce and Industry	33	25.8	95	74.2
Labour	2	11.8	15	88.2
Transportation	6	30.0	14	70.0
Health, Welfare and Social Services	32	41.6	45	58.4
Population	0	0.0	2	100.0
Education	3	25.0	9	75.0
Communication	9	29.0	22	71.0
Environment	10	50.0	10	50.0
Science and Technology	8	26.7	22	73.3
Social Relations	35	35.7	63	64.3
Sports	17	21.2	63	78.8
Culture	15	39.5	23	60.5
Religion	5	18.5	22	81.5
Royalty	1	100.0	0	0.0
Celebrities	6	66.7	3	33.3
Citizens	**126**	48.5	134	51.5
Totals	384	27.8	996	72.2

Note. n=1380. Percentages are of total actors per role category, not total gender.

Table 21 indicates the types of Citizen roles with which males and females are privileged. Victims, who here seem relatively equal across genders at 53.6 percent female and 46.4 percent male, make up 3.9 percent of all female sources as compared to only 1.3 percent of all males. Witnesses demonstrate the highest percentage of male actors with 69.6 percent. While these actors make up 1.6 percent of all males and 1.8 percent of all females, the time alloted to each

reveals considerable differences, decreasing to 1.1 percent and 0.008 percent, respectively.

Female actors have the highest percentage over males as relatives and close friends of victims,

with 62.7 percent. The implications of these roles as active versus passive will be detailed in the

Discussion section.

While the 'Man in the Street' opinion statements are somewhat evenly distributed, this

role makes up 8.9 percent of all female actors, as compared to 3 percent of all males. Figure 2

details the topic categories on which opinion statements have authority, organized to highlight

which types of items only authorize men, which only authorize women, and which privilege both

genders as 'Wo/Men in the Street'. Business and Internal Order are the most common topics on

which only male opinion statements are authorized. Interestingly, 37.5 percent of the items

which only authorize female opinions are also regarding internal order. However, Human

Interest and Weather items each make up one quarter of purely female items. Nearly one fifth

are Health-related, compared to zero Health items which authorize male opinion statements,

whether exclusively or in combination with females actors. Alternatively, items related to

Business, the Economy and Energy do not authorize female opinions in a 'Man in the Street'

format at all. Of a total ten topics related to Internal Politics, five authorize both males and

females, four of which pertain to elections. Only two of these involve the U.S. Primaries.

Table 21

Distribution of Gender by Citizen Roles

Role	Females		Males	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
'Man in the Street' Opinion Statement	34	53.1	30	46.9
Victim	15	53.6	13	46.4
Survivor	5	35.7	9	64.3
Anonymous	6	35.3	11	64.7
Relative of Close Friend of Victim	32	**62.7**	19	37.3
Relative of Close Friend of Protagonist	10	37.0	17	63.0
Witness	7	30.4	16	**69.6**
Other	17	47.2	19	52.8

Note. n=260. Percentages are of total actors per role, not total gender.

Legend:
Internal Politics · Int'l Politics · Internal Order · Economy · Business · Transportation · Health · Education · Housing · Environment · Energy · Social Relations · Accidents/Disasters · Ceremonies · Human Interest · Weather
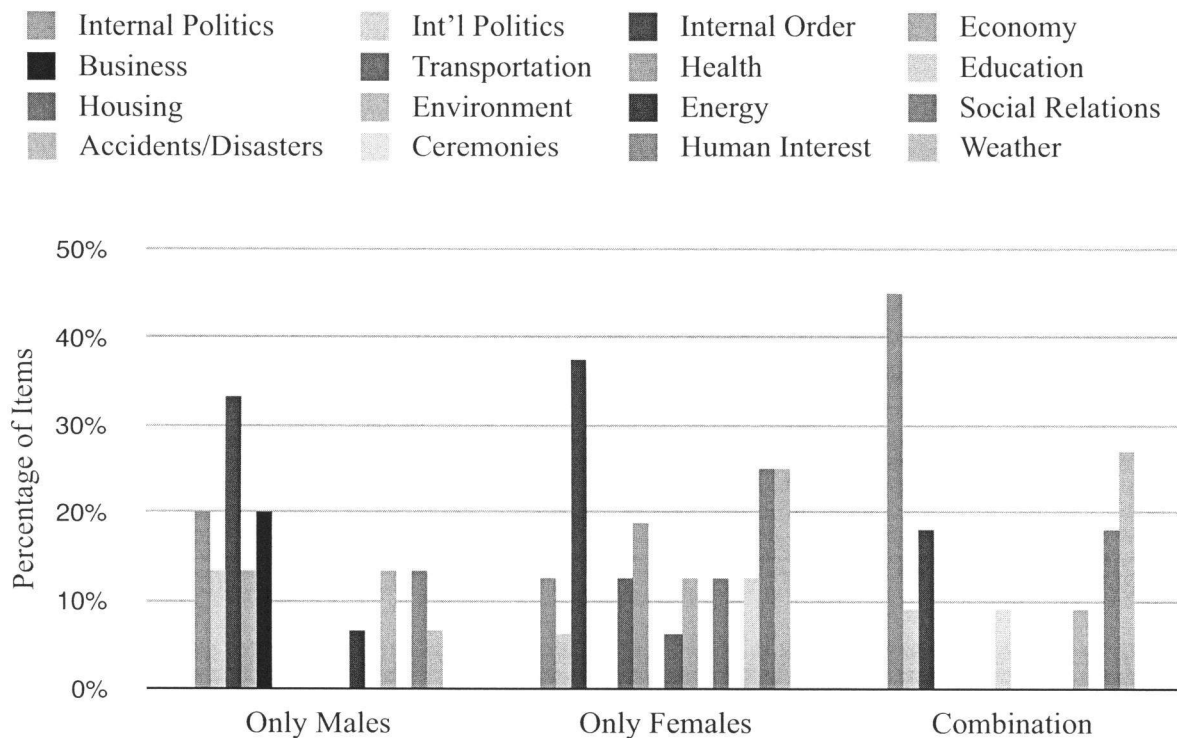
Figure 2. Distribution of genders authorized for 'Man in the Street' opinion statements by topic category. Only Males n=15; Only Females n=16; Combination n=11.

As Table 20 indicates, political voices are the most frequently privileged. However, they also display some of the most drastic inequalities in gender representation. Table 22 outlines the most common roles in this category and the distribution of gender within them. The most prominent female role by far is the national election candidate, due in its entirety to Hilary Clinton's role in the U.S. Primaries. With one Democratic candidate of each gender, plus some authorization of the Republican Party's Senator John McCain, the coverage here appears to be somewhat balanced. When considering time spent on national election candidates, female representation decreases to 32.6 percent.

All Heads of State are male, the details of which will be discussed in the section on national affiliation, as journalists are not in a position to select the gender of a country's leader. This is also the case with respect to Prime Ministers. Ministers selected as authorities are 93.3 percent male, while Members of Parliament are 92.9 percent. Of the three female Members of Parliament, two are in hybrid domestic items involving internal politics. One is with respect to the Manley Report, in which the female actor is one of four sources. These include a male Minister, a male political party leader - representing a group - and Canada's male Prime Minister. The second of these two items involves the activities of individual politicians and also gives authority to four actors, including two male Members of Parliament and one male local political leader. The third and final item featuring a female Member of Parliament pertains to the U.S. Primaries, in which a male social relations expert and both Democratic candidates are also sources. Male Members of Parliament are authorized to speak in 29 separate items, 22 of which are on topics of internal politics. Seven of these are regarding elections. Eight also include a female actor while the remaining 21, or 72.4 percent consist of entirely male voices.

Table 22

Distribution of Gender by Most Common Political Roles

Role	Females		Males	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Head of State	0	0.0	24	100.0
Prime Minister	0	0.0	16	100.0
Minister	2	6.7	28	93.3
Party Leader	1	2.5	39	97.5
Member of Parliament	3	7.1	39	92.9
Local Leader, Party Member	1	6.7	14	93.3
Member of Regional Government	2	12.5	14	87.5
National Candidate in an Election	20	40.0	30	60.0
Foreign Head of State, Politician	1	3.6	27	96.4

Note. Percentages are of total actors per role, not total gender.

Voices from business, commerce and industry roles are also nearly three quarters male.

As indicated by Table 23, only the role of Consumer is given authority evenly between males and

females, which of course, demonstrates a considerable inequality when comparing the

percentage of total actors for each gender; 1.8 percent of all females and 0.007 percent of males.

Alternatively, despite making up half of consumer voices, female actors make up 28.6 percent of

the time devoted to this role. Large company officials are 87.5 percent male, as is also the case

with 85.7 percent of small business owners. Females make some ground as employees of large

companies, totaling over one fifth of these actors. However, all but one of the females

authorized to speak in the latter two roles are found on CBC. CTV presents one female as a

large company's employee, and no female company officials.

Overall, roles in the Health, Welfare and Social Services category have a relatively high

percentage of females, at 41.6 percent (Table 20). These roles make up 8.3 percent of all female

actors as compared to 4.5 percent of males. However, inequalities exist within the roles

themselves, beginning with heads of medical systems, which include chief doctors or nurses, scientists, etc. Of these actors, 68 percent are male, representing 37.8 percent of all males in this category. If this role is grouped together with the heads of social service agencies / NGOs, this places half of male actors in the highest positions. In comparison, the same positions are held by just over one quarter of female actors in this category. The highest percentage of female actors are authorized as patients, at 61.5 percent. There is an even split between male and female health workers, which are also divided evenly between CBC and CTV. The Discussion section will consider in more detail the use of female actors in vulnerable positions.

Table 23

Distribution of Gender by Most Common Business, Commerce and Industry Roles

Role	Females		Males	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Head or High Ranking Officials of Company	4	12.5	**28**	87.5
Employee of Large Company	5	21.7	18	78.3
Consumer	**7**	50.0	7	50.0
Small Business Owner	3	14.3	18	85.7
Other	3	23.1	10	76.9

Note. Percentages are of total actors per role, not total gender.

Table 24

Distribution of Gender by Most Common Health, Welfare and Social Services Roles

Role	Females		Males	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Head of Health of Medical System	8	32.0	**17**	68.0
Health Workers	8	50.0	8	50.0
Patient	**8**	61.5	5	38.5
Head of Social Service Agency or NGO	1	16.7	5	83.3
Worker in Social Service Agency or NGO	1	16.7	5	83.3

Note. Percentages are of total actors per role, not total gender.

The final role category which will be discussed here is that of Social Relations, made up of 35.7 percent females; just over one third (Table 20). As discussed in the previous section, the majority of the actors in this category are experts, including 47 males, or 77 percent. Each of the actors in this role with authority on CTV are male, while 26.9 percent of social relations experts privileged by CBC are female. Overall, 9.1 percent of all female actors fall into the social relations category. However, 61.3 percent of these are simply people involved in some social relations matter. This may be considered a broad characterization, and in the case of four items translates into a voter, which is to say, a person who would otherwise be classified as a 'Man in the Street' but who was identified clearly as involved in the issue of Barack Obama's ethnicity or Hilary Clinton's gender as it pertained to the U.S. Primaries. Three of the fourteen items which authorize a female in this role are related to demonstrations, with two pertaining to health, welfare and social services. Nine of these items are foreign, four of which take place in the U.S. Of the five which occur in Canada, only one is purely domestic while three others involve the U.S. as well. All except three involve males in various roles.

Table 25

Distribution of Gender by Social Relations Roles

Role	Females		Males	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Head of Social Relations Organization	1	25.0	3	75.0
Expert in the Area of Social Relations	14	23.0	**47**	77.0
Person Involved in a Social Relations Matter	**19**	61.3	12	38.7
Other	1	50.0	1	50.0

Note. Percentages are of total actors per role, not total gender.

5.2.2 Gender by Other Variables

The following will further determine the conditions under which males and females are authorized in Canadian national news using a number of other variables, as outlined in *Chapter Four*. First, Table 26 outlines the use of gender in various types of conflict. While items most commonly contain social conflict (Table 7, p. 45), 39.8 percent of female actors are privileged to speak on these items, compared to nearly half of male actors. Conversely, 35.4 percent females have authority on topics with no conflict, compared to only 25.2 percent of males. The distribution of gender amongst interpersonal and ambiguous conflicts are similar, at approximately one fifth and just under five percent, respectively.

With respect to the connection between gender and the nature of an event, the distribution of male and female actors does not vary considerably (Table 27). However, despite the obvious increased frequency of males in each category, female actors tend towards domestic items at a somewhat higher percentage than males; 40.1 percent versus 35.2 percent. Overall, males are more evenly distributed, while as little as 12 percent of females are given authority on foreign items with domestic involvement.

Table 26
Distribution of Gender by Conflict

Conflict	Females - *n384*		Males - *n996*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes, Social	153	39.8	488	49.0
Yes, Interpersonal	79	20.6	210	21.2
Yes, Can't Determine	16	4.2	47	4.7
No	136	35.4	251	25.2

Note. Percentages are of total gender.

Table 27
Distribution of Gender by Nature of Event

Nature of Event	Females - *n384*		Males - *n996*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Domestic	154	40.1	351	35.2
Domestic with Foreign Involvement	111	28.9	281	28.2
Foreign with Domestic Involvement	46	12.0	142	14.3
Foreign	73	19.0	222	22.3

Note. Percentages are of total gender.

Much of the analysis until this point has involved the difference in coverage between Canada's public and commercial broadcasters. While discrepancies with respect to role and gender have been made apparent, the overall distribution of gender across the two stations is remarkably consistent. Both CBC and CTV privilege approximately 60 percent or all male voices and 40 percent or all females (Table 28).

Table 28
Distribution of Gender by Station

Station	Females - *n384*		Males - *n996*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
CBC - Public	229	59.6	587	58.9
CTV - Private	155	40.4	409	41.1

Note. Percentages are of total gender.

One variable which has not been addressed is the use of an actor as representing an individual or a group. As indicated in Table 29, the vast majority represent individuals. However, 9.1 percent of females and a full 20 percent of males represent groups. This preliminary analysis suggests that males are more than twice as likely as females to be authorized as a group representative.

Table 29

Distribution of Gender by Individual/Group Representation

Representation	Females - *n384*		Males - *n996*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Individual	349	90.9	797	80.0
Group	35	9.1	199	20.0

Note. Percentages are of total gender.

One way of indicating an item's prominence is through the newscast's headline, and Table 30 demonstrates the use of gender in these featured items. The distribution is extremely similar, with males just 0.9 percent more likely than females to be privileged with a voice in a featured item. A difference is revealed, however, when comparing headlines across stations. On CBC, 39 percent of males are authorities in headline items, compared to 43 percent on CTV. The percentage of females sourced in these items is approximately 39 percent on both stations.

Table 30

Distribution of Gender by Headline Mention

Mentioned in Headline	Females - *n384*		Males - *n996*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	153	39.8	405	40.7
No	231	60.2	591	59.3

Note. Percentages are of total gender.

The last two variables discussed here are specific to the actors involved. First, Table 31 outlines the language each actor speaks and the modes of translation in the case that they do not speak the language of the broadcast. Insofar as gender is concerned, 91.4 percent of female sources in Canadian national news speak English, as compared to 88.7 percent of males. Of the small percentage of actors who do not speak English, females are more likely than males to be given subtitles, while males tend more often to be dubbed.

Table 31

Distribution of Gender by Actor's Speech

Does Actor Speak	Females - *n384*		Males - *n996*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes, Language of Broadcast	351	91.4	883	88.7
Yes, Dubbed	11	2.9	49	4.9
Yes, with Subtitles	5	1.3	10	1.0
Yes, with No Translation	0	0.0	2	0.2
No	17	4.4	52	5.2

Note. Percentages are of total gender.

Last, with respect to the identification of each actor, males are identified by name and role 91.8 percent of the time, as compared to 82 percent of females (Table 32). Additionally, female actors are twice as likely as males not to be identified at all.

Table 32

Distribution of Gender by Level of Identification

Actor's Identification	Females - *n384*		Males - *n996*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Identified by Name and Role	315	82.0	914	91.8
Identified by Role Only	36	9.4	44	4.4
Identified by Name Only	10	2.6	7	0.7
Not Identified	23	6.0	31	3.1

Note. Percentages are of total gender.

5.2.3 Discussion

What we see from this data is a consistent favouring of male over female voices, particularly in positions of authority. As outlined by Ericson in *Chapter Three*, "news represents *who* are the authorized knowers and *what* are their authoritative version of reality" (1989, p. 3). It is suggested by this study, as well as by past research (Freedman & Fico, 2005, p. 289;

Armstrong, 2006, p. 66; Zoch & Turk, 1998), that the authorized knowers in Canadian national news are predominantly men.

The data show considerable differences when comparing actor's roles in particular. The largest frequency of males are found in internal political positions; however, international politics are where males are represented in the largest percentage over females. Likewise, actors in military, internal order and labour roles demonstrate a large contingency of males. Zoch and Turk (1998) noticed similar disparities in their own study with respect to international news in particular. To be sure, this may also be a result of fewer women holding positions of power in foreign countries, and as such, will be addressed in more detail in the following sections. One noteworthy political role is that of U.S. primary election candidate Hilary Clinton, whose representation accounts for the 40 percent of females in that role. However, despite her prominence, she is given a voice for less than one third of the time spent on these actors, suggesting that the length of her quotes and perhaps the extent of her authority is limited in comparison to her male counterparts. Other predominant political roles discussed in the last section include Ministers and Members of Parliament, including 93.3 percent and 92.9 percent males, respectively.[10] The consistent use of male voices alongside the occasional female Member of Parliament speak to an interesting application of the "counter-balancing" effect which Hackett and Uzelman describe in their NewsWatch Canada summary (2003, p. 339). While this notion is applicable to opposing perspectives such as business versus labour, it applies here in terms of the authority / credibility which one group has over another; in this case, males over females. It is perhaps *more* applicable in these cases, where similar political perspectives

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[10] It is noteworthy that 65 of Canada's 308 Members of Parliament are female, or 21.1 percent. Of these, 14 are members of the Conservative Party, making up 11.1 percent of their representatives.

may be represented, suggesting that the use of a female source is somehow insufficient. As a result, no female political actors are privileged to speak without one or more male actors in the same item.

Similar disproportion exists in the business category, nearly three quarters of which are represented by male actors. Higher ranking positions within this category tend to favour male voices at higher than the overall rates of males versus females, suggesting that women are simply not appropriate sources of business-related perspectives. Females are authorized primarily as consumers in this category, with over a quarter of the time given to this low-status role. As discussion of the first research question made apparent, corporate interests are key to the reality-shaping roles of actors in news media (Ericson, 1989), and these roles are filled overwhelming by males.

Women, on the other hand, are most often portrayed as everyday citizens. While they still represent less than half of this category, it makes up nearly one third of all female actors. Discrepancies exist here as well, however, with respect to the types of citizen roles in question. The highest percentage of males in the Citizen category are as witnesses. This is a position of considerable authority, as witnesses "lend truth value to the story, giving it validity in the realm of personal experience" (Langer, 1997, p. 90). Validity, credibility and value seem to be recurring themes associated with the types of roles men play. The role in which females hold the highest percentage of representation over males is that of a friend or relative of a victim. Indeed, victims themselves are predominantly female, as differentiated from survivors, who tend to be male. The trend we see developing here is one of active roles versus passive ones. A significant body of work exists with respect to the discourse surrounding these roles, particularly in terms of

language in news media (Henley, et al. 1995) and gender portrayals in advertising (Kilbourne, 1999; Williamson, 1986). Applying these notions to this study, we see that male citizens are authorized to witness and survive events, while females are victimized by them, or are friends of victims. A similar use of authority plays out with respect to the health and social services category, wherein two thirds of males are doctors and heads of health companies or NGOs, while females make up nearly two thirds of all patients.

In addition to notions of active versus passive gender roles, Allan accounts for these differences by means of a set of dualisms which define 'feminine knowledge' and 'masculine truth' (1999, p. 134). The most common citizen role for both males and females in this data is that of the 'Wo/Man in the Street' opinion statement, which though evenly distributed with respect to frequency, makes up nearly three times the total number of females than it does males. Just as Berkowitz et al. found a disproportionate number of women with authority on topics of business / economics and government / politics (qtd. in Freedman & Fico, 2005, p. 260), the opinion statements in this study authorize no women whatsoever on topics of business and the economy. Similarly, there are no men permitted to voice opinions on topics of health, while one third of business items and one fifth of internal order stories authorize *only* males. Alternatively, 37.5 percent of items which privilege *only* female opinions are on topics of human interest and the weather; 'soft news' issues (Holland, 1998) with a narrower scope and impact than those which authorize males. These actors, bearing no other qualifications than their roles as individuals literally 'in the street', are thus reflective of nothing more than journalistic choices with respect to the types of 'masculine truth' or 'feminine knowledge' which they convey. Indeed, while other variables may be argued to reflect differences in availability of actors,

willingness of men over women to be seen on camera, etc. the disparities here, solely with respect to item topic, render these rationalizations irrelevant. While many studies have attempted to tie the gender of journalists themselves into the actors they authorize (Craft & Wanta, 2004; Devitt, 2002; Freedman & Fico, 2004; Kurpius, 2002; Liebler & Smith, 1997; Robinson & Saint-Jean, 1998), this factor is not accounted for in this study.

The propensity of males to be used as group representatives, the likelihood of female voices in items which contain no conflict, and the increased tendency to leave female actors entirely unidentified further exacerbate the disproportionate nature of gender representation.

It is noteworthy that no significant discrepancies exist between the use of gender on CBC versus CTV, particularly in light of the neoliberal tendency to privilege powerful - that is, white and male - voices while marginalizing the rest (Cottle, 2000, p. 427). Where one might have expected Canada's public broadcaster to authorize more women overall, the percentages across both stations are remarkably consistent. While this may suggest some legitimacy to the logistical reasoning behind the use of male actors as developed in *Chapter Three*, it is possible that more cultural and indeed, mythical forces are at work, such as Robinson's notions of the presences and absences inherent to being male or female (1998, p. 65). She sees objectivity as irrelevant as "audiences co-construct the meanings of media outputs and truth is merely consensual" (Babe, 2000, p. 223). To her, it is the structures of media practices themselves which contain "deep-seated assumptions about inequality" (Robinson, 1998, p. 65), a reflection of Mosco's political economic principle of structuration expanded to incorporate gender. Likewise, Becker's hierarchy of credibility suggests that audiences "take it as a given that members of the highest group have the right to define the way things really are. And since ... matters of rank and status

are contained in mores, this belief has a moral quality" (1967, p. 241). Put simply, men are believed to be more credible than women. Their 'truths' are "held to be objective, rational, abstract, coherent, unitary and active" as compared to feminine reality, which is "subjective, irrational, emotional, partial, fragmented and passive" (Allan, 1999, p. 134-5). The danger here is in the cyclical nature of media content with respect to its ability to both shape and then represent cultural norms. To be sure, "if the same depictions and portrayals are repeated continuously, media audiences may develop more traditionally based gender roles, where men hold positions of authority and women serve in subordinate roles" (Armstrong, 2006, p. 68).

As Mosco suggested in broadening the Marxist political economic framework to include gender, so too is national affiliation subject to the risks described above. The third research question will address this variable and its crucial contribution to the power struggles at play.

5.3 Research Question Three

In addition to each actor's role and gender, national or organizational affiliation are also captured by this study. Table 33 demonstrates the distribution of the most common countries represented by the 1,406 actors, as well as the most commonly authorized organization. The following section will refer to this table while answering the third and final question: *What role does national / organizational affiliation play in the use of authority in Canadian national news?*

Canadian actors are most common, at 67.1 percent; just over two thirds of all actors coded. The second most common country represented is the United States, at 16.9 percent. Combined, Canadian and American-affiliated actors reflect 84 percent of the data. After these two, the frequencies drop off considerably, ranging from 29 actors from the United Kingdom to one each from countries such as Cameroon, Germany and Vatican City (not shown in Table 33).

Table 33

Distribution of Actors by Most Common National / Organizational Affiliation

Country / Organization	Frequency	Percent
Canada	944	67.1
United States	238	16.9
United Kingdom	29	2.1
France	20	1.4
Israel	19	1.4
Pakistan	16	1.1
Cuba	11	0.7
Palestine	10	0.7
Zimbabwe	10	0.7
Australia	9	0.6
United Nations (org.)	9	0.6
China	7	0.5
Afghanistan	6	0.4
Iraq	6	0.4
Tibet	6	0.4

Note. n=1,406.

Table 34 indicates the nature of items containing actors from the countries listed above. Items which privilege Canadian voices are primarily domestic, with 84.8 percent consisting of domestic and domestic with foreign involvement items. However, comparing Domestic with both hybrid categories combined yields an almost even split, at 49.2 percent and 50.8 percent, respectively. Items with American actors are predominantly foreign; however, nearly one quarter of the items in which a U.S. representative is given authority take place in Canada. This relationship will be investigated further in the next section.

Table 34

Distribution of Actor's National Affiliation by Nature of Event

Country / Organization	Foreign	Foreign/ Domestic	Domestic/ Foreign	Domestic	Total Items
Canada	n/a	52	122	168	342
United States	64	23	25	n/a	112
United Kingdom	13	1	1	n/a	15
France	6	3	0	n/a	9
Israel	10	4	0	n/a	14
Pakistan	8	0	0	n/a	8
Cuba	1	3	0	n/a	4
Palestine	7	1	0	n/a	8
Zimbabwe	3	0	0	n/a	0
Australia	2	2	3	n/a	7
United Nations (org.)	3	3	2	n/a	8
China	2	2	3	n/a	7
Afghanistan	0	2	1	n/a	3
Iraq	4	0	0	n/a	4
Tibet	2	2	0	n/a	4

Note. Frequencies represent number of items, not individual actors as in Table 33.

Other nations who are authorized to speak regarding events in Canada include the United Kingdom, Australia, China and Afghanistan, as well as the United Nations; each with its own political economic relations to the country of broadcast. Nations with representatives authorized on events which do not involve Canada at all include Pakistan, Zimbabwe and Iraq. Before exploring the conditions under which representatives of these nations are given authority, will we look more closely at the data related to Canadian and American actors.

5.3.1 Canada and the U.S.

Of the total 475 items which contain actors, a Canadian or an American is voiced in 454 items, or 95.6 percent. As mentioned above, sources from these two nations make up 84.1 percent of all actors in this study. The implications and possible explanations for this majority

will be detailed in the discussion section, while the following outlines the conditions under which these actors are given authority based on a number of variables.

First, as indicated in Table 34, 22.3 percent of U.S. actors are found in domestic items with foreign involvement. As Table 6 demonstrated (p. 45), 175 items in total were coded as domestic with foreign involvement, suggesting that Canadian news privileges American voices in 14.3 percent of all domestic news which involves any other nation. The majority of items which use American actors are still entirely foreign, at 57.1 percent, as compared to only 49.1 percent of items with Canadian actors categorized as entirely Canadian.

Next, Table 35 demonstrates the use of Canadian and American actors in items involving varying types of conflict. For instance, 38 percent of Canadians are given authority on items involving social conflict, while 50 percent of U.S. sources are voiced on those items. On the other hand, Canadians are more likely that Americans to speak on items of interpersonal conflict.

Table 35

Distribution of Item Conflict by Use of Canadian and American Actors

Conflict	Canada - *n342*		U.S. - *n112*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes, Social	130	38.0	56	50.0
Yes, Interpersonal	81	23.7	17	15.2
Yes, Can't Determine	18	5.3	4	3.6
No	113	33.0	35	31.3

Note. Percentages are of total items, not actors.

Table 36 outlines the geographical scope of each item involving a Canadian or American actor, finding that the highest percentage of items with U.S. sources pertain to events with a national scope. Of the 24 items with a world-regional scope which privilege American voices, 14 take place in the U.S., 13 of which also take place in Canada. Three occur in Israel, two in

Palestine and one in Iraq. Alternatively, Canadian actors are called upon as authorities in city/town-related items nearly one third of the time, and national items slightly less than that, at 31.3 percent. Overall, 7.3 percent of items with Canadian sources have a global scope, as compared to 5.4 percent of Americans.

Table 36

Distribution of Item Scope by Use of Canadian and American Actors

Scope	Canada - *n342*		U.S. - *n112*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
City/Town	112	**32.7**	15	13.4
Region	54	15.8	14	12.5
Country	107	31.3	53	**47.3**
World-Regional	44	12.9	24	21.4
Worldwide	25	7.3	6	5.4

Note. Percentages are of total items, not actors.

The potential impact of each item is coded insofar as it is stated explicitly or made otherwise apparent. Approximately one third of items which privilege Canadian voices as well as one third of those who authorize U.S. sources are regarding events with a potentially national impact (Table 37). Less than one fifth of items with Canadian actors may have a global impact, while nearly half of items authorizing Americans claim a worldwide or world-regional impact combined. Very few items are broadcast with U.S. voices whose impact is smaller than country-wide; only 3.6 percent when grouping items with a municipal and regional impact. Items with Canadian sources are 5.6 percent more likely than those privileging American voices to state no potential impact whatsoever.

Table 37

Distribution of Item Impact by Use of Canadian and American Actors

Impact	Canada - *n342*		U.S. - *n112*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
City/Town	19	5.6	2	1.8
Region	30	8.8	2	1.8
National	108	31.6	37	33.0
World-Regional	51	14.9	28	25.0
Worldwide	63	18.4	26	23.2
No Explicit	71	20.8	17	15.2

Note. Percentages are of total items, not actors.

Distributing now by actors per country rather than items, we find that the highest percentage of all Canadian voices are in topics regarding Internal Order (Table 38). This category, combined with Internal Politics, makes up 46.5 percent of all Canadian actors. Over 40 percent of American sources are in items related to Internal Politics alone, while 23.1 percent - a similar number to Canadians - are voiced in items pertaining to Internal Order. Americans are 4.1 percent more likely than Canadians to be given authority on matters of International Politics, while Canadian voices are more often found in items pertaining to Health / Social Services, Sports and Human Interest. Topics such as the Economy, Science and Technology, Internal Order and Military and Defense are remarkably even as percentages of total actors per country.

Looking now at these actors by role, we see that the popular 'Man in the Street' (Table 3, p. 43) makes up 7.1 percent of all American voices, and only 3.3 percent of all Canadians (Table 39). Over one fifth of U.S.-affiliated sources are national election candidates, accounted for by the coverage of the U.S. Primaries. The highest percentage of Canadian voices are experts in the area of social relations, at 4.1 percent, while 5.5 percent of Americans are authorized in this popular role. Canadian actors are more likely than their U.S. counterparts to be authorized as

political Ministers, company officials and heads of health systems. In line with the exploration

of the first research question, internal political roles occupy a large portion of overall actors,

making up 21.7 percent of all Canadian voices.

Table 38

Distribution of Canadian and American Actors by Item Topic Category

Topic Category	Canada - *n944*		U.S. - *n238*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Internal Politics	213	22.6	**96**	**40.3**
International Politics	108	11.4	37	15.5
Military and Defense	65	6.9	16	6.7
Internal Order	**226**	**23.9**	55	23.1
Economy	65	6.9	14	5.9
Labour and Industrial Relations	18	1.9	11	4.6
Business, Commerce, Industry	49	5.2	4	1.7
Transportation	39	4.1	6	2.5
Health, Welfare, Social Services	115	12.2	18	7.6
Population	6	0.6	0	0.0
Education	17	1.8	4	1.7
Communication	21	2.2	9	3.8
Housing	19	2.0	5	2.1
Environment	39	4.1	1	0.4
Energy	13	1.4	0	0.0
Science and Technology	36	3.8	9	3.8
Social Relations	49	5.2	18	7.6
Accidents and Disasters	84	8.9	15	6.3
Sports	114	12.1	16	6.7
Culture	54	5.7	10	4.2
Human Interest	146	15.5	26	10.9
Weather	43	4.6	8	3.4
Religion	28	3.0	3	1.3

Note. Percentages are of total actors per country.

Table 39

Distribution of Canadian and American Actors by Most Common Role

Role	Canada - *n944*		U.S. - *n238*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Social Relations Expert	39	4.1	13	5.5
Relative / Friend of Victim	36	3.8	9	3.8
Member of Parliament	36	3.8	4	1.7
Political Party Leader	36	3.8	3	1.3
'Man in the Street' Opinion Statement	31	3.3	17	7.1
Other' Citizen	29	3.1	4	1.7
Minister (political)	27	2.9	2	0.8
Company Official	27	2.9	1	0.4
Head of Health of Medical System	22	2.3	2	0.8
National Candidate in an Election	0	0.0	48	20.2

Note. Percentages are of total actors per country.

Last, Table 40 groups the use of Canadian and American sources by actor according to the station of broadcast. CBC's longer newscasts allow for a total of 824 total sources, 68 percent of which are Canadian. This is similar to CTV's 65.8 percent Canadian representatives. However, CTV's 584 sources are over one fifth American, as compared to a total of 14.3 percent U.S. voices on CBC.

Table 40

Distribution of Canadian and American Actors by Station

National Affiliation	CBC - *n824*		CTV - *n584*	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Canadian	560	68.0	384	65.8
American	118	14.3	120	20.5

Note. Percentages do not equal 100; actors from countries other than Canada and the U.S. are not shown.

5.3.2 Europe

While the majority of actors are affiliated with Canada or the U.S., European nations also have a voice in Canadian national news; primarily the United Kingdom and France (Table 33). The majority of U.K.-affiliated voices are in items pertaining to Human Interest, including 10 of 29 actors (Table 41). French actors are privileged most often in items regarding Internal Order, due in part to an instance of bank fraud which took place in France during the sample period. International Politics is also a common topic amongst both nations, with 27.6 percent of U.K. representatives and 30 percent of French actors speaking in items pertaining to this category. While a total of 12 European actors are given authority on issues related to Business, Commerce and Industry, none are voiced on topics of Labour or Social Relations.

Table 41
Distribution of European Actors by Topic Category

Topic Category	U.K.	France	Other Europe
Internal Politics	2	0	3
International Politics	8	6	1
Internal Order	3	**14**	7
Business, Commerce, Industry	7	3	2
Transportation	3	0	0
Health, Welfare, Social Services	5	0	2
Education	3	0	0
Communication	8	1	0
Accidents / Disasters	2	0	1
Sports	1	1	3
Culture	2	1	1
Human Interest	**10**	0	1

Note. Frequencies refer to number of actors. Each item is coded for up to three topics, resulting in some overlap. U.k.: n29; France: n20.

Of the 15 total items which authorize an actor from the U.K., eight do not contain any conflict (Table 42), consisting primarily of human interest stories. Twelve items which privilege European sources involve social conflict, seven of which are in countries other than the U.K. or France. Only two of these items privilege French actors; however, half of all items which give authority to European actors and contain interpersonal conflict give authority to French sources.

Table 42
Distribution of Item Conflict by Use of European Actors

Conflict	U.K.	France	Other Europe
Yes, Social	3	2	7
Yes, Interpersonal	1	4	3
Yes, Can't Determine	3	1	1
No	8	2	3

Note. Frequencies refer to number of items, not individual actors.

While items with European sources tend to be relatively diverse in scope (Table 43), the focus on potential impact is predominantly global (Table 44). Two thirds of the items with sources from the U.K. have a potential worldwide impact, while over half of the items with French and other European actors are likewise. Overall, four French actors are authorized with the 'Man in the Street' opinion statement, making up one fifth of all French sources. One quarter of this country's representation consists of France's Head of State, while ten percent are large company officials. Those with authority to speak from the U.K. hold a wider variety of roles, with four social relations experts, and three transportation passengers, accounted for by the difficulties encountered at Heathrow Airport's new terminal during the time of the sample. The coding of these latter three actors was chosen over the possibility of the 'Man in the Street' role, resulting in no opinion statements of that kind amongst U.K. sources. There are also no political representatives from the U.K., either internally or portrayed in international roles.

Table 43

Distribution of Item Scope by Use of European Actors

Scope	U.K.	France	Other Europe
City/Town	3	1	5
Region	1	0	1
Country	6	2	2
World-Regional	3	5	2
Worldwide	2	1	4

Note. Frequencies refer to number of items, not individual actors.

Table 44

Distribution of Item Impact by Use of European Actors

Impact	U.K.	France	Other Europe
City/Town	1	0	0
Region	1	0	1
National	1	1	2
World-Regional	1	0	1
Worldwide	10	5	8
No Explicit	1	3	2

Note. Frequencies refer to number of items, not individual actors.

5.3.3 The Middle East

The topic of Canadian military action in Afghanistan was a common one throughout the sample period of this study, including stories about individual soldiers, commissions of inquiry and life in the Middle East. With the United States similarly at war overseas and increased tensions in other Middle Eastern nations, it is no wonder that one third of the 15 most common countries represented are from this world-region (Table 33).

Despite this relevance and prominence - 33 items take place in Afghanistan and 14 take place in Iraq - only six actors from each country are given authority to speak. In the case of Afghanistan, these six sources are found in three hybrid CBC items, two of which involve the

Manley Report. Five of the actors are male and the sixth is coded as 'both', representing a group according to the research design in *Chapter Four*. Two of these sources speak English, while one is given subtitles, one is dubbed, one is not provided with a translation, and the final is only quoted. The six Iraqi actors are found in four foreign CBC items, three of which also privilege American voices. All four pertain to International Politics, with one item each on the topics of Religion and Military and Defense.

Sources from Israel, Palestine and Pakistan are also given authority in Canadian news, primarily in items pertaining to Politics and Internal Order (Table 45). A total of 19 Israeli actors are privileged to speak in 14 items, 13 of which take place in Israel. Half of these also involve the United States, while an American voice is only privileged in two. In total, Israeli voices are given 163 seconds. Ten Palestinian representatives are sources in eight items, seven of which also take place in Israel. Six also involve the United States. American actors are given authority in three of these, while representatives from Israel are privileged in five. Two Israelis are presented as victims, and eight as government Heads of State, spokespeople or ambassadors. Three Palestinians are portrayed as people involved in a social relations matter, while five are official political sources. The total amount of time alloted to Palestinian voices is 68 seconds; an average of 6.8 seconds per actor, as compared to 8.6 seconds on average per Israeli source.

Overall, 91.4 percent of a total 35 items which authorize Middle Eastern sources contain social conflict (Table 46). In the case of items which privilege Iraqi, Afghan and Israeli voices, the percentage increases to 100. These 35 items are amongst a total of 91 items which take place in the Middle East, 82.4 percent of which contain social conflict.

Table 45
Distribution of Middle Eastern Actors by Topic Category

Topic Category	Israel	Palestine	Pakistan	Other Mid E
Internal Politics	0	1	14	6
International Politics	14	8	1	5
Military and Defense	2	1	0	0
Internal Order	10	4	8	4
Business, Commerce, Industry	2	0	1	0
Social Relations	0	0	0	3
Religion	1	0	0	0

Note. Frequencies refer to number of actors.

Table 46
Distribution of Conflict by Use of Middle Eastern Actors

Conflict	Iraq	Afghan.	Israel	Palestine	Total Mid E
Yes, Social	4	3	14	7	32
Yes, Interpersonal	0	0	0	0	1
Yes, Can't Determine	0	0	0	0	0
No	0	0	0	1	2

Note. Frequencies refer to number of items, not individual actors.

5.3.4 China and Tibet

For the sample period of this study, coverage of China primarily pertained to Olympic-related items and those involving relations with Tibet; often combining the two. As demonstrated in Table 47, there are 34 items in which China is either the event location or involved in some way, totaling 4.7 percent of all items. However, despite this coverage, seven actors represent China overall (Table 33), making up less than 0.005 percent of all actors. Of nine items which take place in China, four authorize a Chinese voice, two of which also include an actor from Tibet. Five items take place in both China and Tibet, with an equal distribution of

actors in those items; two containing representation from both countries, and one item each in which only Chinese or only Tibetan authorities are privileged. Two items take place in Tibet with China's involvement, one of which gives authority to a Tibetan representative. Ultimately, all six Tibetan sources can be found in four items, each of which takes place in Tibet. No items take place in Tibet without some Chinese involvement. China is solely involved in 25 items, three of which privilege a Chinese voice. All three of these also involve Tibet, though do not give authority to anyone from that country. Ten items involve Tibet, for a total of 17, or 2.3 percent of the entire sample. Eight of these ten also involve China and one takes place there. None of these items authorize Tibetan actors, while three privilege the voices of Chinese representatives. Overall, actors from China receive 80 seconds of time, as compared to 74 seconds for Tibetan voices. This translates into an average of 11.4 seconds per Chinese source and 12.3 seconds for each actor from Tibet.

Table 47

Distribution of Items Containing Chinese or Tibetan Voices by Event Location / Involvement

Event Location / Involvement	Items with Chinese Actors	Items with Both Actors	Items with Tibetan Actors	n
China	1	n/a	n/a	3
China w/ Tibet	0	0	0	1
China & Tibet	1	2	1	5
Tibet w/ China	0	0	1	2
Tibet	n/a	n/a	0	0
Other w/ China	0	n/a	n/a	15
Other w/ China & Tibet	3	0	0	8
Other w/ Tibet	n/a	n/a	0	1
Total	5	2	3	35

Note. Frequencies represent number of items, not individual actors.

Tables 48-50 indicate differences in the use of authority across Chinese and Tibetan actors by means of three variables: gender, role and individual / group representation. Interestingly, all seven of the actors from China are males representing groups, including three occurrences of a Government Spokesperson and four of an Ambassador. Of the six actors given authority on behalf of Tibet, one is female and five are portrayed as representing themselves as individuals. Five of the six are also in religious roles, as compared to the political roles held by the Chinese actors.

Table 48
Distribution of Gender by Chinese or Tibetan Affiliation

Gender	China	Tibet
Male	7	5
Female	0	1

Note. Frequencies refer to individual actors.

Table 49
Distribution of Role by Chinese or Tibetan Affiliation

Role	China	Tibet
Foreign Government Spokesperson	3	0
Ambassador	4	0
Person Involved in Social Relations Matter	0	1
Top Religious Leader	0	4
Worshipper, Believer	0	1

Note. Frequencies refer to individual actors.

Table 50
Distribution of Individual / Group Representation by Chinese or Tibetan Affiliation

Representation	China	Tibet
Individual	0	5
Group	7	1

Note. Frequencies refer to individual actors.

5.3.5 The United Nations

The United Nations is the most commonly represented international organization in Canadian national news, with nine actors and 0.6 percent of the total sample (Table 33). These actors are found in eight items, seven of which are on CBC. Canada's public broadcaster gives authority to eight UN sources, making up 4.1 percent of all time given to actors by that station (Table 51). Two thirds are male and the same proportion, though ranging in gender, are high ranking officials in the organization.

Table 51
Distribution of UN Representatives by Station

Station	Frequency	Percent	% Time
CBC - Public	8	88.9	4.1
CTV- Private	1	11.1	0.005

Six of these eight items are foreign, half of which involve Canada. While two of the eight pertain strictly to Kenya and two to Canada and the U.S., the remainder concern no fewer than four countries each. Five contain social conflict. Though one item takes place on a municipal level, no item which privileges a U.N. source claims less than a national impact, and half of the items may extend their reach globally (Tables 52-3).

Table 52
Distribution of Item Scope by Use of U.N. Representative

Scope	Frequency
City/Town	1
Region	0
National	2
World-Regional	2
Worldwide	3

Note. Frequencies refer to items, not individual actors

Table 53

Distribution of Item Impact by Use of U.N. Representative

Impact	Frequency
City/Town	0
Region	0
National	2
World-Regional	1
Worldwide	4
No Explicit	1

Note. Frequencies refer to items, not individual actors

In terms of topic, all but one item has some relevance to International Politics, with two items pertaining to Internal Politics and two to Military and Defense (Table 54). One internal political item is domestic with involvement by Afghanistan, the U.K. and NATO, on the topic of the Manley Report. A U.N. ambassador is given authority alongside a NATO deputy, the head of the commission of inquiry and another Canadian politician. The second pertains to elections in Kenya and privileges only a high ranking member of the U.N. This item accounts for the topic of Internal Order as well.

Table 54

Distribution of Topic Categories by Use of U.N. Representative

Topic Category	Frequency
Internal Politics	2
International Politics	7
Military and Defense	2
Internal Order	1

Note. Each item is coded for up to three topics, resulting in some overlap.

5.3.6 Discussion

These data demonstrate a noteworthy emphasis on Canadian and American sources as well as provide evidence of some interesting patterns with respect to the coverage and representation of international conflict elsewhere in the world. Over two thirds of all actors are Canadian and 95.6 percent of all items which authorize any actors include a Canadian or American voice. The prominence of U.S. perspectives is in many ways a reflection of the volume of U.S-based events which Canadian news covers, and as such, will be considered here as the basis of this use of American authority.

As the larger foreign news study has shown so far, the United States receives the most foreign coverage of any other nation, and Canadian news is clearly no exception. This tendency to authorize American voices in foreign and hybrid news items is the result of a number of factors. First, as captured by the research design and unlike any other nation involved in this study, Canada shares a border with the United States. In many cases, countries are paying particular attention to the news coverage of those nations which they have the closest geographical proximity to. Additionally, however, Wu suggests that it is not geography alone but also economic ties with respect to trade that determine the extent of foreign news coverage on a nation (2004). Canada and the U.S boast strong relationships of both these types, as well as sharing a great deal of common cultural ground. This is in part a result of the ubiquity of American programming. Despite a centurylong history of protectionist policies seeking to define and reinforce Canadian identity, American content has steadily increased alongside the commercialization of Canadian broadcasting (Babe, 1990; Raboy, 1990; Taras, 2001), reflected here in the higher percentage of U.S. voices on CTV over CBC. Indeed, much of the political

economic environment which produces Canadian news is founded on attempts to limit American

cultural and economic influence; a challenge positioned in the 1930s as a choice between "the

state" and "the United States" (Graham, qtd. in Belanger, 2008, p. 118). Nonetheless, this study

demonstrates that American voices are far more common than those of any other nation, and

indeed, the majority of items which privilege these voices are entirely foreign. No attempts are

made to localize or involve Canada in 57.1 percent of the items which give authority to

American actors, while less than half of the items with Canadian actors are purely domestic.

Research has shown that representation of a country in news media is a predictor of

favourable public opinion regarding that country. The nature of the coverage has been

demonstrated to be irrelevant; it matters simply that the audience is exposed to the country in

question (Perry, 1990, p. 353; Semetko, et al., 1992). From a neoliberal perspective, facilitated

by Mosco's principle of spatialization, the "future of U.S. hegemonic capacities depend on the

internationalization of liberal ideals and consumerist practices" (Comor, 1997, p. 195). As global

media conglomerates continue to overcome the constraints of time and space, serving as an

"institutional extension of corporate power in the communication industry" (Mosco, 2004, p. 11),

it aids in the advancement of these interests if Canadians are prepped by American culture, news

and perspectives so as to prevent federal policy from slowing this advancement. Just as Mosco

draws a definitive line from commercialization through to a complete shift in economic and

political authority to a centralized group of regional and international treaties - citing NAFTA or

GATT as examples - the prominence of American voices on Canadian national news paves the

way for these possibilities (Ibid.; Wu, 2004).

It is noteworthy as well that one fifth of all U.S. sources are national election candidates within the coverage of the U.S. Primaries. One implication of this extensive coverage of American political processes may be the lack of knowledge Canadians have with respect to their own political system. A survey for the Dominion Institute provides noteworthy information regarding Canadians' political knowledge, since, as mentioned at the outset, one of the limitations of this study at its current phase includes a reliance on existing research when supposing the data's implications. The Dominion survey found that the majority of Canadians likened Canada's government and democratic system incorrectly to that of the U.S. (Perkel, 2009), believing that Prime Ministers are elected directly and describing the system as a representative republic. Canadians elect Members of Parliament and the government is a constitutional monarchy. As established at the outset, news media are responsible for much of society's knowledge about the world beyond individual experience, including - if not especially - in terms of politics (Jordan & Page, 1992; Kim, et al., 1999; Semetko, et al., 1992). The results of this ethnocentric world view - in which the U.S. is the centre - were felt most recently in December, 2008, when Prime Minister Stephen Harper chose to prorogue parliament rather than allow the House of Representatives to sit for a vote of confidence which he was likely to lose. As the opposition parties formed a coalition government to enact when Parliament sat again, the messages from the Conservative Party to the public called the legal and thoroughly democratic coalition "treason" and a "coup d'etat". "With such unfamiliar words ... entering the Canadian political lexicon, [the Dominion Institute sought] to gauge the understanding people had of what had transpired" (Perkel, 2009), to unfortunate results. These may appear to be extreme examples of the implications which American voices in Canadian national news can have, but the length of

the debate surrounding the influence of this neighbour is a testament to what is at risk: (to take a phrase from the American lexicon) the Canadian way of life.

In addition to this relationship with the U.S., Canada is also unique in its political ties to the United Kingdom. Indeed, the Canadian Head of State is the Queen of England, given authority as an actor in one CBC item in this study. In this study, actors representing the U.K. fall most often into human interest stories; however, two thirds of U.K. items make reference to a worldwide potential impact. Regarding the rest of Europe, the nation represented most frequently is France, due to an instance of bank fraud during the study period. Indeed, the majority of European items pertain to matters of internal order, perhaps serving an American sentiment of anti-Europeanism, particularly with respect to social structures (Ash, 2003).

While Canada's economy is inextricably linked to the U.S., its history lies with the U.K., with notions of culture and identity falling somewhere in between. This division is exacerbated by both a distinct anti-Europeanism in America as well as an anti-Americanism is Europe (Ash, 2003). The U.S. decision to invade Iraq in 2001 illustrates Canada's contentious role between these two nations. This action was supported by England, and so by the Canadian Head of State; however, it was not condoned by the Liberal government of Canada at the time. As American war resisters began to seek refugee status in Canada under the Nuremberg Principle IV, public opinion was divided, and ultimately the refugees were denied (Hinzman v. Canada, 2006). Without a sample of news coverage from that time period, it is impossible to suggest with any scientific validity how the use of authority may have played out during this controversy. What we do know is that over two thirds of all actors in this study are Canadian, with American and British perspectives represented as the second and third most common voices, respectively. With

respect to international conflicts involving these prominent nations, the voices of opposing countries - be they Afghan, Iraqi or others - are remarkably underrepresented. This study finds that of 33 Afghan items and 14 which take place in Iraq, only six actors representing each country are given authority, all of which are broadcast on CBC. Nossek's 2004 analysis of international news coverage suggests that journalistic practices "become subordinate to national loyalty" when an item or conflict is defined as "ours" (p. 343). The similar imbalance, then, between the use of authority in the Canadian war with Afghanistan and the U.S. war in Iraq, suggests that Canadian news media portrays the conflicts in which its political and economic partners are involved as "ours". If this pattern was reflected in the media coverage of the Nuremberg controversy, it would be unsurprising that public opinion was divided between Canadian identity and a "national loyalty" to the U.S. and Britain.

Two other international conflicts are highlighted in the current sample, including the Israeli / Palestinian conflict, and that between China and Tibet. According to Nossek, as neither situation involves Canada or one of its allies directly - though the U.S. relationship to Israel may factor in - coverage ought to reach a high standard of objectivity (Ibid.). This study finds that authority is given to 19 Israeli actors in 14 items, as compared to 10 Palestinians in eight items. Seven of these eight take place in Israel, and five "counter-balance" the Palestinian voices with Israeli ones (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003, p. 339). This inequality is in line with past research which has found news media to routinely privilege Israeli over Palestinian sources (Chang & Zeldes, 1990). Additionally, U.S. representatives are given authority in half of the items which authorize Israelis, while 75 percent of items which privilege Palestinian voices also use Americans. The use of Israeli authority as independent and valid as compared to the Palestinian

perspectives which do not represent American interests may be a result of the alliance between Israel and the U.S. Indeed, the increased coverage of Israeli events over Palestinian ones may serve to garner support for this American ally (Perry, 1990; Semetko, et al., 1992). This notion would also be supported by Nossek's expectation of objectivity when the country of broadcast is truly a third party, as well as Canadian news media's reflection of U.S. interests.

Alternatively, the conflict between China and Tibet yields seven Chinese actors and six Tibetans. The distribution of these perspectives is remarkably even, and would perhaps require a more qualitative research method to analyze, such as a critical discourse analysis. Where we see an interesting distinction concerning the use of authority is in the other actor variables. For instance, all seven Chinese actors are males and represent a group rather than an individual. They are made up entirely of government spokespeople and ambassadors. This is in sharp contrast to the portrayal of Tibetan voices, which include a top religious leader, a protester - coded as a person involved in a social relations matter - and a religious worshipper. The nature of China's perception management and the religious foundations of the Tibetan culture may make these distinctions unavoidable, rather than a reflection of journalistic choices. Regardless, as discussed in the first research question, China's representatives are in higher positions of authority than those speaking on behalf of Tibet. With respect to the effects of this coverage, the Chinese perspective may carry more clout than its Tibetan counterpart.

Lastly, this study finds the United Nations to be the most common international organization represented in Canadian national news. Of eight items which give authority to nine U.N. voices, two items involve Canada and the U.S., two involve Kenya, and others are a combination of countries. Most of these pertain to international politics, providing something of

a third party perspective to matters of international conflict. This is of particular note considering the strained relationship which the U.S. has with this organization, the details of which are far beyond the scope of this paper. With this relationship in mind, however, it is noteworthy that seven of the eight items in which a U.N. representative is privileged to speak are found on Canada's public broadcaster. CBC, with few commercial interests to contend with, spends 4.1 percent of it's total time devoted to actors on U.N. voices. CTV spends 0.005 percent on these perspectives. It seems the reach of U.S. interests may extend far into the use of authority in Canadian national news.

It is clear that this content analysis has gleaned a considerable wealth of data, and only a preliminary overview of the highlights insofar as they pertain to the use of authority have been described here. The final chapter will outline the potential contribution made by the results, as well as plans for future development.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The preceding content analysis is based on a sample of 1,406 actors in 749 news items, taken from the nightly national newscasts of CBC and CTV. By investigating three primary variables, this study has contributed to an understanding of whose voices are heard in Canadian news media, and as a result, whose influence is reflected in the public's understanding of the world. The nature of this analysis is exploratory, relying on research questions over hypothesis tests and the use of descriptive rather than statistical analysis. These frequencies, however, paint a clear picture with respect to the use of authority in Canadian national news, and are posited as the first phase of an ongoing, international project. This final chapter briefly addresses the role which authority in news media might play in Canada's particular brand of democracy, as well as outlines the plans currently in place to further develop this data internationally.

6.1 The Role of Authority in Canadian Society

"The media are charged with providing an important service to their citizen-consumers - thorough and unbiased information that will aid them in making conscious and conscientious decisions in the voting booth and in other aspects of their consumer and citizen lives" (Champlin & Knoedler, 2002, p. 459). As we have seen, news is more than just information. Rather, it is a representation of authority; of "*who* are the authorized knowers and *what* are their authoritative versions of reality" (Ericson, 1989, p. 3). The results of this study have pointed towards a prominence of partisan political voices, male perspectives and neoliberal American interests. However, Hackett speaks to the role of the media in a democratic society as one of accountability, "giving voice even to those without wealth or political influence" (2000).

The remarkable diversity of Canadian society is both a source of pride and a challenge. The difficulties encountered with respect to the forging of a national identity in such a diverse nation are exacerbated by the ubiquity of U.S. influence and the sprawling geographical makeup of the country itself. Often touted for its "cultural mosaic" approach as opposed to the "melting pot" principle adopted by the U.S. (Levine & Serbeh-Dunn, 1999), national media has a responsibility to represent the range of voices which make up Canadian society if any notion of identity is to be attained and fostered (Nossek, 2004).

These demands for diversity are applicable to gender as well. As Armstrong cautioned: "if the same depictions and portrayals are repeated continuously, media audiences may develop more traditionally based gender roles, where men hold positions of authority and women serve in subordinate roles" (2006, p. 68). The media's use of authority is empowered to both represent and shape our notions of the world and the positions we hold in it. Rather than perpetuating inequality, news media has the ability to foster a balanced conception of gender roles.

Canada's multi-party system of government also requires that authority be granted to a range of actors. Unlike the U.S. system, in which the term 'bipartisan' accurately reflects a reductive duality of perspectives, Canadian voters do not vote for one of two national candidates. Rather, the political spectrum in Canada is a 'multipartisan' continuum which requires that citizens receive information from every perspective if they are to make informed choices as members of a democracy. Based on the results of this study and knowledge of neoliberal principles, however, the status quo best serves corporate interests and so limits the diversity of actors given authority. This is not the final word, however, as opportunities exist for further research and increased media literacy through public dissemination of this study's findings.

6.2 Next Steps

This study is the Canadian component of an international research project entitled *Reporting the World: Comparative Evidence on Foreign Television News Across the Globe.* The data analyzed here were collected as part of the first phase of this larger study. While the research questions addressed pertain to authority, the research design in *Chapter Four* outlines the far greater breadth of data available for analysis already. However, as the preceding discussions have also made apparent, media content alone is not sufficient to paint a holistic picture of news processes, particularly from a political economic perspective. What is missing are the organizational-level modes of production which result in news content, as well as definitive data which reflect audience reception and effects.

At this time, the international research team is crafting an audience survey which will be administered to audience members in each of 18 countries, primarily by telephone. This survey will aim to identify connections - and disconnections - between news content and audience perception. The implications discussed in this thesis with respect to the effects of authority on Canadians are based upon an existing body of research, with applicable notions extrapolated accordingly. What this survey will provide is a direct data set pertaining to the latent responses of audience members; an element which an analysis of manifest content cannot accurately suppose. Questions from topics of media preferences to impressions of specific item events will be included here. Based on the results of this second phase, focus groups may be utilized in select countries so as to further develop any particular responses which may be of interest from the survey. The goal is to provide as complete a picture as possible of the audience's experience with the news content in question.

Following this, researchers will complete the message cycle by engaging in a series of interviews with content producers. Modes of production, from neoliberal paradigms to specific policy initiatives and the influence of market forces are just some of the insights which may come of this phase. To be sure, there are results included in the data of this thesis which suggest room for considerable improvement with respect to the range of perspectives found in Canadian national news. While it may be tempting to search out ways of rectifying these disparities, the information gleaned from the next two phases of the larger research project will render any form of action far more effective. At this time, an understanding of manifest news content and its political economic underpinnings are sufficient to increase media literacy and contribute to the public discourse surrounding the use of authority in Canadian news. A knowledge of whose voices are heard in news media and as a result, whose influence is reflected in popular opinion is the first step towards an informed public. Indeed, such information is crucial to a functioning democracy.

Appendix 1: Codesheet for Content Analysis

Country   Station   date   Position   Topic1 (6)   Topic2 (7)   Topic3 (8)

(1) ☐☐ (2) ☐ (3) ☐☐ (4) ☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐ ☐☐☐☐☐

Description: _____) (5)

Nature of item
- ○ Headline (9) ○ Recap (11)
- ○ Promo (10) ○ Part of a block (13)

Refer to another tv program
- ○ Another newscast ○ Any other
- ○ Current affairs program (12)

Lenght (14) ☐☐☐

Format of Presentation
- (15) ○ Anchor (○ Seen ○ Heard ○ Both)
- (16) ○ Reporter report from studio
- (17) ○ Anchor interv. reporter (in studio)
- (18) ○ Anchor interv. reporter (not in studio)
- (19) ○ Interview with non-journalist in studio
- (20) ○ Pre-recorded video report ○ Cannot determine
- (21) ○ Live report from scene of event ○ Cannot determine
- (22) ○ Reporter appear in a "stand up" in video

Archive
- ○ Yes, clearly ○ No (23)
- ○ Yes, most likely ○ Can't determine
- ○ story/visuals claimed to be exclusive (24)

Source of Visual
- ○ Own station
- International broadcaster (25)
  - ○ CNN ○ BBC ○ Al-Jazeera ○ Other
  - ○ Can't determine
- News Agency (26)
  - ○ Yes ○ Can't determine
- Another Tv station (27)
  - ○ Yes ○ Can't determine

Visual
- ○ Tables/Charts (28) ○ Animation (31)
- ○ Still photos (29) ○ Maps (33)
- ○ Pictorial/graphic (30) ○ Flag (34)
- ○ Printed text (32) ○ Logos (35)

Sensationalism
- (36) ○ Background music
- (37) ○ Slow motion
- (38) ○ Speeded motion
- (39) ○ Repeated visuals
- (40) ○ Gory visuals
- (41) ○ Soft Focus
- (42) ○ Color Change
- (43) ○ Digitized faces
- (44) ○ Voice distorted
- (45) ○ Extreme Emotion

Time Perspective, reference to past
- ○ No (current day only) (46)
- ○ Previous day
- ○ Previous week or several days
- ○ Previous month or so
- ○ Previous year or so
- ○ More than one year ago
- ○ unspecific reference to past
- ○ Cannot determine

Time Perspective, reference to future
- ○ No (current day only)
- ○ Next day (47)
- ○ Next few days or week
- ○ Next month or so
- ○ Next year or so
- ○ More than one year to future
- ○ Unspecific reference to future
- ○ Can't determine

Nature of event (50)
- ○ Domestic
- ○ Domestic/ Foreign Involvement
- ○ Foreign/ Domestic Involvement
- ○ Foreign

Geographic scope
- (48)
  - ○ City/town
  - ○ Region
  - ○ Country
  - ○ World-regional
  - ○ Worldwide

Potential Impact
- (49)
  - ○ City/town
  - ○ Region
  - ○ National
  - ○ World-region
  - ○ Worldwide
  - ○ No Explicit

Domestication
- ○ Using Maps (62)
- ○ Using logos (63)
- ○ Reference to nationals of country (64)
- ○ Reference to impact on country (65)

Country of location of event)
☐☐☐☐☐ (51) ☐☐☐☐☐ (52)

☐☐☐☐☐ (53) Border? ○ All ○ Some (54) ○ One ○ None

Countries involved in event
☐☐☐☐☐ (55) ☐☐☐☐☐ (56)

☐☐☐☐☐ (57) ☐☐☐☐☐ (58)

☐☐☐☐ (59)

☐☐☐☐☐ (60) ☐☐☐☐☐ (61) International organizations involved

Does item contain conflict?
○ No   ○ Yes, Interpersonal **(66)**
○ Yes, Social   ○ Yes, can't determine

Number of parties mentioned (67) ☐

Reference to rejection of negotiations, compromise or resolution
○ Nobody rejects   ○ At least one party rejects
○ Two or more parties reject   **(70)**

Call for resolution of conflict (68)
○ Nobody   ○ Only arbitrator/mediator
○ At least one opponent   ○ Two or more parties
○ At least one opponent and arbitrator/mediator
○ Two or more parties and arbitrator/mediator

Call for resolution of conflict
○ No reference to negotiations
○ Reference to negotiations in the past only   **(69)**
○ Reference indicating no negotiations
○ Attempts to get negotiations started
○ Negotiations currently taking place
○ Resolution of conflict reached following negotiations

Verbal and visual report of conflict
○ Verbally reported physical violence   **(71)**
○ Visually shown physical violence   **(72)**
○ Verbally reported killing   ☐☐☐
   (73)
○ Visually shown killing   ☐☐☐
   (74)
○ Verbally reported wounding   ☐☐☐
   (75)
○ Visually shown wounding   ☐☐☐
   (76)

○ Verbally reported physical damage   **(77)**
○ Visually shown reported physical damage   **(78)**
○ Verbally reported other violence consequence   **(79)**
○ Visually shown other violence consequence   **(80)**

Actors
Role **(A1)** ☐☐☐☐
Country/organization **(A4)** ☐☐☐☐

Gender (A3)
○ Fem
○ Male
○ Both
○ Individual
○ Group **(A2)**

(A5) ○ Language of broad. ○ subtitles
○ Speak   ○ dubbing   ○ no translation
○ Quoted   ○ Identified
(A7) ○ Seen   **(A8)** ○ Name only
○ Not seen   ○ Role only
○ Name and role

☐☐☐
How long? (A6)

Actors
Role **(B1)** ☐☐☐☐
Country/organization **(B4)** ☐☐☐☐

Gender (B3)
○ Fem
○ Male
○ Both
○ Individual
○ Group **(B2)**

(B5) ○ Language of broad. ○ subtitles
○ Speak   ○ dubbing   ○ no translation
○ Quoted   ○ Identified
(B7) ○ Seen   **(B8)** ○ Name only
○ Not seen   ○ Role only
○ Name and role

☐☐☐
How long? (B6)

Actors
Role **(C1)** ☐☐☐☐
Country/organization **(C4)** ☐☐☐☐

Gender (C3)
○ Fem
○ Male
○ Both
○ Individual
○ Group **(C2)**

(C5) ○ Language of broad. ○ subtitles
○ Speak   ○ dubbing   ○ no translation
○ Quoted   ○ Identified
(C7) ○ Seen   **(C8)** ○ Name only
○ Not seen   ○ Role only
○ Name and role

☐☐☐
How long? (C6)

Actors
Role **(D1)** ☐☐☐☐
Country/organization **(D4)** ☐☐☐☐

Gender (D3)
○ Fem
○ Male
○ Both
○ Individual
○ Group **(D2)**

(D5) ○ Language of broad. ○ subtitles
○ Speak   ○ dubbing   ○ no translation
○ Quoted   ○ Identified
(D7) ○ Seen   **(D8)** ○ Name only
○ Not seen   ○ Role only
○ Name and role

☐☐☐
How long? (D6)

Itemization

The itemization of each newscast should be done by the researcher him/herself, before the coding, according to the following guidelines:

Distinguishing between items is based on two criteria: content and/or format.

CONTENT

A new item is identified when the issue and/or topic and/or country/location changes.

Illustrative examples:

   * When presenting a studio interview with a leading persona, a change from one topic to another topic constitutes different items. However, there must be a clear shift and not just a subtle or gradual shift.
   * When reporting on a major storm, reporting from different locations constitute different items.
   * When reporting a "block" of foreign news events in sequence, each event is considered as a separate item, even if there is no separate formal introduction of each item by the anchor or reporter.
   * When reporting on a world summit conference, reactions in each capital city constitute separate items.

FORMAT

A new item is identified following a formal breaking point (usually an intervention by a news anchor, but not including separate interview questions) regardless of the content.

Illustrative examples:

   * An edited news report, usually with (but sometimes without) voice-over. Such a report, together with the news anchor's introduction, and possibly a short comment afterwards, constitutes a separate item regardless of the content prior to or following it.
   * An item in a "block" of items (e.g. in foreign news block – see above) separated from other items by brief visual indication (flash, fading, etc.) or by a specific sound.
   * A brief items delivered by anchor only, possibly accompanied by some kind of visual in background (e.g., photo, logo, moving image, etc.).
   * A live (or taped) in-studio interview with non-journalist. If such an interview is interspersed by an edited report, each segment of the interview and edited report constitute a separate item.

* An in-studio interview with a home-journalist (or commentator) constitutes a separate item. If such an interview is interspersed by an edited report, each segment of the interview and edited report constitute a separate item.

* A live or taped interview or intervention with stand-up journalists (on location) constitutes a separate item. If the stand-up introduces an edited report (usually made by him/herself or a local team), this is considered part of the same item. In rare cases where the stand-up takes over the role of the anchor (e.g., by introducing edited reports), this constitutes a separate item.

Note: Items that are part of "blocks" will be indicated as such in variable #13 (see below).

1.   COUNTRY OF BROADCAST (Codes here refer to countries)

    1. Belgium
    2. Brazil
    3. Bulgaria
    4. Canada
    5. Chile
    6. China
    7. Egypt
    8. Finland
    9. Germany
    10. Hong Kong
    11. Israel
    12. Italy
    13. Japan
    14. Poland
    15. Portugal
    16. Singapore
    17. South Africa
    18. Sweden
    19. Switzerland
    20. Taiwan
    21. United Kingdom
    22. United States
    23. Turkey

2.   STATION CODE [___]
    Enter 1, 2 or 3 as an identifier for the specific station of your country. Conversion to the actual station code will be done later.

3.   DATE OF NEWSCAST [___][___]
    Enter 1-28 for the code of the date (e.g., 1 would represent January 20; 10 would represent February 12th, etc. Conversion to the actual date will be done later.

4.	ITEM SEQUENCE IN LINE-UP [___][___]
	Order in line-up, from 1st to nth

5.	KEY WORD DESCRIPTOR OF ITEM

	Enter in English key words up to 20 characters (to enable cross-country identification of items). Use the same key words in subsequent newscasts when dealing with items on the same event/issue. In addition to the coding form, please create a separate cumulative list of all items.

TOPICS OF ITEMS

	This is a variable of prime importance. The list of topics that we developed is very detailed, so that hopefully we identify the most relevant topic to each item. However, given this detailing also creates the possibility that an item would suitably by coded as being relevant to more than one topic. For this reason we allow the coding of as many as three topics. The decision as to how to code the topics is left up to the coder, of course, and it really doesn't matter in which order they are entered. Finally, a coder may define a new topic code by adding it to the list. This should be done only in limited cases, however.

6.	TOPIC 1 [___][___][___][___]
	The first code must be entered using the code number from the topic list

7.	TOPIC 2 [___][___][___][___]
	Code here only if item has second topic, also using code number from topic list

8.	TOPIC 3 [___][___][___][___]
	Code here only if item has a third topic, also using code number from topic list

9.	IS ITEM MENTIONED IN HEADLINE OF NEWSCASTS?
	Headlines constitute brief mentions of items at the beginning of the newscast referring to what will be coming later in the newscast.
	1. Yes
	2. No
	3. No headlines at all in newscast

10.	IS ITEM MENTIONED IN PROMO DURING NEWSCAST?
	A promo is a reference made during the newscast about an item that will be reported later (often made before commercials).
	1. Yes
	2. No
	3. No promo at all during newscast

11. IS ITEM MENTIONED IN RECAP OF NEWSCAST?

A recap may appear at the end of the newscast in which the anchor repeats in brief (and sometimes as a late update) some of the items that were previously reported.

1. Yes
2. No
3. No recap of newscast at all

12. DOES ITEM EXPLICITLY REFER TO ANOTHER TV PROGRAM OF THE STATION?

The reference could be another newscasts, a current affairs program or any other program aired on the same station (sometimes as a promo to that program).

1. Yes, to another newscast (such as one to be broadcast later)
2. Yes, to a current affairs program
3. Yes, to any other program
4. No

13. IS ITEM PART OF A BLOCK OF NEWS ITEMS?

A block is a groups of items presented sequentially without a separate introduction to each item (e.g., several "foreign events", each of which is a totally different item (that would presumably also get different topic codes, or reports from different locations of the same major weather storm). In other words, a "block" is mostly a structural or format concept.

1. Yes
2. No

14. DURATION OF ITEM   [___][___][___]

In seconds

15. IS/ARE ANCHOR(S) SEEN OR ONLY HEARD?

In some stations there is more than one anchor; refer similarly to one or more

1. Yes, anchor is seen speaking
2. Yes, anchor is seen during part of item but there is also his/her voice over
3. Yes, anchor is only heard speaking as voice over
4. No, anchor is not seen or heard at all

16. DOES REPORTER OR COMENTATOR REPORT FROM STUDIO?

This can be any studio of the station of broadcast: the major studio, a studio in another city of the country, or even in another country.

1. Yes
2. No

17. DOES/DO ANCHOR(S) INTERVIEW REPORTER IN STUDIO?

1. Yes
2. No

18.   DOES/DO ANCHOR(S) INTERVIEW REPORTER WHO IS NOT IN STUDIO?
        1. Yes
        2. No

19.   DOES INTERVIEW WITH NON-JOURNALIST TAKE PLACE IN STUDIO?
        1. Yes
        2. No

20.   IS THERE A PRE-RECORDED VIDEO (OR FILMED) REPORT FROM THE
LOCATION OF THE EVENT (USUALLY WITH VOICE OVER) AND PRESENTED BY THE
STATION'S REPORTER?
        Some indication must be present to indicate that it is pre-recorded (not "live); otherwise
code as "cannot determine."
        1. Yes
        2. No
        3. Cannot determine

21.   IS THERE A LIVE REPORT FROM THE SCENE OF THE EVENT?
        Some indication must be present to indicate that it is a live report; otherwise code as
"cannot determine."
        1. Yes
        2. No
        3. Cannot determine

22.   DOES A REPORTER APPEAR IN A "STAND-UP" IN EITHER A LIVE OR VIDEO (OR
FILMED) REPORT FROM THE LOCATION OF THE EVENT (AS REFERENCED IN
VARIABLES 20 AND 21 ABOVE)?
        1. Yes
        2. No

23.   IS ARCHIVE (OR "FILE") MATERIAL USED?
        1. Yes, material clearly labeled as such
        2. Yes, most likely archive material used but with no formal indication
        3. No
        4. Cannot determine if it is archive material

24.   IS STORY AND/OR VISUAL MATERIAL CLAIMED TO BE EXCLUSIVE?
        1. Yes
        2. No

25. IS THERE VISUAL MATERIAL FROM INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTER (E.G., CNNI, BBCW, AL-JAZEERA)?

Some indication must be present to indicate that it is material from international broadcaster; otherwise code as "cannot determine."

1. No
2. Yes, from CNN
3. Yes, from BBC
4. Yes, from Al-Jazeera
5. Yes, from other international broadcaster
6. Cannot determine

26. IS ANY MATERIAL FROM NEWS AGENCY (E.G., REUTERS) USED IN ITEM?

Some indication must be present to indicate that it is material from news agency; otherwise code as "cannot determine."

1. Yes
2. No
3. Cannot determine

27. IS THERE VISUAL MATERIAL FROM ANOTHER STATION?

Some indication must be present to indicate that it is material from another TV station, but not an international broadcaster (as in 24 above) or news agency (as in 25 above); otherwise code as "cannot determine."

1. Yes
2. No
3. Cannot determine

28. ARE THERE TABLES AND/OR CHARTS?

These can be computer generated or otherwise.

1. Yes
2. No

29. IS THERE USE OF STILL PHOTOS?

This could be a still photograph or a "frozen" frame from a video; it can be presented "behind" the anchor or reporter in the studio or within a moving video segment.

1. Yes
2. No

30. IS THERE USE OF PICTORIAL OR GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION?

A pictorial or graphic metaphor is an artist-created "abstract" visual image (but not a photo, official logo, etc.) used for representing some idea, issue, etc.

1. Yes
2. No

31. IS THERE USE OF AN ANIMATED REPRESENTATION?

Use of artist-created images to illustrate or simulate information using animation (moving images).
   1. Yes
   2. No

32. IS THERE USE OF PRINTED TEXT?

Printed text refers to information on the screen such as a document (or part thereof) or computer generated "typing" of text (e.g., a quote) while a voice-over narrates the text or printed key words.
   1. Yes
   2. No

33. IS THERE USE OF MAPS OF CITY, COUNTRY, REGION, ETC?
   1. Yes
   2. No

34. IS THERE USE OF COUNTRY FLAG OR EMBLEM?
   1. Yes
   2. No

35. IS THERE USE OF A COMPANY LOGO?
   1. Yes
   2. No

36. USE OF BACKGROUND MUSIC IN ITEM?

The use of music that is not germane to the item, such as dramatic or suspenseful music presented as "background" for an item.
   1. Yes
   2. No

37. TIME SHIFT: SLOW MOTION IN ITEM?

Showing video in slow motion.
   1. Yes
   2. No

38. TIME SHIFT: SPEEDED UP MOTION IN ITEM?

Showing video in faster than normal speed.
   1. Yes
   2. No

39. REPETITION OF SAME VISUALS OVER AND OVER?
    Presenting the same brief video segment again and again
    1. Yes
    2. No

40. USE OF GORY VISUALS?
    Visuals considered gruesome according to local cultural standards.
    1. Yes [If yes, please note details of visuals in separate log file]
    2. No

41. USE OF SOFT FOCUS?
    Images shown with a blurred focus, often used to prevent the identification of the person or act being shown.
    1. Yes
    2. No

42. USE OF COLOR CHANGE?
    Change of color to high contrast or black and white as visual effect
    1. Yes
    2. No

43. USE OF DIGITIZATION TO CONCEAL IDENTITY OF PEOPLE?
    Electronic digitization of face to conceal the identity of a person or persons.
    1. Yes
    2. No

44. USE OF AUDIO WITH DISTORTED HUMAN VOICE?
    Distorting a person's voice (often in an interview) to avoid recognition.
    1. Yes
    2. No

45. PRESENTATION OF EXTREME EMOTION?
    The reference is to display of extreme human emotion according to local cultural standards.
    1. Yes [If yes, please note details in separate log file]
    2. No

46. TIME PERSPECTIVE – REFERENCE TO PAST (code the longest past)
    1. No (current day only)
    2. Previous day
    3. Previous week or several days
    4. Previous month or so
    5. Previous year or so
    6. Reference to more than one year ago
    7. General unspecific reference to past
    8. Cannot determine time frame

47.   TIME PERSPECTIVE – REFERENCE TO FUTURE (code the furthest future)
   1. No (current day only)
   2. Next day
   3. Next few days or week
   4. Next month or so
   5. Next year or so
   6. Reference to more than one year in the future
   7. General unspecific reference to future
   8. Cannot determine time frame

48.   GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE OF EVENT
   To be determined by the coder's understanding – e.g.: an electrical blackout in a city, in a region, in a whole country; a storm that in a region, the entire country or a world region
   1. City/town
   2. Region
   3. Country
   4. World-region (e.g., Europe, far east)
   5. Worldwide

49.   POTENTIAL IMPACT OF EVENT
   Refers to the broadest consequences of the event, based on an explicit reference it the item; usually the impact would be equal to the scope of the event or greater – e.g., a strike of air traffic controllers in a certain country could impact on world-regional or worldwide travel. If there is no explicit reference to the impact, code as 6
   1. City/town
   2. Region
   3. National
   4. World-region (e.g., Europe, far east)
   5. Worldwide
   6. No explicit indication of impact in item

50.   NATURE OF EVENT (IF CODE IS 1 – GO TO VARIABLE 66)
   1. Domestic (event takes place in country of broadcast with no foreign involvement)
   2. Domestic with foreign involvement (event takes place in country of broadcast but specific reference is made to at least one other country)
   3. Foreign with domestic involvement (event takes place in other country but specific reference is made to country of broadcast)
   4. Foreign (event takes place in other country without any reference to country of broadcast)

51-53. COUNTRY OF LOCATION OF EVENT

Most items relate to a single country location. However, sometimes the event can take place in two or more countries (e.g., a major disaster, war, etc.). Determining whether or not the event actually takes place in more than one country is based on how the item was initially itemized by the researcher. The countries should be coded in the order in which they are mentioned in the item.

Country 1 [____][____][____] Use country list
Country 2 [____][____][____] Use country list
Country 3 [____][____][____] Use country list

54. DOES COUNTRY OF LOCATION BORDER ON COUNTRY OF BROADCAST?

This refers to whether or not the countries are neighbors.

1. Yes, all countries listed above border on country of broadcast
2. Yes, some of the countries listed above border on country of broadcast
3. Yes, only one of the countries listed above borders on country of broadcast
4. No country listed above borders on country of broadcast

55-59. COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN EVENT

The countries should be coded in the order in which they are mentioned and/or referred to in the item, directly or indirectly. For example: If an item says something like "Tony Blair said he would not give in to the demands of Iran" without specifically mentioning the United Kingdom by name, nonetheless the UK should be coded.

Country 1 [____][____][____] Use country list
Country 2 [____][____][____] Use country list
Country 3 [____][____][____] Use country list
Country 4 [____][____][____] Use country list
Country 5 [____][____][____] Use country list

61. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION INVOLVED

The countries should be coded in the order in which they are mentioned in the item.

Organization 1 [____][____][____] Use List of Int'l Organizations
Organization 2 [____][____][____] Use List of Int'l Organizations

62. DOMESTICATION – USE OF MAPS

The use of maps here must indicate a relationship between where the event took place and the country of broadcast; e.g., two maps presented, one of the country of broadcast and one of the other country

1. Yes
2. No

63. DOMESTICATION – USE OF LOGOS
The use of logos here must indicate a relationship between where the event took place and the country of broadcast; e.g., two logos presented, one of the country of broadcast and one of the other country or logos of different companies in the two countries)
1. Yes
2. No

64. DOMESTICATION – MAKING EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO NATIONALS OF COUNTRY OF BROADCAST (Only relevant to foreign items with domestic involvement)
1. Yes
2. No

65. DOMESTICATION – MAKING EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO IMPACT ON COUNTRY OF BROADCAST (Only relevant to foreign items with domestic involvement)
1. Yes
2. No

66. DOES ITEM DEAL WITH CONFLICT?
This variable is important but also somewhat difficult to define in unequivocal terms. Many items in the news involve conflict. Some conflicts are interpersonal involving individual people and many are social in the sense that they deal with two or more parties (social groups, political parties, countries, etc.) who have incompatible goals or who use (or advocate the use of) different means to obtain their goals. For example, if a man kills his wife because she was (or he thinks she was) unfaithful, this would be an interpersonal conflict; also, if a man robs another person in order to get money for his drug habits, this is an interpersonal conflict. But if a single person (or group of people) robs a bank because (as they may claim) the bank symbolizes the capitalist society, this would be a social conflict. Elections, wars, strikes, etc., are also examples of social conflict. In short, in most cases it is quite easy to determine if the conflict is interpersonal or social. In cases where it is absolutely impossible to decide, please code as "cannot determine."
1. No (IF CODE IS 1, GO TO VARIABLE 71)
2. Yes, interpersonal conflict
3. Yes, social conflict
4. Yes, but cannot determine the nature of the conflict

67. NUMBER OF PARTIES MENTIONED REGARDING THE CONFLICT [___]
Opponents can be individual people, social groups, countries, etc. Refers only to opponents in conflict, not to arbitrators, mediators, etc.

68. IS THERE A CALL FOR RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT IN ITEM?
    1. Nobody calls for resolution
    2. Only arbitrator/mediator calls for resolution
    3. At least one opponent calls for resolution
    4. Two opponents or more call for resolution
    5. At least one opponent and arbitrator/mediator call for resolution
    6. Two or more opponents and arbitrator/mediator call for resolution

69. IS THERE REFERENCE IN ITEM TO NEGOTIATIONS TAKING PLACE?
    1. No reference at all in item to negotiations
    2. Reference to negotiations that took place in the past only
    3. Specific reference indicating that no negotiations are taking place
    4. Attempts to get negotiations started
    5. Negotiations currently taking place
    6. Resolution of conflict reached following negotiations

70. IS THERE REFERENCE IN ITEM TO REJECTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, COMPROMISE OR RESOLUTION?
    1. Nobody rejects negotiations, compromise or resolution
    2. At least one party rejects negotiations, compromise or resolution
    3. Two or more parties reject negotiations, compromise or resolution

71. IS THERE VERBALLY REPORTED PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST PEOPLE?
    1. Yes
    2. No

72. IS THERE VISUALLY SHOWN PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST PEOPLE?
    1. Yes
    2. No

73. IS THERE VERBALLY REPORTED KILLING OF AT LEAST ONE PERSON?
    1. Yes (Go to 73a and enter number).
    2. No   (Go to 74)
    3. Yes, but no specific number (Go to 74)

73a. NUMBER OF VERBALLY REPORTED PERSON(S) KILLED [___][___][___]
    (For 1000 or more, code 999)

74. IS THERE VISUALLY SHOWN KILLING (INCLUDING DEAD BODIES OR PARTS OF BODY/BODIES) OF AT LEAST ONE PERSON?
    1. Yes (Go to 74a and enter number).
    2. No   (Go to 75)
    3. Yes, but no specific number (Go to 75)

74a. NUMBER OF VISUALLY SHOWN PERSON(S) KILLED [__][__][__]
(For 1000 or more, code 999)

75. IS THERE VERBALLY REPORTED WOUNDING OF AT LEAST ONE PERSON?
1. Yes (Go to 75a and enter number).
2. No   (Go to 76)
3. Yes, but no specific number (Go to 76)

75a. NUMBER OF VERBALLY REPORTED PERSON(S) WOUNDED [__][__][__]
(For 1000 or more, code 999)

76. IS THERE VISUALLY SHOWN ONE WOUNDED PERSON OR MORE?
1. Yes (Go to 76a and enter number).
2. No   (Go to 77)
3. Yes, but no specific number (Go to 77)

76a. NUMBER OF VISUALLY SHOWN PERSON(S) KILLED [__][__][__]
(For 1000 or more, code 999)

77. IS THERE VERBALLY REPORTED PHYSICAL DAMAGE TO PROPERTY?
1. Yes
2. No

78. IS THERE VISUALLY SHOWN PHYSICAL DAMAGE TO PROPERTY?
1. Yes
2. No

79. IS THERE VERBALLY REPORTED OTHER CONSEQUENCE OF VIOLENCE?
1. Yes
2. No

80. IS THERE VISUALLY SHOWN OTHER CONSEQUENCE OF VIOLENCE?
1. Yes
2. No

CODING OF ACTORS

We will not code actors who are only seen but not quoted. The assumption is that in most cases if an actor is seen but not heard (in his/her voice) there would at least be some reference to his/her identity. This would also be the case for groups of people (e.g., demonstrators, customers in a checkout lane in a store) who are not identified by name but they (or at least someone in the group) is quote, directly or indirectly).

For each actor, the following variables – A1 through A8 – should be coded. If you have a second actor, this one will be coded as B1 through B8, and so forth until the last actor that is coded.

The information about each subsequent actor after the first actor will be entered as additional fields. If you will be using the scan-ready coding forms you will need to use one set of codes per actor (each on a separate line). If you are using direct data entry into an SPSS or EXCEL file you will need to allocate additional fields as necessary, 8 fields per actor, one after the other.

A1. Role of actor [___][___][___][___]
      Use actor role list (Appendix D)

A2. Is actor an individual or a group [___]
      1=individual
      2=group

A3. Gender of actor [___]
      1=female
      2=male
      3=both

A4. Actor's country or organization [___][___][___]
      Use Country/Organization list

A5. Does actor speak in item? [___]
      1=No
      2=Yes, in language of broadcast country
      3=Yes, in other language with dubbing
      4=Yes, in other language with subtitles
      5=Yes, in other language with no translation

A6. How long does actor speak? [___][___][___]
      In seconds, including all clips if there is more than one clip

A7. Is actor quoted (directly or indirectly) in item? [___]
      1=No
      2=Yes, and seen
      3=Yes, but not seen

A8. Is actor identified with by name and/or role? [___]
      1=No
      2=Yes, by name only
      3=Yes, by role only
      4=Yes, by name and role

Appendix 2: Topic Codes

Internal Politics
101 Legislative activities (e.g., discussion of a new law)
102 Executive activities (e.g., announcement by the president)
103 Judicial decisions
104 Constitutional issues
105 Elections
106 Political fundraisers and donations
107 Political appointments
108 Statements and activities of individual politicians
109 Inter-party relations
110 Internal party relations
111 Activities of interest groups
112 Referendum
113 Public opinion/polling
114 Abuse of political power, corruption
115 Abortion
116 Commission of inquiry
117 Resignation of politician
118 Fall of government - vote of no confidence
119 Other

International Politics
201 Activities of international political organizations
202 Activities of individual politicians
203 Activities of political parties
204 Diplomatic visits
205 Diplomatic negotiations and agreements
206 Promises of aid or cooperation
207 Policy statements
208 Wars between countries
209 International tensions and disagreements
210 International terrorism
211 Embargo
212 Other

Military and Defense
301 Military activities
302 Appointments and firings in the military
303 Government defense policy and action
304 Protest at government defense policy
399 Other

Internal Order

401 Civil war
402 Peaceful demonstrations
403 Violent demonstrations
404 Terrorism
405 Crime levels
406 Petty/small crimes
407 Police management
408 Espionage
409 Fire brigade
410 Prison conditions
411 Corruption (not political)
412 Police behaviour
413 White collar crime
414 Judicial decisions
415 Child abuse
416 Pedophilia
417 Violence against women/wives
418 Violence against husbands
419 Political assassinations
420 Murder
421 Robbery
422 Crime investiatgion
423 Assault
424 Rape
425 Criminal association (e.g., Mafia)
426 Fraud
427 Political corruption
428 Libel suit
499 Other

Economy

501 State of economy
502 Economic indexes (e.g., domestic production numbers)
503 Job market
504 Appointments
505 Fiscal measures
506 Budget issues
507 Natural resources
508 Monopolies
509 Tariffs
510 Economic legal issues
511 Donations
512 Stock market situation
599 Other

Labour and Industrial Relations

601 Union activities (e.g., lobbying)
602 Disputes
603 Strikes
604 Legal measures and policy
605 Foreign/guest workers - policy
606 Relations between employer associations and workers
607 Foreign/guest workers - condition of workers
699 Other

Business, Commerce, Industry

701 Business activities
702 Legal measures and policy
703 International business
704 Globalization
705 Stock market
706 Mergers and acquisitions
707 E-commerce
708 Technology
709 Tourism
710 Agriculture
711 Trade with foreign countries
712 Appointments and firings
799 Other

Transportation

801 Transportation infrastructure/transportation systems
802 Public transportation issues
803 Automobiles
804 Driving behaviour
805 Driving conditions
806 Parking issues
807 Aviation
808 Railway/trains/subway
809 Transportation-related construction
899 Other

Health, Welfare, Social Services

901 State of health system
902 Health policies and legal measures
903 Health insurance issues
904 Health epidemic
905 New medications
906 New health technology or medial practice
907 Social services - policy

908   Social services - conditions
909   Social services - payments
910   Non-profit organizations
911   Benefits for a good cause
912   Health malpractice suits
913   Poverty levels
914   Poverty conditions
915   Health advice
916   Success in rehabilitation
917   Drug problems
918   Prostitution, women trafficking
999   Other

Population
1001 General population statistics
1002 Immigration
1003 Emigration
1004 Visa issues
1099 Other

Education
1101 General educational policy
1102 Funding of education
1103 Educational reform
1104 Preschool education
1105 Secondary education
1106 High education (colleges and universities)
1107 Teacher training
1108 Teacher wages
1109 Students
1110 Parental issues
1111 Level of teaching and teaching standards
1112 School curriculum
1113 Relations between teachers and parents
1114 Relations between teachers and students
1115 Registration for school
1116 Opening and closing of schools
1117 Sectorial education (e.g., religious vs. secular)
1199 Other

Communication
1201 Industry-wide issues and statistics
1202 Journalism and media in general
1203 Newspapers
1204 Network television

1205 Cable television
1206 Radio
1207 Magazines
1208 Internet
1209 Phones/cell phones/mobile phones
1210 Media regulation
1211 Technical aspects of communication
1212 Satellite
1299 Other

Housing
1301 Housing supply
1302 Living conditions
1303 Construction
1304 Mortgages
1305 Building permits
1306 City planning
1307 Housing demolition
1399 Other

Environment
1401 Threats to environment (e.g., pollution)
1402 Activities of environmental organization
1403 Garbage collection
1404 Conservation
1499 Other

Energy
1501 Energy supply
1502 Energy costs
1503 Technology development
1599 Other

Science/Technology
1601 Standards
1602 Inventions
1603 Individual scientists
1604 Scientific organizations
1605 Computer issues
1606 Multimedia issues
1607 Space exploration
1608 Problems related to science/technology
1699 Other

Social Relations
1701 Gender relations
1702 Sexual orientation issues
1703 Ethnic relations
1704 Class relations
1705 Age differences
1706 Family relations
1707 Minority-majority relations
1799 Other

Accidents and Disasters
1801 Natural disasters - earthquakes
1802 Natural disasters - floods
1803 Natural disasters - famine
1804 Natural disasters - other weather
1805 Car accidents
1806 Plane crash
1807 Plane near accident
1808 Train accident
1809 Fore
1810 Work accident
1811 Military-related accident
1812 Home accident
1813 Crowd accident
1899 Other

Sports
1901 Results
1902 Training
1903 Records
1904 Individual athletes/coaches/teams
1905 Leagues
1906 Fans/supporter behaviour
1907 Legal measures
1908 Appointments and firings
1909 Politics
1910 Olympic training
1911 Championships
1999 Other

Culture
2001 Classical music
2002 Popular music
2003 Theatre
2004 Opera

2005 Dance
2006 Film
2007 Photography
2008 Literature and poetry
2009 Painting and sculpturing
2010 Television shows
2011 Radio shows
2012 Museums
2013 General exhibits
2014 Festival and competitions
2015 Prizes and awards
2016 Celebrities
2099 Other

Fashion
2101 Fashion shows
2102 Beauty contests
2103 Models
2104 Fashion products
2105 Fashion trends (e.g., trend colours, body piercing)
2199 Other

Ceremonies
2201 Official government/political ceremonies
2202 National holidays/ceremonies
2203 Ethnic ceremonies/commemorations
2204 Anniversaries of events
2299 Other

Human Interest
2301 Celebrities
2302 Non-celebrities
2303 Animal stories
2304 Travel stories
2305 Record attempts
2306 Supernatural or mystical stories
2307 Mystery
2308 Food
2309 Advice (e.g., on love, insurance, stock)
2310 Lottery results
2399 Other

Weather
2401 Weather maps and statistics
2402 Weather forecasting

2403 General weather stories (e.g., coldest winter)
2499 Other

Religion
2501 Religious holidays/ceremonies
2502 Religious proclamations by senior religious leaders
2503 Conflict between religious groups
2504 Religious tourism
2505 Holy places (conditions of)
2506 Holy places (archaeological findings)
2599 Other

<u>Appendix 4:</u> List of Country & Organization Codes

<u>Countries</u>

001   Abkhazia
002   Afghanistan
003   Akrotiri and Dhekelia
004   Aland
005   Albania
006   Algeria
007   American Samoa
008   Anodorra
009   Angola
010   Anguilla
011   Antigua and Barbuda
012   Argentina
013   Armenia
014   Aruba
015   Ascension Island
016   Australia
017   Austria
018   Azerbaijan

019   Bahamas, The
020   Bahrain
021   Bangladesh
022   Barbados
023   Belarus
024   Belgium
025   Belize
026   Benin
027   Bermuda
028   Bhutan
029   Bolivia
030   Bosnia and Herzegovina
031   Botswana
032   Brazil
033   Brunei
034   Bulgaria
035   Burkina Faso
036   Burundi

037   Cambodia
038   Cameroon
039   Canada
040   Cape Verde

041   Cayman Islands
042   Central African Republic
043   Chad
044   Chile
045   China
046   Christmas Island
047   Cocos (Keeling) Islands
048   Colombia
049   Comoros
050   Congo (Democratic Republic)
051   Congo (Republic)
052   Cook Islands
053   Costa Rica
054   Cote d'Ivoire
055   Croatia
056   Cuba
057   Cyprus
058   Czech Republic

059   Denmark
060   Djibouti
061   Dominica
062   Dominican Republic
063   East Timor
064   Ecuador
065   Egypt
066   El Salvador
067   Equatorial Guinea
068   Eritrea
069   Estonia
070   Ethiopia

071   Falkland Islands
072   Faroe Islands
073   Fiji
074   Finland
075   France
076   French Polynesia

077   Gabon
078   Gambia, The
079   Georgia
080   Germany
081   Ghana
082   Gibraltar

083 Greece
084 Greenland
085 Grenada
086 Guam
087 Guatemala
088 Guernsey
089 Guinea
090 Guinea-Bissau
091 Guyana

092 Haiti
093 Honduras
094 Hong Kong
095 Hungary

096 Iceland
097 India
098 Indonesia
099 Iran
100 Iraq
101 Ireland
102 Isle of Man
103 Israel
104 Italy

105 Jamaica
106 Japan
107 Jersey
108 Jordan

109 Kazakhstan
110 Kenya
111 Kiribati
112 Korea, North
113 Korea, South
114 Kuwait
115 Kyrgyzstan

116 Laos
117 Latvia
118 Lebanon
119 Lesotho
120 Liberia
121 Libya
122 Liechtenstein
123 Lithuania

124 Luxembourg
125 Macao
126 Macedonia
127 Madagascar
128 Malawi
129 Malaysia
130 Maldives
131 Mali
132 Malta
133 Marshall Islands
134 Mauritania
135 Mauritius
136 Mayotte
137 Mexico
138 Micronesia
139 Moldova
140 Monaco
141 Mongolia
142 Montenegro
143 Montserrat
144 Morocco
145 Mozambique
146 Myanmar

147 Nagorno-Karabakh
148 Namibia
149 Nauru
150 Nepal
151 Netherlands
152 Netherlands Antilles
153 New Caledonia
154 New Zealand
155 Nicaragua
156 Niger
157 Nigeria
158 Niue
159 Norfolk Island
160 Northern Cyprus
161 Northern Mariana Islands
162 Norway

163 Oman

164 Pakistan
165 Palau

166 Palestine
167 Panama
168 Papua New Guinea
169 Paraguay
170 Peru
171 Philippines
172 Pitcairn Islands
173 Poland
174 Portugal
175 Puerto Rico

176 Qatar

177 Romania
178 Russia
179 Rwanda

180 Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
181 Saint Barthelemy
182 Saint Helena
183 Saint Kitts and Nevis
184 Saint Lucia
185 Saint Martin
186 Saint Pierre and Miquelon
187 Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
188 Samoa
189 San Marino
190 Sao Tome and Principe
191 Saudi Arabia
192 Senegal
193 Serbia
194 Seychelles
195 Sierra Leone
196 Singapore
197 Slovakia
198 Slovenia
199 Solomon Islands
200 Somalia
201 Somaliland
202 South Africa
203 South Ossetia
204 Spain
205 Sri Lanka
206 Sudan
207 Suriname

250   Europe
251   Asia
252   Africa
253   North America
254   South America
255   Central America
256   Middle East
257   North Africa
258   Antarctica
259   Pacific Ocean
260   Atlantic Ocean
261   Outer Space

Worldwide Organizations
300   U.N. (as organization
301   U.N. General Assembly
302   U.N. Security Council
303   U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
304   U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
305   U.N. Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)
306   U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
307   U.N. Environment Program
308   U.N. Development Program
309   U.N Forces in Lebanon
310   World Health Organization (WHO)
311   World trade Organization (WTO)
312   World Tourism Organization
313   World Food Program
314   World Conservation Union
315   World Customs Organization
316   World Bank
317   World Bank Group
318   World Intellectual Property Organization
319   World Meteorological Organization
320   International Monetary Fund
321   International Atomic Energy Agency
322   International Civil Aviation Organization
323   International Labour Organization
324   International Organization for Migration
325   International Telecommunication Union
326   International Court of Justice
327   International Criminal Court
328   International Fund for Agricultural Development
329   International Police Organization (INTERPOL)
330   Inter-Parliamentary Union

331 G8 Nations
332 G7 Nations
333 Universal Postal Union
334 Ecological organization (e.g., Greenpeace)
335 Anti-Globalization organization
336 Amnesty International
337 U.N. Relief Works Agency (UNRWA)
399 Other

Regional Organizations

400 North Atlantic
401 Kyoto Protocol
402 Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries
403 Organization of the Islamic Conference
404 Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
405 Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
406 Caribbean Community and Common Market
407 NGO for Human Rights
408 NGO for ecology
409 NGO for Anti-Globalization
410 NGO for Development adn Cooperation
499 Other

African Organizations

500 African Union
501 Economic Community of West African States
502 Arab Magreb Union
503 African Development Bank
504 African Developing States
505 Southern African Development Community (SADC)
506 NGO for Human Rights
507 NGO for Ecology
508 NGO for Anti-Globalization
509 NGO for Development and Cooperation
599 Other

American Organizations

600 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
601 Organization of American States
602 Inter American Development Bank
603 Pan American Health Organization
604 South American Common Market
605 NGO for Human Rights
606 NGO for Ecology
607 NGO for Anti-Globalization

608 NGO for Development and Cooperation
699 Other

European Organizations
700 European Union
701 Council of Europe
702 European Commission
703 European Parliament
704 European Central Bank
705 European Investment Bank
706 European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
707 Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
708 European Free Trade Association
709 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (EOSC)
710 European Court of Human Rights
711 NGO for Human Rights
712 NGO for Ecology
713 NGO for Anti-Globalization
714 NGO for Development and Cooperation
799 Other

Asian Organization
800 Association of South east Asian Nations (ASEAN)
801 Asian Development Bank
802 Asian Regional Forum
803 Arab League
804 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
805 Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)
806 South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
807 NGO for Human Rights
808 NGO for Ecology
809 NGO for Anti-Globalization
810 NGO for Development and Cooperation
899 Other

900 International terror organization (e.g., Al Qaeda)

Appendix 5: Actor Codes

Internal Politics

3001 Head of State (president, king)

3011 Head of Parliament

3021 Prime Minister

3031 Minister

3042 Parliamentary leader, political party leader

3043 Local political leader, member of political party

3051 Head of regional government (or equivalent in each country)

3052 Member of regional government (or equivalent in each country)

3061 Mayor of large city

3062 Mayor of small town and other responsible for municipal affairs

3071 Head of regulatory agency

3081 Head of commission of inquiry

3082 Member of commission of inquiry

3083 Official of commission of inquiry

3091 National candidate in election

3092 Regional candidate in election

3093 Local candidate in election

3094 Volunteer or activist in national organization

3099 Other

International Politics

3101 Foreign Head of State, senior minister or politician

3102 Foreign government spokesperson

3103 Citizen of foreign country but not as in 47xx

3121 Ambassador

3122 Other diplomat

3131 Military leader in international forces

3132 High level of army officials

3133 Other officials and soldiers

3141 Head of international organization

3142 High ranking official of international organization

3143 Volunteer or activist in international organization

3151 Leader in group of people professing violence to achieve goals (e.g. terror)

3152 Spokesperson of group professing violence to achieve goals (e.g. terror)

3153 Member of group professing violence to achieve goals (e.g. terror)

3161 Head of regional group of countries (e.g. European Union)

3162 Deputies or high ranking staff members of regional group of countries

3163 Other members or experts of regional group of countries

3171 Head of ad hoc international mission (e.g. peace keepers)

3172 Journalists/observers reporting on ad hoc international mission

3173 Rank and file member of ad hoc international mission (e.g. peace keeper)
3199 Other

Military and Defense
3201 Military leader, Chief of Staff (of single country)
3202 Officer
3203 Soldier (non-officer)
3299 Other

Internal Order
3301 Head of police, fire fighters or other security/emergency service
3302 Senior ranking persons in security/emergency organization
3303 Rank and file person in security/emergency organization
3311 Chief of highest court
3312 Other judges
3313 Officials of court/judicial system
3321 Chief prosecutor
3322 High level attorney in prosecution
3323 Clerks in prosecution
3331 Senior defense attorney
3332 Medium level attorney
3333 Clerk in law office
3341 Head or superintendent of jail
3342 Corrections officer
3343 Prisoner, suspect, defendant
3399 Other

Business, Commerce and Industry
3401 Head or high ranking officials of company
3402 Sales personnel, employee of large company
3403 Consumers
3411 Head or regulatory agency of business, commerce and industry
3412 Journalists/advocates of regulation in business, commerce and industry
3423 Investors
3431 Small business owner
3432 Employee of small business
3433 Tourist
3441 Central Bank or Federal Reserve president
3442 Central Bank or Federal Reserve council member
3443 Central Bank or Federal Reserve employee
3499 Other
Labour
3501 Leader of trade union

3502 High ranking official of trade union

3503 Rank and file member of trade union or worker

3599 Other

Transportation

3601 Head or ranking official of transportation company

3602 Expert in transportation

3603 Passenger, user of transportation

3612 Driver, pilot, crew member

3699 Other

Health, Welfare and Social Services

3701 Head of health or medical system (e.g. chief doctor or nurse; scientist)

3702 Health worker

3703 Patient

3711 Head of drug company

3712 Worker in drug company or drug sales

3713 Consumer of drugs

3721 Head of social service agency or NGO

3722 Worker in social service agency or NGO

3723 Consumer of social service agency or NGO

3799 Other

Population

3801 Expert on demography

3802 Leader of immigrant or foreign community

3812 Official responsible for dealing with immigrants or foreigners

3813 Immigrant

3823 Refugee

3899 Other

Education

3901 Head of university

3902 Dean or department head

3903 Rank and file faculty members

3911 School principal

3912 School teacher

3913 Student

3999 Other

Communication

4001 Head of media organization, publisher

4002 Editor, head of department
4011 Journalist, photographer
4099 Other

Environment

4101 Head of organization dealing with environment, animal protection, etc.
4102 Expert on environment
4103 Environmental activist
4199 Other

Science and Technology

4201 National or international leader in science and technology
4202 Scientist or technology expert
4203 Technician
4299 Other

Social Relations

4301 Head of social relations organization (ethnic, religious, gender, age, etc.)
4302 Expert in the area of social relations
4303 Person involved in some social relations matter
4399 Other

Sports

4401 Head of major team or sports federation
4402 Head of other sports organization or team
4403 Supporter
4411 Very famous athlete, coach or referee
4412 Moderately famous athlete
4413 Amateur athlete
4499 Other

Culture

4501 Head of cultural organization
4502 Leading (internationally acclaimed) artist or performer (film, theatre, music, art)
4503 Artist or performer (film, theatre, music, art)
4511 Spectator
4599 Other

Religion

4601 Top religious leader
4602 Religious official (priest, rabbi, moslem cleric)
4603 Worshipper, believer
4699 Other

<u>Royalty</u>
4701 King, queen
4702 Prince, princess, heir to throne
4703 Lower level member of royal family
4799 Other

<u>Celebrities</u>
4801 Celebrities of great notoriety
4802 Less famous celebrities
4899 Other

<u>Citizens</u>
4903 Clearly identified 'Man in the Street' opinion statement
4913 Person presented as 'victim' of some event (crime, act of terror)
4923 Person presented as 'survivor' of some event (fire, storm)
4933 Anonymous person
4943 Relative or close friend of victim
4953 Relative or close friend of protagonist
4963 Witness
4999 Other

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