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**METAPHOR, THE PRESS, AND THE CANADIAN SECURITY
INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (CSIS)**

NEIL TRACEY

Submitted to the Department of Criminology, University
of Ottawa, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.



Neil R. Tracey, Ottawa, Canada, 1990



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UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
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Metaphor, the Press and the Canadian Security
Intelligence Service (CSIS)

The problem examined in this thesis deals with the production of news by the press. The dissemination of press information in areas of concern to criminal justice plays an important role in the public conceptions of crime and the criminal justice system. The theoretical basis of the work, which integrates studies in phenomenology and metaphor, serves as a vehicle to arrive at a critical understanding of the press portrayal of the security legislation (CSIS Act). As such, the thesis involves a methodology which is largely interpretative.

The thesis studies press articles gathered from microfilms, government press clippings, and a computer search (Dialog, File 262) for the Vancouver Sun, Winnipeg Free Press, Toronto Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Le Droit, Montreal Gazette, Le Devoir. The theoretical framework for the press data analysis is provided by the examination of (1) metaphors used to describe the press in general, (2) metaphors used to describe the process of creating news, and (3) metaphors that address the phenomenon of communication. The study is qualitative in that it attempts to extract major themes and grasp the overall character of the press coverage, as opposed to providing detailed statistical information.

The major themes observed in the work are: (1) the process and contingencies of news production appeared to be "consensus-forming," (2) the press used stereotypical images in the presentation of news stories, (3) press reporting represented the interaction of the media, the political sphere, and powerful lobby groups, and for the most part excluded the public, (4) high-profile and powerful persons set the limits of press discourse, and (5) the press presented a simplified version of a complex issue by portraying the security legislation as a domestic problem unrelated to international relationships and strategies.

More specific sub-themes in the reporting of the CSIS indicate that: (1) the reporting was uniformly critical of the bill, (2) the issue of civil rights versus state security provided the boundaries of virtually all coverage, (3) the CSIS was consistently portrayed through totalitarian imagery.

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Introduction

Metaphor plays a significant role in culture and social action by linking diverse meanings and linking meaning to action. Metaphor is also essential in providing identity to individuals, groups, and organizations.

The purpose of this study is to explore the role metaphor plays in social control by looking at specific metaphors which: (1) frame the production of news, (2) are used in the dissemination of news. The task is to provide a deeper understanding of what is ordinarily taken for granted in society. In this instance, this means the dissemination of news by the press.

The focus of this study is the press coverage of the creation of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act (see Canadian Security Intelligence...), ranging from the introduction of the bill in the House of Commons in May 1983, to July 1984 (Royal Assent). The rationale for the introduction of the CSIS Act in the House of Commons was to provide a civilian security organization which would be more accountable in terms of the powers it could exercise. In a large measure, this was a reaction to the abuses of civil liberties by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) during the 1970's.

Unlike studies that have examined media coverage of more conventional and "spectacular" crime events, the coverage of the legislative process leading to the CSIS Act was routine and

uneventful in terms of its public impact; the issue did not seem to have the immediacy and impact of crimes such as murder, rape, and robbery.

The purpose of the case study is to expose the limits and contingencies in the creation of press communication surrounding the CSIS Act. This entails an examination of the discourses inherent in the production and dissemination of press media.

The first chapter of this thesis attempts to provide a theoretical basis for the importance of metaphor in the social world. This section uses a phenomenological perspective to examine metaphor as both an enabling and constraining phenomenon.

Chapter 2 looks at metaphorical expressions of the press. This is done in three parts - firstly, discussion of metaphors that describe the press as a whole, such as the reflection, refraction, and tool metaphors; secondly, a look at metaphor as it applies to the infra-structure of the press (agenda-setting, press as a net); and thirdly, a discussion of a metaphor (spiral) which describes human communication in general.

Chapter 3 presents a short history leading to the creation of the CSIS Act. This includes a sketch of major national security events and civil abuses by the RCMP prior to the introduction of the CSIS Act in the House of Commons (May, 1983).

Chapter 4 applies the notions of metaphor developed in chapter 2 to examine the press and its presentation of the Act.

CHAPTER 1

METAPHOR

Every science secretes an ontology; every ontology anticipates a body of knowledge... (Maurice Merleau-Ponty, 1987:98)

The aim of this chapter is not to devise a universal definition of metaphor, nor to provide a detailed history of the studies on metaphor. Rather, the aim will be to show the importance of metaphor in the social world.

According to Webster's Dictionary, the word metaphor is defined as " a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them." The etymology of the word metaphor is derived from the Greek words meta - meaning beyond, and pherin - meaning to bring or to bear. The word "metapherin" means to carry over or to transfer (Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, 1984:746).

In the positivist tradition, metaphor is largely seen as an ornamental part of language and meaning. The project of the positivist method is to expose metaphor by reducing it to literal speech. This involves a "substitution typology" whereby a literal expression is substituted for the figurative expression

(trope). The thrust of this typology is to eliminate the ambiguity of metaphor in order to achieve a rationality free from equivocation (Gill, 1981:5-22).

Max Black's (1963) work on metaphor goes beyond the substitution typology in asserting that metaphor is an integral part of discourse as opposed to an exceptional constituent of it. His interactionist position is comprised of a contextual approach that posits the context of words over any ideal or correct meaning. Hence, there is an interaction of words and context (Gill, 1981:25-32).

Ernst Cassirer (1953) also goes beyond the substitution typology of metaphor by discussing a deeper level of consciousness which comes before the existence of ideas and their verbal correlates. He notes:

Such transportation and substitution, which operate with a previously known vocabulary as their material, must be clearly distinguished from that genuine "radical metaphor" which is a condition of the very formulation of mythic as well as verbal conceptions (1953:87).

Paul Ricoeur's (1977) phenomenological work with metaphor leads to his theory of "semantic innovation" which views metaphor as pervasive in thinking and perceiving, as well as in language. Ricoeur sees metaphor as a creative discursive force that creates a "poetic" world which destroys the sense of the literal world.

Brown (1977) provides an excellent discussion of metaphor by looking at the idea of "cognitive aesthetics" in sociological understanding. He postulates an integrative approach which transcends scientific realism and romantic idealism by means of "symbolic realism." This attitude rejects the absolutisms of a naive positivism and romantic idealism by probing the duality of appearance and reality instead of dichotomizing the phenomena. It questions the strict opposition of a positivism, which assumes a natural standpoint from which "reality" is strictly distinguished from the "symbols" that represent it" (Brown, 1977:25), with a romantic idealism that posits art as representing higher truths. In essence, Brown argues that the dichotomy between reality and symbols (for example, truth versus beauty) is inadequate - "social theory must be both objective and subjectively meaningful; it must yield understanding of persons' consciousness and agency as well as social forces beyond their immediate control" (Brown, 1977:27).

Brown mentions that in using cognitive aesthetics as a framework of logic we can move beyond copy theories in art and science, that is, move beyond a simplistic version of how art and/or science imitate nature. This point touches on the Aristotelian concept of "mimesis" which Gadamer elucidates:

mimesis in the ancient sense and modern forms of mimetic representation are quite different from what we usually understand by imitation. All true imitation is a transformation that does not simply present again something that is already there. It is a kind of transformed reality because it brings before us

intensified possibilities never seen before. Every imitation is an exploration of intensification of extremes (1987:64).

Brown also maintains that all representations of human nature are symbolically mediated therefore none can claim ultimate truth. Commenting on Schutz's notion of multiple realities, he says:

The concept of multiple realities can be critically directed toward the "realities" of theories themselves. For if not single approach can claim ultimate validity, then all theories in a fundamental sense must be metaphoric (1977:32).

As with other taken-for-granted concepts such as freedom, fraternity, or state, metaphor does not easily fit into a precise framework of definition. To a large extent our conceptual systems involve thinking of one thing in terms of another and this process itself is metaphorical. Though a definition of metaphor may be circular, this does not preclude the possibility of looking at how metaphor is important to our social life.

For our purposes metaphor and simile will be treated roughly the same. As Ricoeur notes:

...the absence of some term of comparison in metaphor does not imply that metaphor is an abbreviated simile...Rather, simile is a metaphor developed further; the simile says "this is like that", whereas the metaphor says "this is that". Hence, to the extent that simile is a developed metaphor, all metaphor, not

just proportional metaphor, is implicit comparison or simile (Ricoeur, 1977:25).

As well, our discussion of metaphor implicitly includes tropes such as synecdoche; using a part for the whole, metonymy; using one word for another of which it is an attribute, and irony; a metaphor of opposites.

In the next section we will look at metaphor both as enabling and constraining. Just as social institutions are enabling and constraining (Giddens, 1976; Ericson et al., 1987), the conceptual or cognitive structures embedded in social life are equally enabling and constraining. People come into the world to a given language and set of rules of how to see the world. How people integrate experience within the pre-established rules or grammar of social living, and how they accommodate, modify, and transcend these rules, is linked to the concept of metaphor as enabling and constraining.

(i) Metaphor as Enabling

The social world is constituted in an immensely complicated network of relations, and modes of knowledge. Human beings strive for coherence by means of consciousness which can be described as an unbroken flow of lived experiences (without specific boundaries or shapes) that permeate each other. Once a

lived experience has receded into the past we may bring to bear upon it an act of reflection, recognition, identification, differentiation, and through these acts directed toward experience, experience acquires meaning.

The meaning of our experience is situated in typifications which are the basis to our striving for coherence. Typifications compose what Schutz (1967) has referred to as our "stock of knowledge." This stock of knowledge serves as a pool for integrating our past experience and in setting up a framework of possible or alternative actions as we work toward our goals. The integration of our stock of knowledge results in the formation of "systems of relevance" which are the foundation for integrating longterm plans and goals into a meta-structure called a "life plan."

In terms of social action, one's typifications in the stock of knowledge serve as the base of all social action. Furthermore, social action is dependent upon the casting of plans (projects) for the future. Alfred Schutz (1967) describes the casting of plans as having the temporal components of futurity and history, that is, we picture a goal or completed action as over and done with while it is still anticipated. Schutz coins this as seeing the goal of an action in the "future perfect tense" (for example, "I will have completed my studies"). This temporal structure demonstrates the importance of our stock of knowledge in the ongoing dialectic of typification. Moreover,

it shows that understanding is an essentially temporal act that is never completely totalized.

Our common language, and particularly metaphor, is where all typifications are embedded. It is in the "thisness of that" and the "thatness of this" (Ricoeur quoted in Klemm, 1983) where we make possible the formation and transformation of typifications and systems of relevance. Metaphor facilitates the fluctuation between different subuniverses or "provinces of meaning" by demonstrating the relatedness of themes and their contexts within the social world. Furthermore, metaphor reduces the transitional shock between different provinces of meaning and positions that social actors take. Probably more important is the back and forth movement of actors in discourse - the emerging process of typification and re-typification which seeks coherence. Paul Ricoeur notes:

Can one not say that the strategy of language in metaphor consists in obliterating the logical established frontiers of language in order to bring to light new resemblances the previous classification kept us from seeing? In other words, the power of metaphor would be to break an old categorization in order to establish new logical frontiers on the ruins of their forerunners (1977:197).

Alfred Schutz (1967) described the congruency of systems of relevance in terms of social actors possessing systems of relevance having enough in common with those of others to permit communication and interaction in everyday life: we can get along until further evidence makes a shift in relevance schemes

necessary for communication. The congruency of systems of relevance is situated in what may be called the dialogical relationship which is ideally typified as simultaneity or genuine intersubjectivity. The dialogical relationship is further typified by a synchronicity or symmetry of the partners' streams of consciousness. In terms of an ideal type, we can refer to this dialogical relationship as communicative symmetry.

Habermas (1979) has typified the concept of symmetry as the attainment of unrestrained consensus, reached through the rational examination of arguments; the full and mutual understanding of the other; and the mutual recognition of the authentic right of the other to take the role he does in the dialogue as a full and equal partner.

The mutual understanding in a dialogical relationship is not a primarily subjective reduction of the other's intention. Rather, in accordance with Gadamer:

The dialogical character of interpretation is subverted when the interpreter concentrates on the other person as such rather than on the subject matter - when he looks at the other person, as it were, rather than with him at what the other attempts to communicate. Thus the hermeneutical conversation begins when the interpreter genuinely opens himself to the text by listening to it and allowing it to assert its viewpoint (1976:XX).

Through the openness to others we become aware of the systems of relevance and the shifts necessary to maintain

communication. In being open to discourse we highlight our presuppositions and make them available to consciousness. Through the modification of typifications, which is conceptually based in metaphor, we produce different systems of relevance. A failure to communicate may prompt us to make the others' systems of relevance intelligible through dialogical relationships. Thus, we see that understanding is a creative intersubjective process that involves the ongoing transcendence of systems of relevance.

It is important not to impute a vulgar sense of consensus to the concept of congruency of systems of relevance. To understand the meaning of others does not necessarily mean we agree with them, nor does it preclude the recognition that we are each historically unique individuals with unique biographies. As already mentioned, concepts such as simultaneity, genuine intersubjectivity, and symmetry, are ideal limits (in a Husserlian sense) that are probably unattainable.

Language, and particularly metaphor, mediates the dialogical relationship of social actors by means of a dialectic of typifications. Through metaphor we are able to transcend typifications and transform systems of relevance via illustration and analogy. Language (and specifically metaphor) is not simply an external system of signs. It is an inseparable part of social being and not simply an optional function used at will (Gadamer, 1976). Language is essential to being in the social world, and metaphor is integral to the ongoing development of language.

(ii) Metaphor as Constraining

To only see metaphor as enabling is to only see part of the embeddedness of metaphor in the social world. When reflecting upon metaphor we must understand that the relational component of "is like" implies the differential aspect of "is not" (Ricoeur, 1977). In other words, if we choose to view the social world as theatre it is crucial to be aware of the opposing proposition, that is, the social world not as theatre. In so doing we appreciate not only the transcendent nature of metaphor, but also the inherent dialectical process therein. The analogical relationship of social world and theatre facilitates understanding by providing a bridge between different provinces of meanings or multiple realities, but it is through the differentiation or the "is not" that this relationship achieves its multiplicity and openness.

If we neglect the process of differentiation, the metaphor of the social world as theatre becomes a referentially closed system void of resonance: theatre literally becomes social world and vice-versa. Without differentiation, the distance between self and world is hidden from consciousness - self is seen as world: subject becomes object. It is this collapse of subject onto object that is metaphor as constraining.

The "is like" and "is not" components also point to the holistic nature of metaphor which encompasses an analogical part (is like) and a digital part (is/is not). The relationship

between the digital and analogical aspects of metaphor entails the melding of the "is like" (analogy) with the digital rubric of yes/no, is/is not (compare with Crelinsten, 1985: 550-551).

Metaphor, therefore, is a process by which we transcend a digital relationship by creating a tension between the function of comparing and contrasting. Through this function of comparing and contrasting we appreciate the multiplicity of metaphor as well as the possibility of effectively communicating with others.

Metaphorical constraint is manifested in the major sociological questions of individual and society, subjectivity and objectivity: the issue of identity in the social world. This is particularly clear when we consider deviance within the framework of the labelling perspective. What is at issue here is an institutional formation and transformation of identity by which persons are assigned a "master status." The master status then becomes pervasive in the social world. This involves a two-step process, the first being an initial assignment of a deviant status for actions or attributes that are deemed improper, the second being the incorporation of this status by the person as a prevailing identity. Hence, sanctioned persons see themselves and are seen in terms of a socially omnipotent and all-encompassing typification (metaphor) -- for example, the subject as criminal -- which is strengthened by a subset of secondary typifications such as lazy, uneducated, violent, lower class, etc.

Master status reduces subjectivity to an objectification which actively works against the project of coherence in society. It promotes isolation and marginality through the encouragement of limited affiliation (see Matza, 1969: 101-109). In the extreme, the subject becomes an object by means of static typification which is not open to the ongoing process of metaphor.

The above-mentioned static typification is not as simple as it may appear. Within the realm of subject as object there is a metaphorical reduction which operates within the everyday world. Let us consider the statements "John is a criminal" and "crime is a disease." The former collapses subject onto object by means of master status, while the latter is an associative, second-order objectification which implies that anyone who commits a crime, including "John," is sick. This metaphorical system legitimates the treatment approach of offenders where persons are "cured" of their disease called crime. The "patient" is no longer an agent in the social world but rather a passive object upon which a cure is performed.

When "John" is gradually removed from the realm of intersubjectivity, his identity becomes subject to increasing objective typification ("more-and-more anonymous in the social world"). With this objective typification, John is no longer seen as sick. Rather, he becomes one with the disease and must be excised from society.

The concept of anonymity or increasing objective typification is discussed by Alfred Schutz (1967). He categorizes different horizons of experience into four components: consociates (Umwelt) - persons directly perceived, often in a dialogical relationship ("We" relationship), contemporaries (Miltwelt) - those who live with us in objective time and who can possibly become consociates, predecessors (Wortwelt), and successors (Folgewelt) - those who lived before us and those who will live after us. Schutz notes that when we are not consociates, our knowledge of each other becomes indirect due to the distance in our relationship ("They" relationship). As this distance increases our interpretation relies more-and-more on ideal types of object typification. Alfred Schutz describes the "They" - relationship as such:

In They - relationships I use sign systems as both expressive and interpretive schemes. Here again the degree of anonymity is of major importance. The more anonymous my partner is the more "objectively" must I use signs. I cannot assume for instance that my partner in a They - relationship will necessarily grasp the particular significance I am attaching to my words, or the broader context of what I am saying, unless I explicitly clue him in. As a result, I do not know during the process of choosing my words, whether I am being understood or not (1967: 204).

This curious phenomenon of objective typification is often demystified when we engage "criminals" in a intersubjective relationship. We utter seemingly banal though socially crucial statements such as "'s/he's not such a bad person" or "We have

much in common" or "s/he's extremely well read". When we consider the example of suddenly discovering that a close friend has a criminal record, we see not only the soul-searching and re-evaluation of typification that may occur, but also the tension which exists between objective and subjective typification.

Stanley Cohen (1972) describes a similar phenomenon in his discussion of symbolization - where a word becomes symbolic of a certain status, objects come to symbolize the word, and finally objects themselves become symbolic of the status. What Cohen is pointing to is the systematicity of metaphor where imputed deviation can lead to further labelling and mythmaking, developing into a "full-scale demonology" of not only subjects but also of objects associated with the subjects. For instance, the word "rocker," for some people in contemporary Britain, has been symbolic of delinquent youth. Rock music, leather jackets, jeans, and other pieces of clothing have come to symbolize rockers. Through the process of symbolization these objects become, in some settings, symbolic of deviance and delinquency.

Disease metaphor has played a large role in social history. When the bubonic plague ravaged the major cities of Europe, it was rat-infested slums that served as the breeding ground of the disease, and as such, became synonymous with the plague (see Foucault, 1977). Moreover, because the "black plague" was a mysterious disease that incited massive dread, it was seen as morally as well as physically contagious. The word plague itself

acquired a magical power synonymous with evil and death. This magical power was not only projected into the disease but also into the world, that is to say, into the slum and persons living in the slum (see Sontag, 1978).

Frazer (1951) describes the above-mentioned phenomenon of contagion within the context of magic. As Frazer rightly points out, this primitive form of thinking encompasses the fallacy of assuming that things which have been in contact with each other are always in contact.

Ignatieff (1981) develops a similar argument in his historical analysis of the late eighteenth century hygienic reform of institutions by the medical profession. In essence, the sicknesses of the poor were interpreted as the outward sign of inward want of discipline, morality, and honour.

With the greater understanding of disease, the improvements in sanitation and deployment of utilities, the slum has become a relatively less disease-ridden place, but even to this day there is an almost primitive fear of poor areas within cities. Such neighbourhoods are often seen as seething hotbeds of crime and places of moral putrefaction. This, of course, is not to deny that there is tension and a measure of violence in socio-economically deprived areas. Rather, it points to how communities which have families, churches, schools, and so forth, can come to be seen as objects of derision.

Epstein (1988) has recently examined how Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has developed the status of plague

with respect to the moral significance of displacing social anxieties onto a scapegoat (homosexuals). As well, he demonstrates how diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea have been used to incarcerate "prostitutes" (up to nine months at a time) through legislation such as the Contagious Diseases Acts enacted in Britain during the 1860's. The rationalization of such action was based on eliminating the epidemic of venereal disease though "[n]o attempt was made to investigate the medical state of the men who solicited the services of the prostitutes, much less to quarantine them" (Epstein, 1988:8).

Cancer is one of the most powerful disease metaphors of our age. Like the plague of old, cancer is still a somewhat mysterious disease that incites dread. The projection of cancer onto the world is evident in the realm of political discourse, particularly in law-and-order campaigns which describe crime as a cancer which must be eradicated. This metaphor of crime as cancer not only mystifies the nature of crime but also projects a feeling of fatality and a necessity for force. Susan Sontag has written:

To describe a phenomenon as a cancer is an incitement to violence. The use of cancer in political discourse encourages fatalism and justifies "severe" measures - as well as strongly reinforcing the widespread notion that the disease is necessarily fatal. The concept of disease is never innocent...The cancer metaphor is particularly crass. It is invariably an encouragement to simplify what is complex and an invitation to self-righteousness, if not to fanaticism (1978: 84-85).

The use of military metaphors, in conjunction with the topographical reference of cancer (the "spread" or "proliferation"), serves to instill a dread in the population, as well as to legitimate drastic action as is deemed necessary by political leaders. It is not that crime, at whatever level, is a trifle - as victims of robbery, sexual abuse, corporate crime, surely attest. Rather, it is the framing of this social concern within the context of disease and military metaphors that limits discourse and understanding. In harmony with Howard Becker's (1963) notion of "moral entrepreneurs," Susan Sontag describes the cancer metaphor as:

a good metaphor for paranoids, for those who need to turn campaigns into crusades, for the fatalistic (cancer=death), and for those under the spell of a historical revolutionary optimism (the idea that only the most radical changes are desirable) (1978:96).

As with disease and military metaphors, we should be conscious of the powerful constraining influence of spatial metaphors. Again, in this regard, the labelling perspective provides us with a telling example: the possible spatio-temporal fixation in the use of terms such as "insiders", "outsiders," or the statement "whose side are you on?" It is not that these metaphors are useless in an ongoing process of typification, or in understanding the structural exclusion of certain members of society. Rather, it is at the level of dialogue or negotiation

that these expressions can reduce being in the social world to simple dichotomies. As Gaston Bachelard remarks:

In any case, inside and outside, as experienced by the imagination, can no longer be taken in their simple reciprocity; consequently, by omitting geometrical references when we speak of the first expressions of being, by choosing more concrete, more phenomenologically exact inceptions, we shall come to realize that the dialectics of inside and outside multiply with countless diversified nuances (1969:216).

Advocates of the labelling perspective, in trying to expose the constraining nature of master status, must be wary of simply replacing one master status with another.

The concept of inside-outside extends beyond the boundaries of the labelling theory not only into philosophical questions of subject and object but also into major theoretical distinctions in the field of criminology where one can get caught up in the rather simplistic division between theories which purport that crime arises through external pressures and those which maintain that crime is manifested from within individuals. The former could be described as a sociological perspective where, in extreme forms, the individual loses his or her agency and is merely an automaton manipulated by structural mechanisms. The latter may be loosely termed a psychological view where agents act according to internal pressures regardless of social constraints. Of course, theorists (for example, G.H. Mead; A. Schutz) have dealt specifically with the relationship of inside

and outside when looking at action, yet we are still hampered by this categorical distinction in which one almost feels compelled to take sides.

Although contributions to knowledge can be made by looking at different aspects of different worlds (for instance, the scientific world or Husserl's notion of the Lebenswelt), it is crucial that one maintain a "distance" from the particular phenomenon in question. As Brown notes:

But distance here means psychical rather than physical distance. It refers to di-stance, a two-dimensioned mode of perception, an ontological standing apart from conventional categories, and an ontological standing near to the phenomena as given. Everything is at once infinitely close and infinitely remote (1978:52).

Spatial metaphors are not unique to sociological theories; they are quite common in political discourse. The up-down rubric has historically typified the relationship between king and serf. This relationship was legitimized, to a large extent, by cross-referencing the up-down system of political structure with that of religious thought: the king representing divinity and the serf portraying sinful mortality. Of course, the up-down metaphor is often extended to encompass the moral question of good and evil.

The powerful anchoring of these metaphors, or any spatial metaphor, is due to the fact that we live in a physical world and

perceive this physical world through our bodies. This sensual perception is, in many ways, a grounding for our being. Religious texts and discourse often rely heavily on sensual perception to describe spirituality and the essence of humanity. Moreover, what this sensual perception highlights is the distinction between the literal and figurative. Wolfgang Riehle notes that the anonymous author of the medieval text The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling made this very point:

he gives a strong warning against taking literally the spatial dimension as expressed in the prepositions "Up or Doun, In or Oute, Behinde or Before...", where these are used in a mystical context (1981:9).

Friedrich Nietzsche's (1956) work on metaphor also discusses the relationship between the literal and figurative, particularly how persons become persons by moving from literal to figurative dimensions. Just as importantly, Nietzsche points out the opposite movement (figurative to literal) in cultural history. He extends this movement to include the material and spiritual levels and a further extension can be made in terms of the movement of subject to object. In simple diagram form this can be seen as follows:

SPIRITUAL -----> MATERIAL
 FIGURATIVE -----> LITERAL
 SUBJECT -----> OBJECT

In the realm of social thought we can see the literal - figurative continuum in terms of the positivist - symbolicist debate; positivism being based largely on the literal and material, the symbolicist or interpretive attitude focussing more on the figurative or spiritual. As well, if we consider the conflict - consensus dichotomy which frames much of social discourse, we can see the relationship between this opposition and our earlier discussion of metaphor: consensus is part of the "is like" of metaphor, and conflict is part of the "is not." Writers have argued from both sides of the continuum, positing that society is more conflictual than consensual, or vice-versa, and though such arguments undoubtedly shed light on the crucial questions of power and legitimation in society, the point is simply that it would be phenomenologically incorrect to view society as a Cartesian plane bounded by conflict and consensus. Conflict and consensus are not opposing "ideal limits"; that is, two separate entities which frame society. Rather, conflict and consensus are two parts of the same process: they are constitutive parts of being-in-the-social world (see Simmel's metaphor of the "unstable equilibrium," 1956).

The same caution should be applied to the figurative-literal discussion. For heuristic purposes a diagram was presented to show the movement of spiritual to material, but this movement is probably best typified as an attitude which becomes instituted through time, whereas the spiritual and material dimensions themselves constitute being at any one time.

Though there is always a flux between the figurative and literal, this movement - subject to object - is important to our discussion of metaphor as constraining. With this movement metaphor loses its transcendent quality and becomes a rigid single voice which precludes the ongoing dialectic of typification. An example of this in the social world would include religious cults which interpret and re-interpret religious writings in a strictly (and often quite absurd) literal and material sense. On a larger scale, doctrinaire political systems provide evidence of the nefarious effects of the shift from spiritual to material dimensions.

The movement of subject to object is similar to what has been previously described as the collapse of subject onto object. This phenomenon, which is also known as objectivism, misses that understanding is necessarily relative to our cultural conceptual systems and cannot be framed in an absolute or neutral conceptual system. As well, objectivism neglects that human conceptual systems are metaphorical in nature and involve an imaginative understanding of one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff et al., 1981). Merleau-Ponty also discusses the inconsistency of a strict objectivist position:

Objectivism forgets another evident fact. We can expand our experience of social relationships and get a proper view of them only by analogy or contrast with those we have lived. We can do so, in short, only by subjecting the social relationships we have experienced to an imaginary variation (1964:100).

One of the consequences of objectivism is the phenomenon of reification. Berger and Luckman explain:

Reification is the apprehension of the products of human activity as if they were something else than human products - such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will. Reification implies that man is capable of forgetting his own authorship of the human world, and further, that the dialectic between man, the producer, and his products is lost to consciousness (1967:89).

Reification typifies the movement from subject to object: when humans lose authorship of the human world, they lose their subject relationship to it and become objects of it. A prime example of this is the concept of humans as machines. This notion prevailed in the eighteenth century materialist model of crime that denied individual responsibility. The machine was not only seen as a model to economic enlightenment, but also as a model for human improvement: in effect, a collapse of the spiritual onto the material. Ignatieff remarks:

the factory masters, doctors, and hospital reformers who took their politics from Burgh and Priestly also spoke of the human species as machines to be tinkered with and improved. Josiah Wedgewood boasted that he would "make machines of men as cannot err." Bentham crowed that his panopticon was a "machine for grinding rogues honest" (1981:45-46).

The dominance of the material is manifested in our times as the secularization of society. The spiritual needs of humans are

often disregarded and/or transformed into a material context. This, of course, perpetuates a moral dilemma in society which becomes increasingly accentuated with the ever larger material attempts to deal with it.

The exaggerated materialism of our time has led to an intense focus on consumerism. This has manifested itself in what Huizinga (1950:205) has called puerilism: "the search for gross sensations that are never satiated." One could refer to western society as adolescent because it emphasizes trivial recreation and crude sensationalism.

When we compare this gross consumerism, or materialism, with its counterpart of asceticism we can see the polarities in the spiritual-material continuum. With the collapse of the spiritual onto the material we lose the ascetic quality of social life. Gehlen discusses the above as:

...the astonishing absence, in our time, of any ascetic ideals. This must seem strange to the historically informed, since in all previous times marked by a sharp advance in the demand for luxuries, ascetic ideals always existed as a counterweight to that advance, and were never basically challenged. The individual who renounced the goods of this earth always enjoyed a moral authority, whereas today he would be thought mentally defective (1981:105).

It would be somewhat incomplete to discuss the collapse of object onto subject (objectivism) without mentioning the collapse of subject onto object (subjectivism). Subjectivism neglects that our understanding is given in terms of a conceptual system

that is grounded in our successful functioning in our physical and cultural environments (Lakoff et al., 1981).

Although the movement of material to spiritual (object to subject) is crucial to the cultural development of humanity, the collapse of material onto spiritual produces an extreme form of subjectivism in which there is a continual process of personification. This culminates in seeing the world as self which can be described as narcissism. This narcissism is directed toward what is perceived as the inflexibility of social institutions -- objectivity becomes synonymous with dehumanization; technology becomes an insidious monster that transforms persons into automatons.

In modern societies there is constant innovation and a corresponding sense of unreliability and changeability of social order. This engenders the reduction of objectivity of the social order and consequently accentuates subjectivity by stressing the tentative nature of social institutions. The biological imperative of stability and order in human beings is confronted with the instability of modern institutions and the social environment (Gehlen, 1981).

The irony of extreme subjectivism is that the project of the good, the true, and the beautiful, is sabotaged by an attitude which perpetuates social instability and alienation (an excessive focus on the inner world of individuals - "the me generation"). The rejection of technology, that is, the embedded human quality of technique to adapt and intelligently transform natural

conditions, is equally ironic because it is essentially a rejection of self, as well as others. This not only typifies the collapse of object onto subject but also points to a rejection of the objective imperatives in the social world. In terms of metaphor, the above can be seen as a figurative block within the literal - figurative continuum.

Another issue in the context of metaphor as constraining is that of power, particularly within dialogical relationships. Giddens comments:

The reflexive elaboration of frames of meaning is characteristically imbalanced in relation to the possession of power, whether this be a result of the superior linguistic or dialectical skills of one person in conversation with another; the possession of relevant types of "technical knowledge"; the mobilization of authority or "force," etc. (1976:113).

The issue of power is intimately connected to Habermas' (1979) critical project of freeing humans from domination. The question of domination is also discussed by Nietzsche (1956) in his essential concept of "will to power" (persons in continuous struggle to increase their power and widen their sphere of influence), as well as in his thoughts on metaphor. As Cantor explains:

One basis for Nietzsche's undermining of any simplistic division of literal from figurative is his conviction that each metaphoric realm is constantly trying to absorb all others, to establish itself as the bedrock

of explanation and hence of literal meaning, while subordinating all other meanings as figurative (1982:76).

Nietzsche calls the metaphoric realm that establishes itself as "bedrock", the master metaphor. Hence, the master metaphor determines what one will regard as literal or figurative. In the case of the human body as a machine, the body is literally a machine and the intentions or purposes for which its organs are designed are figurative - the master metaphor being mechanism (Cantor, 1982).

Brown (1977:78) adapts Nietzsche's notion of master metaphor in what he refers to as a root metaphor: "a fundamental image of the world from which models and illustrative metaphors may be derived." In the frame of sociology, Brown postulates five root metaphors: 1) society as organism; 2) society as machine; 3) social conduct as language; 4) social conduct as drama; 5) social conduct as game.

Master metaphor is paradigmatic, and the element of power is revealed by Kuhn (1962) in his discussion of the reticence of some scientists to abandon or modify their theories when empirical data overwhelmingly suggest that such a change or shift is necessary. In essence, Kuhn is referring to a cognitively closed frame of thinking and experiencing which is embedded in static typification.

The similarities between the notion of master status in the labelling perspective and Nietzsche's concept of master metaphor

are obvious, but an important distinction exists. Unlike the labelling theorists, Nietzsche assumes choice when referring to master metaphor. For Nietzsche, master metaphor and the will to power are part of his ideal - human creativity - whereas in the labelling perspective (though there is an ideal of human creativity) master status is seen as an imposition or a domination which is often not open to negotiation.

If we are in the realm of metaphor as enabling, pejorative labels can be transcended or minimized. If we are in the field of metaphor as constraining such labels become entrenched and reinforced by means of secondary typification. Of course, the social world is not so simple. There is a flux of metaphor as enabling and constraining that permeates the many provinces of meaning. The multiplicity of static and dialectic typifications that take place in myriad of face-to-face interactions (and their extensions) shows us the complexity of communication.

CHAPTER 2

METAPHOR AND THE PRESS

In this section we will look at different descriptions of the press, particularly the metaphorical expression employed by some media theorists in their attempts to understand the phenomenon of communication. The use of analogy is not exclusive to media study. When we look at scientific discourse we see a large dependence on analogy (metaphorical conceptualization) in the ongoing process of comprehending the physical world. The development of models of understanding is often grounded in the analogical relationship of things. For example, we can think of consciousness as a stream or we can describe light as a wave. In the former, we are not so much comparing one thing with another as we are comparing a thing with what could loosely be called a meta-thing (consciousness). Nonetheless, the metaphorical process and relationship holds. In the latter, we are directly involved in the analogical relationship of things. In both examples there is clear evidence of the metaphorical process at work within consciousness.

By developing metaphorical constructs we not only enlarge our understanding of the world, but also work towards a coherent view of the world. This should not be misconstrued as a utopian vision where only truth, beauty, and goodness exist. The projects of coherence and understanding intimately involve

incoherence and mis-understanding, as well as ambiguity. It is the openness of metaphorical constructs which accommodates the creative work of subjects in giving meaning to their world. The authenticity of metaphor lies in its ongoing process of development and change.

(i) Metaphors of the Press

(a) Reflection Metaphor of the Press

A metaphor that is common in describing the press is that of reflection: the press is a mirror which objectively re-presents the concerns and dynamics of society. The reflection thesis is similar to the market model (in that one posits a linear correlation between the audience and the press, and the other a linear correlation between supply and demand) which can be seen to have its expression in the metaphor of homo-oeconomicus (economic man). The metaphor of the economic man arose during the nineteenth century in which humans were often typified as mechanisms of supply and demand. Human existence was seen as a market structure entailing the rational notion of the balance of supply and demand. This theoretical construct of early capitalism was in effect transferred from the economic realm to the social realm and became a major paradigm of social existence. Remnants of this construct are evident today in the taken-for-

granted notion that the press (or any organization) simply give the people what the people want.

The master metaphor of homo-oeconomicus is constraining in that it collapses the spiritual onto the material. Just as our previous example of humans as machines has demonstrated, the metaphor of homo-oeconomicus defines subject as object. Similarly, if we consider the reflection metaphor, we can see a strengthening of the collapse of subject onto object in the denial of the subjectivity inherent in the "mirroring process."

The reflection metaphor has serious consequences for our understanding of the press. In viewing the press as a mirror or reflector we put the press outside of the social world (Tuchman, 1978). In effect, we deny contingencies and work that make the press part of the social world. The consequences of this are an unquestioning and uncritical attitude towards the production of news, giving the press unquestioned legitimation. If newspaper organizations simply reflect society they cannot be held responsible or accountable for their existence.

(b) Refraction Metaphor of the Press

Another metaphor that could be used to describe the press is that of refraction. The refraction metaphor is more sophisticated than the reflection metaphor because it rejects a straight correlation between audience and medium (compare with McQuail, 1984). Indeed, the refraction model implies a

modification of the message via the medium. Through analogy we can clarify the refraction concept: When light enters one side of a prism it is refracted in the prism and exits, reduced to its constitutive spectrum. Following this, audience input reaches the newspaper organization, the newspaper organization refracts this input and reproduces this input into its constitutive parts (international news, national news, local news, sports, etc.) (see Tuchman, 1978).

The refractive model tends to see the news as a rearranged representation (as opposed to mimetic) of audience input. Although the model does make some allowance for negotiation and interaction in the news process, it fails to recognize news organizations as creators of news in and of themselves. The refractive model also neglects the institutional links and processes involving other interested societal organizations (see Chibnall, 1979).

(c) Tool Metaphor of the Press

The metaphor of the tool can also be used to describe the press, particularly in the context of what is known as a "manipulative model." In essence the press is seen as an implement of the power-elite in controlling and subordinating the masses. The manipulative model arose from Nazi propaganda studies (see Horkheimer, 1972), and in its best form, pointed to impressionistic methods of holistically understanding the press.

Rather than merely viewing the press as a functional subset of society, informed versions of the manipulative model attempt to understand the press hermeneutically, that is, by means of interpretation. This entails looking at the press as a phenomenon in and of itself (including how news workers see themselves), as well as the inter-relationships with other institutions. In its crass form, on the other hand, the manipulative model can be reduced to a simple conspiracy theory which maintains the press is an object (instrument) used by the elite of society to maintain their power. Although the conspiratorial aspects of the manipulative model may be particularly applicable to totalitarian regimes such as the Nazi and Stalinist systems, the unreflective application of the model to present-day society denies the complexity of interaction and negotiation at the intra- and inter-institutional levels. Of course, this does not discount the importance of power held by specific groups to maintain and propagate interests through social control.

The conspiracy theory is flawed because it objectifies the press and audience, thereby failing to recognize the intersubjective negotiation that takes place.

What is crucial to the discussion of the tool metaphor is the question of "whose tool?" Cater (1959) would argue that the press is "the fourth estate" in that it mediates between levels of government and the public at large. The metaphor of the press as "watchdog" purports that the media act as guardians of the public's rights. These subsidiary metaphors (fourth estate,

watchdog) of the tool metaphor are incomplete because they demonstrate how the press is an enabling structure but fail to adequately deal with the press as a constraining phenomenon. Equally simplistic are the models that propound the argument of the press as an exclusive tool by which the masses are duped. The phenomenon of the press has elements of both sides of the tool metaphor though not necessarily in a homeostatic relationship. Undoubtedly, as the element of power operates in intersubjective relationships, it skews the phenomenon of the press (in terms of the tool metaphor) towards the members of society who possess greater power. The press is an institution of interests interacting and negotiating with other institutions of interests. The scope of this negotiation depends on the ways the press is financed and the nature of the political system within which it operates.

(ii) Infra-structure of the Press

(a) Agenda-setting

Eyal (1980) has differentiated between obtrusive issues; those with which people have contact, and unobtrusive issues; those remote concerns of public opinion for which the media are the primary and often only sources of information. Obtrusive issues are first-order experiences in that they are perceived directly, that is, by subjective typification. Unobtrusive

issues are perceived through the media (more anonymous), hence by objective typification. Similarly, Alfred Schutz (1967) describes the typification of persons in terms of the "characterological personal type" which is derived from first-hand direct experience of human beings, and the "course-of-action typification" which is a more anonymous typifying scheme that refers to contemporaries only in relation to their typical functions.

Obtrusive issues can be reinforced or modified by the media in the expansion or reconsideration of one's systems of relevance. For example, someone who is working part-time at a minimal wage may feel despair at the lack of job opportunities. This despair may be typified in terms of feeling cheated and alienated which could become embedded in that persons's systems of relevance. However, if this person reads in the newspaper that ten percent of the Canadian population is totally unemployed, and that five hundred workers have recently lost their jobs in British Columbia, s/he may modify the typifications within his/her system of relevance in such a way that s/he may feel even more angry in discovering his/her situation is not unique - that it is probably indicative of a larger social problem. Of course, the person could also feel less angry at the situation realizing the s/he at least had part-time work.

C. W. Mills (1959) describes this phenomenon as the movement from private troubles to public issues. It is often through the

media that private troubles come to be seen as public issues. This movement from private troubles to public issues is quite complicated in that the interest of powerful lobby groups and political organizations often determine what becomes a public issue. Becker's (1963) notions of the "hierarchy of credibility" (persons in powerful positions who offer opinions have their definitions of situations accepted) and "moral entrepreneurs" (persons who create, manipulate, and exploit issues) play a primary role in the dynamics of private troubles and public issues, as well as in news agenda-setting (Hall et al., 1978).

The imperative of news work to establish categories (Cohen, 1972; Chibnall, 1977; Tuchman, 1978;) is also a crucial element in the construction of public issues and news agendas. Categories such as "unrest" can include such diverse events as labour strikes, crime, student demonstrations, and drug abuse (Chibnall, 1977). Social phenomena are often interpreted via the pre-established categories of news media. As well, public issues and news agendas can be seen to be formed through an "ideological inversion" (Young, 1981), that is, problems in society are attributed to phenomena such as strikes and crime instead of being seen as products of a society which is inherently imperfect. This inversion minimizes macro-social analysis and perpetuates vague news categories such as "unrest."

The agenda-setting metaphor of the press is based on the correlation between what is perceived as the public agenda

(this is constructed by means of polls and surveys, as well as by public reaction to news media) and the press agenda. The main assumption of this model is that cultural change is directly related to social structural change, and that we can study social change through media content (McQuail, 1984). Although this correlational analysis may be useful in examining broad historical changes in culture, it does not deal with the process of how public and press agenda are formulated and developed. In other words, the agenda-setting metaphor presupposes agendas.

(b) THE PRESS AS A NET

The metaphor of the net is not only useful in our understanding of the production of news, but also in our comprehension of news as an institutional practice. Tuchman has explored the press by means of the "news net" metaphor:

...news is enmeshed in the social organization of newswork. It is embedded in conflicting modes of territorial, institutional, and topical chains of responsibility (agenda-setting) requiring ongoing negotiation; in temporally grounded typifications rooted in the rhythm of work; and in the mutual constitution of fact and source accomplished by both the anchoring of the news net in legitimated institutions and negotiations among competitor colleagues (1978:191).

A major constituent of the news net is the structured work of news persons. In her participant-observation study, Tuchman

(1978) has delineated the structure of newswork by focusing on the organizational routinization of tasks by a news organization. The two preconceptions of Tuchman's study are 1) the impediment of the routinization of work by the variability in raw material, 2) the categorization of objects of work in order to control it. From this basis Tuchman describes the different typifications that newsmen use in their work: hard news - events which are deemed important and of interest to members of society and soft news - stories of a human interest. She describes three subtypes of hard news: spot news - news involving conflict with the law, nature, technology; developing news - different from spot news in that the story is still emerging; continuing news - a series of stories dealing with a specific subject area. Tuchman (1978) notes that newsmen take these categories so much for granted that they have difficulty in clearly defining them. In fact, when asked for definitions of the specific categories, newsmen cited specific stories as examples of the categories. As such, the above-mentioned categories are probably best seen as ongoing typifications of newswork.

Tuchman (1978) also discusses the temporal dynamics involved in the categorization of newswork, and like Breed (1955), she points to the importance of time in producing hard news and meeting deadlines so that new news does not become old news. To a large extent this phenomenon of expediency is contingent on the competitive nature of news organizations, where getting the "scoop" or reporting "as it happens" translates into a larger

market share. The above can be seen to fit into a larger metaphor of "time is money" which is manifested in society not only by artifacts like instant foods, instant banks, etc., but also by an expectation of immediacy in news. This immediacy is part of what some have called the information society, that is, a society where information (particularly specialized information) becomes the prime commodity in determining economic status and power. The constant acquisition of the most recent information through various media (computers, television, newspapers; telephone, telex, fax, etc.) becomes a prime social goal. The competition for information is mediated by technology, therefore, the parameters of information competition are framed by those who have knowledge of and access to the specific medium.

The category of hard news often produces an ahistorical frame to news stories that neglects long-term and developmental aspects of news events as phenomena. As Chibnall notes:

Things happen, get described by newsmen and are ingested by passive consumers with their coffee and cornflakes. They are understandable not as historical developments, but as manifestations of the peculiar present, the strange times in which we live (1977:24).

Tuchman's (1978) description of the newswork category of continuing news demonstrates a potential for historical development in the news net but there are two major problems in the actualization of this potential. First, the continuing story is an ongoing reporting from what is arbitrarily decided as a

starting point; in the case of a piece of legislation this may be the introduction of the bill into the House of Commons. Second, authoritative and elite sources usually frame the discourse of the continuing story. This fact is intimately connected to the question of news contingencies and power.

The journalist quickly learns that things can only be grasped if his political reach is restricted, and thereby appreciates that he can only convey partial knowledge. The journalist is partial to going where the power is. He goes to the person who is best placed in an organization to give an authoritative version of what appears to be the case. This person may be the least well placed to know about the matter he is asked to address, but that does not matter for the purposes of news and political discourse (Ericson et al., 1987:360).

Continuing stories are contingent on hard, spot, or developing news and are part of a closed system of news production determined by institutional expediencies. The gathering, selection, and production of news on a daily basis necessitates rules to maintain order. Because of the market demand for daily news and the extended time period of a continuing story (sometimes over a year), the reader is often at odds in developing an historical perspective unless he is collecting all the articles of the continuing story and reading them as a single text. The news imperative of immediacy, tied with competition to acquire what is news, de-values the development of historical perspectives (see Chibnall, 1977; Tuchman, 1978).

Concomitant with the news net is Tuchman's (1978) concept of the "web of facticity." Tuchman demystifies the spurious axiom of "the facts speak for themselves," which envelops news stories, by exposing the interpretive nature of the presentation of fact; the use of facts to support looking at issues from only two sides or competing views (for example, utopian versus dystopian), the use of quotation marks to distance oneself from a story, and the use of fact to impute value judgements. Tuchman demonstrates that the logic of the concrete and a present time orientation, are institutional components of newswork which legitimate the press as impartial and objective.

Merrill et al. (1983) have described categories of logical fallacies that newsworkers use. These categories are inherent to the production of news (see Chibnall, 1977; Cohen, 1972) and as such form an intricate part of the news net (the categories have been loosely adapted in order to develop an inventory by which the press coverage of the CSIS legislation will later be examined). They are as follows:

- 1) Appeal to authority: Use of an authority in one field to support a case in another. This fallacy plays a large role in the news net in terms of power and legitimacy (for example, Chibnall, 1977; Hall et al., 1978; Ericson et al., 1987). Those who have access to the press and those who define press discourse

are often from the bureaucratic elite and as such have vested interests.

2) Provincialism: Appeals to the tendency of people to identify with certain groups, to think in-group versus out-group. This technique relates specifically to the previous discussion of inside/outside. The dichotomization of issues strengthens the news net in maintaining a simplified dramaturgical model where good and evil can be easily delineated through the appeal to a person's sense of belonging or loyalty. The news value or imperative of dramatization (Hall et al., 1978; Chibnall, 1977; Cohen 1972) permits news workers to frame stories as "morality plays."

3) Jumping to conclusions: Jumping to conclusions which do not follow from the evidence. This relates to the news net in terms of contingencies of newswork (Tuchman, 1978). Because of limited sources, time, and news categories, newsworkers must make press stories and discourse "fit."

4) Ambiguity: Using vague terms which can and are intended to lead to mistaken conclusions. This has little to do with the essential ambiguity of discourse which promotes openness and transcendence. Rather it points to deception that is embedded in press discourse. This deception is, for example, part of the misleading vocabulary of advertising which attempts to persuade persons to consume specific products.

5) Ad hominem: Attacking the person rather than the argument. This refers to Chibnall's (1977) notion of personalization which states that issues are presented in terms of personalities.

6) Tokenism: Using a less significant gesture as opposed to a more serious effort. For instance, the media could do a story on how youngsters in an asbestos mining town have created a small snow-shovelling company to battle economic adversity instead of covering massive lay-offs, shrinking markets, and increased lung cancer in miners.

7) Straw Man: Substituting an issue for the real one under consideration. Similar to tokenism, this fallacy obfuscates an issue by presenting another that is easily refuted. In terms of media critique, the straw man fallacy can lead us to examine what is not said in the press. Institutional practices of the media can maintain an ideological frame which supports a means of not knowing (Smith 1974; Tuchman, 1978).

8) False analogy: Using analogy when things or situations are different. This fallacy is related to our discussion of metaphor as constraining: we appreciate the "is like" component but neglect the "is not" aspect. The "false analogy" fallacy can be a referentially closed argument used to bolster a constructed causality. The openness that is metaphor as enabling is not present.

9) Either-or fallacy: Things are either this or that; no provision is made for points on a continuum, or for merging categories. This fallacy expounds digital cognition (good versus evil) that can be part of a crass dramaturgical model. There is no place for nuance, degree or ambiguity.

The categories of newswork and the web of facticity which form the news net provide an institutional framework in which newswriters create systems of relevance and typification. Ericson et al. (1987) describe this knowledge as a "vocabulary of precedents" which is composed of three types of knowledge:

The ongoing articulation of precedent in the working culture of journalists provides them with recognition knowledge (that this is a story of a particular type) procedural knowledge (how to get on with contacting and using human and documentary sources) and accounting knowledge (how to frame and formulate the story; how to justify the chosen approach to others) (1987: 348).

In tune with Giddens (1976), Ericson et al. (1987), see organizational constraints not only as limiting but also as enabling: a journalist can acquire a certain autonomy by turning organizational constraints to his/her advantage by means of negotiation in the newsroom. I would argue that the vocabulary of precedents forms part of a vocabulary of typifications and, as such, is based in metaphor. The temporal make-up of the vocabulary of typifications follows Schutz' (1967) conception that social action depends on the components of history

(signification) and futurity (anticipation) (see previous mention of "future perfect tense" on page 8, as well as discussion of temporal unity by Carr, 1986). The interaction of metaphor as enabling and metaphor as constraining permits the newsperson to "work" the system, and the system to work on the newsperson.

In conclusion, we must realize that the news net is really many nets; some overlapping, some acting in conjunction with others, some hiding the existence of others. Different institutional nets often act as the parameters of social action by setting limits of typification.


(iii) Spiral Metaphor of Communication

The spiral metaphor of communication is common to the project of understanding the media. Dance (1967), for instance, remarks that a cyclical or circular model of communication (for example, Schramm, 1954) is inadequate in describing the media because the circle analogy implies a return to a starting position, thus neglecting the dynamic nature of communication. In terms of dialogical relationships, we can see that the circular model of communication implies static typification (metaphor as constraining) and a closed system of communication. The spiral metaphor (as Dance describes it) shows us the continual process of typification; the work of modifying systems of relevance, and the importance of our stock of knowledge at hand. The longer consociates are engaged in authentic discourse

(trying to develop a mutuality), the wider the spiral becomes. When shifts in systems of relevance become necessary, or when our stock of knowledge at hand is at variance, the spiral may widen at a slower rate or collapse completely.

One may argue that Dance's spiral metaphor is very abstract and does not lend itself to empirical analysis (McQuail et al., 1981). Indeed, Dance's model is idealistic in that it presupposes a dialogical relationship and neglects the elements of power and dominance. Nonetheless, the value of this spiral metaphor is not so much in providing a plan of research as to remind us that communication involves activity and creativity, not passive reception.

Thunberg et al. (1982) discuss human communication in terms of what they call "the spiral of interaction." The metaphor of a spiral refers to the project of moving from a communicative dominance to a communicative equality where people - through a spiraling process of growing action, identity, community and knowledge - can achieve their goals (a liberation from dominance). Thunberg et al. note that a spiral presumes that groups and their members are able to:

- 1) express themselves - to foster a sense of identity (the expressive function of communication);
 - 2) be together - to create a sense of community (the social function of communication);
 - 3) acquire information - to know more about the outside world (the informative function of communication);
- 

- 4) influence their surroundings - to improve their situation (action, the control function of communication) (1982:68-69).

Thunberg and her associates are conscious of the limitations in their spiral metaphor. They discuss how through bureaucratization, professionalization, and individualistic technology (for example, television versus theatre), spirals of interaction can be broken down. They also explicitly state that their spiral of interaction is value-dependent, as it expresses a particular view of humanity which can be seen to fit loosely in what may be called a liberation perspective - positing equality and fraternity as its ideal.

Hall et al. (1978) also maintain a liberation perspective of sorts, but their use of the spiral metaphor is quite different from that of Thunberg et al. As opposed to developing a strategy of communicative liberation for small groups, Hall et al. use the spiral metaphor in attempting to describe how a particular phenomenon comes to be associated with a larger problem of social crisis through the media. Their study of mugging shows how institutions such as the police and courts are mobilized by the media and in turn act upon the media, thereby expanding the scope and meaning of the original phenomenon. The focus of their argument rests on showing how pre-defined news values and "definers" of social events maintain the ideological position of consensus in society. By looking at cardinal news values which revolve around the extraordinary, the dramatic (news as a

"morality play"), the tragic, and by examining how social events are defined by appeal to authority, Hall et al. unveil socio-structural discrepancies, distribution of power, and the question of legitimacy that the implicit consensual ideology of the media obfuscates. Hall et al. reject a simple conspiracy theory of the media, but maintain that through the frames of inter- and intra-institutional activity the interests of the powerful are preserved. Hall et al. refer to this process as a "signification spiral" which reinforces the existing social order.

The use of the signification spiral in social studies is not unique to Hall and his associates. Wilkins uses the spiral metaphor to describe how normative constraints can lead to increased deviant behaviour:

Less tolerance leads to
 more acts being defined as crimes
 leads to
 more action against criminals
 leads to
 more alienation of deviants
 leads to
 more crime by deviant groups
 leads to
 less tolerance of deviants by conforming
 groups (1965:90).

The question of tolerance is one that pertains to our discussion of metaphor and the press. The inflexibility of metaphor as constraining (static typification) is a form of closure which breeds intolerance. The role of the press in propagating intolerance should not be underplayed. Through the

mass dissemination of constraining metaphors (for example, war on crime), the press can limit discourse and flexibility. In so doing, the press develops and maintains ideological constructs such as moral panics (see Cohen, 1972; Fishman, 1978).

Although Wilkins bases his work in social reaction and opportunity structures, and does not pursue the more structural/critical view of Hall et al., his work on a deviation-amplifying system (spiral metaphor) can be seen as a progenitor to Hall et al. Moreover, the importance of Wilkin's work lies in pointing to a polymorphic and dynamic understanding of society. He concludes:

It is clear that we must get away from the static models and evolve some dynamic theories which take into account the ever-changing society in which we live (1965:103).

Noelle-Neumann (1974) posits a model called the spiral of silence. By looking at the formation of public opinion she examines the "interplay between mass communication, interpersonal communication and the individual's perception of his opinion in relation to others in society" (MacQuail et al., 1981:68). The underlying dynamics of this model includes the idea that people tend to avoid isolation with respect to the views they maintain:

To the individual not isolating himself is more important than his own judgement. This appears to be a condition of life in human society; if it were

otherwise, sufficient integration could not be achieved (Noelle-Neumann, 1974:43).

Noelle-Neuman explores a spiralling process of silence resulting in minimal interpersonal support for a "deviant" opinion concomitant with increasing expression of a dominant opinion by the mass media. In effect, "We"-relationships are limited and there is an ever-increasing objective purveyance of opinion by the mass media. The number of people openly not expressing deviant opinions and/or changing their opinion to the dominant (mass-mediated) position tends to increase. As this process continues, more-and-more people remain silent or "pay lip-service" to what is perceived as the dominant view.

The delineation of the different spiral of communication metaphors gives us evidence of a larger scheme at work - that of utopian and dystopian ideologies (see Cohen, 1985). As Ihde (1986) explains, the utopian view, in terms of technology, is typified by a temporal structure which entails a negative past, ambiguous present and a positive future.

<u>Time</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Future</u>
<u>Situation</u>	-	~	+

Taken from Ihde, 1986:94.

This idealization revolves around a rationally organized world where all parts function harmoniously due to reason. Both the scientific enlightenment and utopian Marxist perspectives adopt a utopian view; one where technology will bring humanity to Paradise, the other where the revolution of the proletariat will bring salvation (Ihde, 1986).

The dystopian view, in contradistinction to the utopian, is a romantic reaction to the rational perspective: it predicts a process in which human emotions and feelings (subjectivity) are minimized and utopia (objectivity) brings a form of closure where beings would become automatons. The temporal structure, in effect, becomes a positive past, an ambiguous present and a negative future:

<u>Time</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Future</u>
Situation	+	-	-

Taken from Ihde, 1986:94.

In the dystopian view there is often a yearning for a return (the past) to a state of harmony with Nature, void of artificial (technological) elements (Ihde, 1986).

We can see a similar utopian/dystopian duality at work in the previously mentioned communication spiral metaphors, even if

the temporal make-up of the metaphors do not coincide with Ihde's typification. Let us consider the following schematization:

<u>Metaphor</u>	<u>Dynamics</u>	<u>Worldview</u>
<u>Positive spiral</u> (Dance, Thunberg et al.)	ever increasing communication-openness	utopian- universe of discourse
<u>Negative spiral</u> (Hall et al.) (Wilkins) (Noelle-Neumann)	closure	dystopian- silence, distortion

It should not be imputed that the researchers listed under the positive spiral do not realize the complexity of communication with all its breakdowns, failures and successes, as those mentioned under the negative spiral undoubtedly see similar intricacies. Rather, the implicit trajectories of the metaphors being used as models should be considered.

By way of extension, we can modify the previous diagram to encompass the press:

<u>Model</u>	<u>Dynamics</u>	<u>Worldview</u>
Press as enabling (positive spiral)	dialogue	rational discourse Enlightenment
Press as constraining (negative spiral)	manipulation staticity	control, dogmatism Totalitarianism

We should always be cautious of arguing the positive spiral over the negative spiral (or vice versa), that is, to approach a phenomenon in a digital fashion (true/false, either/or). This does not mean that some things (for example, monopoly control of the media) cannot be seen as more dystopian than utopian. It means that in seeing a phenomenon as completely dystopian or utopian we miss the intricacies of that phenomenon. The task at hand is not so much a question of labelling as attempting to fully understand. Don Ihde explains:

Both utopian and dystopian directions are not entirely fantasies - they project and extrapolate from actual essential possibilities - they are reductive of the complexity of the phenomenon (1986:114).

CHAPTER 3

A SHORT HISTORY LEADING TO THE CSIS ACT

This chapter will present a brief historical view of some of the events leading to the creation of the CSIS Act. The MacKenzie Commission (see Report of the Royal Commission on Security, 1968), the McDonald Commission (see Commission of Inquiry... 1981), the "October Crisis" and subsequent "dirty tricks," and the legislative process of the CSIS Act, will be reviewed.

For our purposes we will limit our retrospective to the 1960's onwards (for a comprehensive review and analysis of the "October Crisis," see Crelinsten, 1985). Prior to this, a contributing security event in Canadian history was the defection of a Soviet cipher clerk named Igor Gouzenko. Because of the defection and the information Gouzenko provided to Canadian authorities, the government established a Royal Commission on February 6, 1946 to investigate the "Gouzenko Affair" (Report of the Royal Commission... June 27, 1946). As a result of the Commission, which was headed by Mr. Justice Taschereau and Mr. Justice R. L. Kellock, eighteen persons were brought to trial of which eight were found guilty and served prison sentences.

In May, 1965, the Department of External Affairs announced that two Soviet officials were expelled from Canada for

espionage, and that a public servant had received thousands of dollars from the Soviets for information that was considered sensitive to Canadian security. George Victor Spencer later identified himself as the person who had collaborated with the Soviets. Spencer, who was a postal clerk in Vancouver, had been fired from his job and denied his pension for providing names of dead Canadians which were to serve as legends (covers) for Soviet agents. The "Spencer Affair" became a political issue. Mr. Diefenbaker, the leader of the opposition, claimed that Spencer was denied his rights because there was not enough evidence to bring Spencer to justice within the parameters of the Official Secrets Act (Canada. Official Secrets Act. 1939, c. 49, s.1.).

On March 14, 1966, Mr. Justice Spence had been appointed to investigate the Gerda Munsinger Affair (Report of the Commission...September, 1966). Mrs. Munsinger, who came to Canada in 1955, was known as a prostitute who had allegedly engaged in espionage as a Russian spy. Although the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) claimed that Munsinger had died in East Germany, a Toronto Star reporter found and interviewed her in Munich, Germany. In this interview she named former associate Defense Minister, Pierre Sevigny, and Transport Minister, George Hees, as her "friends" (Sawatsky, 1980).

Justice Spence released his report to the press on September 23, 1966. It indicated that Gerda Munsinger had been a security risk, and that Mr. Sevigny, through association, had become one

also. Professor Edward McWhinney, of the Law Faculty, McGill University, commented:

Mr. Justice Spence has accepted the most flimsy, uncorroborated hearsay evidence, which no respectable court of law would accept for more than one moment as pointing to the existence of widescale espionage activity in which prominent people in public life might be involved. Guilt by association, however indirect or far-fetched the association may be, is not excluded from the ambit of the report (Franks, 1979:45).

The Spence Report was tabled in the House of Commons on October 5, 1966, and was quickly forgotten.

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson tabled an Order-in-Council establishing the MacKenzie Commission on November 16, 1966. Franks (1979) describes the dynamics leading to the MacKenzie Commission:

The Gouzenko revelations provided the stimulus for the creation of a large security service in Canada. For the next twenty years, the threats to the state with which it was concerned were largely, as in the Gouzenko affair, those of Soviet espionage and possible subversion by left-wing groups. During the worst of the cold and Korean wars, and with the example of McCarthyism to the south, the temper of the House was largely to encourage vigorous pursuit of espionage and subversion, although there was always a strong lingering concern for civil liberties. As the cold war waned during the 1960's, the concern for civil liberties came to predominate (1979:42).

The MacKenzie Commission consisted of Maxwell MacKenzie (Chairman), who was president of Chemcell Company of Montreal and a former deputy minister of trade and commerce, Yves Pratte, a Quebec lawyer, later to become head of Air Canada and now a judge in the Supreme Court, and M.J. Coldwell, former national leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.).

The Commission spent the next eighteen months going through the RCMP's top-secret files and calling witnesses. All the proceedings were held in-camera, and in September 1968, a report was produced which was later published, in June 1969, (in a abridged form). The Commission recommended security checks for all federal employees (independent of access to confidential information or not), fingerprinting of every government employee, and a voice for the the RCMP in giving security clearances to prospective employees.

The Commission also recommended that a civilian security force be established:

WE RECOMMEND the establishment of a new civilian non-police agency to perform the functions of a Security Service in Canada. This agency should eventually be quite separate from the RCMP; it should be generally without law enforcement powers, although it should, when necessary, operate in close liaison and cooperation with the RCMP and other police forces. The organizational and operational detachment of the Directorate of Security and Intelligence from the RCMP may be necessary in the first stage of process in the development of the new agency. WE ALSO RECOMMEND that:

(a) The duties of the Security Service should include the following tasks, and its terms of reference should be made public:

(i) to, collect, collate and evaluate information or intelligence concerning espionage and subversion, and to communicate such information in such a manner and to such persons as the Head of the Service considers to be in the public interest;

(ii) to be responsible for the direction, coordination and implementation of counter-espionage and counter-subversive operations in Canada;

(iii) to be responsible for security investigations concerning civilian personnel employed by the Government of Canada, and other persons as required;

(iv) to be responsible for, the inspection of security precautions in departments throughout the Government of Canada and elsewhere as required, and for the provision of training and advice for departments of government and other agencies on matters concerned with security;

(v) to be responsible for the operation and coordination of all technical security measures;

(vi) to cooperate and liaise as may be necessary with domestic, Commonwealth and foreign police forces and security services ... (Report of the Royal Commission on Security, 1969:105-106).

The Commission was delayed and finally sidelined in Parliament after the development of the "October Crisis" and the eventual creation of the McDonald Commission.

The October Crisis of 1970 occurred when James Cross, a British trade official in Montreal, and Pierre Laporte, the provincial Labour Minister, were kidnapped by the FLQ. Following the kidnapping, the FLQ issued "communiques" which contained a Marxist critique of English Canada, American Imperialism in Quebec, and the repression of the working class, as well as political demands (see Crelinsten, 1985).

On October 16, 1970, Prime Minister Trudeau addressed the nation on the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ). In describing the FLQ, he called them "fanatics as well as persons involved in kidnapping and blackmail." Trudeau continued by describing how fragile democracies can be and that the government would not give in to criminals. In his speech, Trudeau stood firm in his offer of providing safe-conduct out of the country for the kidnappers and consistently denied their political legitimacy (CBC Audio Tapes, Oct. 16, 1970).

In regard to the War Measures Act, Trudeau said "I find them (the measures) as distasteful as you do." He explained that revolutionaries try to force a government to become authoritarian in order that the people will come to hate that government. Trudeau remarked: "the government is not acting out of fear but trying to prevent the spread of fear" (CBC Audio Tapes, Oct. 16, 1970).

Seigel (1983) maintains that the majority of Canadians supported the War Measures Act. Tepperman (1977) shows that Canadians not only supported the War Measures Act, but thirty percent of a sample of letter writers to newspapers advocated at least one of the following: martial law, firing squads, a restoration of capital punishment, censorship, tighter immigration policies, and/or restrictions on all French-Canadians.

In the early morning of October 7, 1972, a break-in took place at the Agence de Presse du Quebec (APQ). The perpetrators

of this act included members of the Montreal Urban Community Police Department (MUCPD), the Quebec Police Force (QPF), and the RCMP. This operation encompassed the removal of about a thousand pounds of files from the APQ, under the pretext that there was a letter from Jacques Cossette-Trudel (exiled FLQ'er) to the APLQ exposing a large Cuban espionage network operating for the benefit of eastern-block countries. Robert Samson, the Mountie in charge of watching the activities of the APLQ and the Movement for the Defense of Political Prisoners of Quebec (a group located in the same building) convinced his QPF and MUCPD confreres to participate in the robbery under the cloak of "national security."

"Operation Ham" was the code name for the January 9, 1973, seizure by the RCMP of computer tapes belonging to the Parti Quebecois. Jim Emberg, a former RCMP employee who was a representative for an office-supplies company, arranged a visit to Les Messageries Dynamiques (where the tapes were stored) for Ken Burnett, an RCMP computer specialist. After surveillance and a dry-run, the tapes were stolen, copied, and returned to Les Messageries. Other RCMP operations included the illegal opening of mail ("Operation Cathedral"), stealing dynamite, writing false FLQ communiques, and burning a barn which was supposedly to be used by the FLQ for a meeting (Dion, 1983; Mann & Lee, 1979; Sallot, 1979).

On July 26, 1974, Robert Samson injured himself when a bomb he carried accidentally exploded near the home of Steinberg

(foodchain) executive, Melvyn Dobryn. Samson managed to take a taxi home and have a friend drive him to a hospital. Samson claimed that the injury he incurred resulted from working on his automobile, and the RCMP told this story to the MUCPD (who were investigating the case). Although the surroundings of this incident were mysterious, it was suggested that Samson had links with organized crime. Eventually Samson was charged, and on March 8, 1976, he testified that he was acting on orders from the RCMP and that he had done worse things for the RCMP. Samson described the 1972 APLQ break-in. This revelation led to internal enquiries by the RCMP, the Quebec Police Force, and the Montreal Urban Community Police Force. One officer from each force was summoned to appear in court on charges of having broken a law of the Canadian Parliament by failing to obtain a search warrant before entering the APQ offices. They entered pleas of guilty and were given unconditional discharges on June 15, 1977. On the same day the Quebec Minister of Justice announced the establishment of the Keable Commission to investigate crimes committed by the RCMP. The federal government, in turn, launched its own commission (see Commission of Inquiry..., 1981) and challenged the constitutionality of the Keable Commission in Superior Court. This ultimately led to the end of the Keable Commission and strained relations between Ottawa and Quebec with respect to the administration of justice (Dion, 1983; Mann and Lee, 1979).

The McDonald Commission Report was published in August 1981 and the Government announced that the Security Service would be separated from the RCMP.

It is worthwhile to mention the main findings common to both the MacKenzie and McDonald Commissions:

- The rights of citizens were poorly protected.
- The inquiries pointed out that there was insufficient and unsatisfactory departmental and Parliamentary control of the Security Service.
- Both commissions pointed to a lack of clear policy and directives in security matters.
- The inquiries found that false or incomplete data were given to federal bodies and to the person in charge of the administration of justice (the Attorney General of the province).

Both the MacKenzie and McDonald Commissions agreed that the security service should be separate from the RCMP but the two commissions arrived at this conclusion for different reasons. The MacKenzie Commission (paragraph 57) stated that a security service could be involved in activities that breach the spirit if not the letter of the law and infringe upon individual rights, and that such activities were incompatible with the role of a police force. This argument was rejected by the McDonald Commission:

This argument is totally unacceptable, in our view, as a basis for creating a separate civilian security intelligence agency... A security intelligence agency which does not feel itself bound to obey the laws tends to destroy the liberal democratic society it was created to protect (Commission of Inquiry..., 1981: 760).

The McDonald Commission gave the RCMP's high rate of delinquency as one of the reasons for a separate service:

Since 1969, the Force has virtually ignored a publicly announced government policy concerning the Security Service. It has been far too secretive about its liaison arrangements with foreign agencies. It has misled Ministers, causing them, in turn, to mislead Parliament. Perhaps most seriously, although the Force must not bear total responsibility, it tolerated, and indeed encouraged through official policy, the widespread breaking of laws. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that senior members of the Security Service held back information from Ministers and senior officials about questionable operational practices. (Commission of Inquiry..., 1981: 758).

In 1978, the McDonald Commission made public a 1975 Canadian Cabinet decision entitled The Role, Tasks and Methods of the RCMP Security Service (see Shearing, 1981). It said:

The Cabinet agreed that:

- (a) the RCMP Security Service be authorized to maintain internal security by discerning, monitoring, investigating, deterring, preventing and countering individuals and groups in Canada when there are reasonable and probable grounds to believe that they may be engaged in or may be planning to engage in
 - (i) espionage or sabotage;
 - (ii) foreign intelligence activities directed toward gathering intelligence information relating to Canada;

- (iii) activities directed toward accomplishing governmental change within Canada or elsewhere by force or violence or any criminal means;
 - (iv) activities by a foreign power directed toward actual or potential attack or other hostile acts against Canada; or
 - (v) activities of a foreign or domestic group directed toward the commission of terrorist acts in or against Canada; or
 - (vi) the use or the encouragement of the use of force, violence or any criminal means, or the creation or exploitation of civil disorder, for the purpose of accomplishing any activities referred to above.
- (quoted in Shearing, 1981: 147)

Given the ambiguity of the operational and legal meanings of expressions such as "discerning," "detering," and "countering," one can appreciate how the RCMP transgressions may have been rationalized.

On May 18, 1983, the then Solicitor General, Bob Kaplan, tabled Bill C-157, an Act to Establish the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (Canada. 29-30-31-32), in the House of Commons. The Bill met with instant criticism for its poor drafting and affronts to civil rights. A Senate Committee was established (P.M. Pitfield, Chairman) in order to revamp the Bill. The presentation to the Senate Committee by the Law Union of Ontario said:

...in a democratic state what must be secured are the democratic rights and democratic institutions. Of course, there may be some debate as to what these terms encompass. But any legislation which purports to establish a Security and Intelligence Service must be directed solely towards the end of securing democratic rights and institutions...Within those general

parameters it would still be necessary to protect the widest possible scope for freedom of speech and to confine investigations to activities which involved violence or presented some clear and imminent danger to the survival of democratic rights or institutions. (Canada. Proceedings of the Special Committee of the Senate on the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, 1983, Issue # 10:8)

The Senate Committee dealt with the issue of the role of the Security Service in preserving a free and democratic state while infringing on the liberties of individuals in order to fulfill this function (in other words, security of the state versus individual rights). The major recommendations of the Senate Committee that became amendments to the legislation were: to limit the definition of subversion by including reference to destruction or overthrow "by violence," to limit the Service to investigate "to the extent that it is strictly necessary," to give the Minister full control over and accountability for the Service, to give CSIS employees only the same limited protections under the law as peace officers, to increase safeguards of the judicial warrant process (limiting all warrants to one year).

On November 6, 1983, the Report of the Special Committee of the Senate on the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (Senate of Canada...November, 1983) was made public. After debate in the House of Commons and in the Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs, the amended bill (Bill C-9) was given Royal Assent in July, 1984.

CHAPTER 4

METAPHOR, THE PRESS, AND THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (CSIS)

This chapter deals more specifically with the press and the CSIS. This includes a brief introduction of the data and the further development of the three issues delineated in Chapter 2: 1) Metaphors of the Press, 2) Infra-structure of the Press, 3) Spiral metaphor of communication. The purpose of these sections is to integrate the work on metaphor, the press, and the CSIS.

Chapter 4 draws on a collection of press articles from May 18, 1983 to July, 1984 (the period from introduction of the Bill in the Commons to Royal Assent). The procedure for gathering the articles included: 1) manual gathering of articles by searching microfilms, 2) scanning of government press clippings which were then verified with microfilm for page numbers, and 3) a computer search of a commercial database (Dialog, File 262: Canadian Business & Current Affairs) for appropriate selections. All types of articles were collected (a total of 250), including editorials, background pieces, stories by staff reporters, Canadian Press articles, and letters to the editor. The selection criterion was simply that the issue of the security legislation be addressed. The articles are from major newspapers across Canada (Vancouver Sun, Winnipeg Free Press, Globe and

Mail, Toronto Star, Ottawa Citizen, Le Droit, Montreal Gazette, Le Devoir).

A formal content analysis of the news stories was not done. Rather, the methodology is interpretative. This entailed an ongoing process of reading the news articles while comparing and contrasting this material with the phenomenological work on metaphor developed in the first two chapters. These two components (developmental work on metaphor and analysis of news articles) did not adhere to a rigid chronology. To a large extent, the examination of the news articles and the theoretical work were simultaneous - each informed the other. A major goal of the methodology was to appreciate the general tenor of the the material at hand and to try to see and classify major themes. Generalizations made from the data are illustrated in the thesis by specific examples which were most typical and representative of the material collected. The remarkable internal consistency in press reporting on the security legislation by the individual media, as well as the consistency among the newspapers across Canada, made the generalization of themes and the use of representative articles much easier and more justified than might otherwise have been possible.

Newspaper articles are fully cited in the text by name of newspaper, date, and page number. A complete listing of the news articles appears in Appendix A.

(i) Metaphors of the Press and the CSIS

(a) Reflection Metaphor

Based on the newspaper articles collected, the overall press coverage of the legislative process leading to the enactment of CSIS Act was negative. As well, the reporting which followed the introduction of the legislation in the House of Commons (May, 18, 1983) was consistently critical. Arguments of unbridled power to check mail, income tax information, and intrude on the privacy of ordinary citizens were used by the press in criticizing the proposed legislation (at the time called Bill C-157; see Canada 29-30-31-32... 1984). Most press reporting described the proposed mandate of the security agency as being too broad. Warrant applications for intrusive techniques such as phone-tapping were described as too easy to obtain. The press uniformly criticized the legislation in lacking procedural safeguards for privacy and freedom of citizens. For example, The Citizen (May 20, 1983:1), under the headline "Spy bill - threat to freedom," noted:

Federal legislation proposing a civilian security agency with wide-ranging powers "creates a number of needless dangers for the civil liberties of the Canadian people," says the general counsel of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

" It will enable the security service to exercise some of the most intrusive powers of encroachment on people's privacy, even though there is little or no

evidence of lawbreaking," Alan Borovoy said in an interview Thursday.

The article then juxtaposes this view with the position of Mr. Kaplan that the legislation would control for excesses of the previous security service - "...for the first time in history, the country's security intelligence service will have its mandate and investigative powers spelled out in legislation."

Another issue that dominated the early reporting of Bill C-157 was the apparent "power grab" from the jurisdictions of the provincial Attorneys-General. The headline "A-Gs may not know if agency breaks law" (Globe & Mail, May 21, 1983:1) typifies the ongoing coverage of the conflict between provincial and federal powers. Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry noted that the proposed legislation would be "... insensitive to the rights of the individual citizens." He also noted that the federal bill would take the responsibility for the administration of justice out of the hands of provincial Attorneys-General (Globe & Mail, May 20, 1983:2). In essence, it was argued not only that Bill C-157 would allow security agents to break criminal law or provincial statutes in the commission of their duties, but also to keep their activities secret from provincial authorities (see Ottawa Citizen, May 20, 1983:1; June 1, 1983:1; June 4, 1983:3; Winnipeg Free Press, May 20, 1983:6; Montreal Gazette, May 20, 1983:A12; Toronto Globe & Mail, June 2, 1983:3; Toronto Star, May 20, 1983:A18; June 1, 1983:A13)

A framework the press established, and used throughout their reporting of the CSIS legislation, was the dichotomy of civil liberties versus the protection of the state. Headlines like "The trick is to strike the right balance between the niceties of civil liberties and the nastiness of the spy business" (Toronto Star, May 21, 1983:B1) and "Ottawa's balancing act" (Montreal Gazette, May 20, 1983:B2)(see also, Ottawa Citizen, June 7, 1983:7; Toronto Globe and Mail, June 4, 1983:13, September 8, 1983:6; Toronto Star, June 7, 1983:A9, November 5, 1983:B2; Vancouver Sun, June 1, 1983:A9, June 16, 1983:A5) served to illustrate the problem of intrusive activities (state control) and individual rights and freedoms. Here again, it is remarkable how this reporting, in the major newspapers across Canada, was consistent (an issue that will be addressed later).

By the end of May 1983, coverage of the CSIS legislation was given an unequivocally critical press coverage. Two factors were important in this regard: 1) the perceived potential for abuse of civil rights, and 2) apparent inconsistencies in communication between the press and the government. As an example of the latter, consider the following headlines: "Dissidents needn't fear security agency: Kaplan" (Montreal Gazette, May 20, 1983:B1); "Can't say what laws may be broken: Kaplan" (Montreal Gazette, May 21, 1983:A11); "Kaplan warns that the peace movement could be probed" (Montreal Gazette, May 30, 1983:A9). Through ongoing reports, the press portrayed the proposed legislation as faulty and the then Solicitor General, Bob Kaplan, as unsure of

the possible ramifications of the legislation. Coverage by other newspapers across Canada showed a similar critical trend.

While throughout the news coverage there was a press consensus that the security legislation was flawed, some reporting noted that the Bill represented a potential improvement over the Security Service of the RCMP (see Ottawa Citizen, May 21, 1983:18; Montreal Gazette, January 20, 1984:A10; Toronto Globe and Mail, January 220, 1984:6; Vancouver Sun, May 20, 1983:A12; Winnipeg Free Press, May 19, 1983:1). Above all, measures of control over CSIS were portrayed as positive elements of the proposed legislation. These included: 1) CSIS agents obtaining permission from a Federal Court judge for intrusive surveillance, 2) an independent Inspector General to review the actions of the CSIS, and 3) a review committee composed of three members of the Privy Council who no longer sit in the Commons or the Senate to review procedures and investigate complaints. An article in the Montreal Gazette (June 14, 1983:B-2) is quite typical in so far as it approvingly mentions these measures of control, but also portrays the potential dangers of Bill C-157:

These three levels of control do not now apply to the RCMP intelligence service. They are clear progress. But there is worrying language in Bill C-157. It defines as "threats to the security of Canada," to be investigated by CSIS spooks:

"Foreign influenced activities within or relating to Canada that are detrimental to the interests of Canada or any state allied or associated with Canada and are clandestine or deceptive or involve a threat to any

person." A citizen could be in trouble if he met discreetly with Chilean exiles opposed to the Pinochet regime, with which Canada is associated diplomatically and commercially.

"Activities within or relating to Canada directed toward or in support of the threat or use of acts of violence against persons or property for the purpose of achieving a political objective within Canada or a foreign state." Could Yvon Charbonneau continue supporting the PLO?

Furthermore, "the (Solicitor General) is not empowered to override the decision of the (CSIS) Director on the question of whether the Service should collect... information...in relation to a particular person or group of persons; or as to specific information... or advice that should be given... to the Government of Canada or... the government of a province."

This gives the CSIS director tremendous power... [h]e could decide, for instance, to withhold information that might clear someone accused of a crime. He could give information besmirching someone's character and not reveal that he has done so.

Reporting on negative aspects of the legislation centered on vague definitions and language relating particularly to terrorism and subversion. The common concern was that too many people could be targetted by the CSIS and that trivial acts, as well as legitimate dissent, would come under the purview of the agency (for example, Ottawa Citizen July 5, 1983:8; September 7, 1983:3; Montreal Gazette, June 14, 1983:B2; Vancouver Sun, June 16, 1983:A5). An article by Peter Russell, professor of political science at the University of Toronto and research director for the McDonald Commission, well illustrates this concern:

The commission recommended that... subversion should be confined to what it termed "revolutionary subversion,

meaning activities directed toward or intended ultimately to lead to the destruction of the democratic system of government in Canada."

The key change here is the reference to "the constitutionally established system of government in Canada" instead of the "democratic system."

That appears to bring under the scope of security surveillance, groups that are committed to the liberal democratic process but wish to bring about by peaceful, lawful means, changes in Canada's constitutional structure such as the restructuring of the federal system or the separation of a province (Vancouver Sun, June 16, 1983, A5).

For the most part, the June reporting on CSIS presented a view that the proposed legislation was an improvement over what was in place at the time but that it was unacceptable in its infringement of civil rights. Furthermore, a process of negotiation between the press and the government was initiated by the Solicitor General (Robert Kaplan) at the time. In effect, Kaplan opened up a dialogue with the media by suggesting that he would invite amendments to the legislation that would better protect domestic and constitutional interests (see Vancouver Sun, June 3, 1983:A10). This may have been a way to defuse the "bad press" as well as to calm a strident opposition in the Commons by the New Democratic Party. In any case, the issue of the Government's sincerity in inviting suggestions and recommendations became immaterial as the press, in its substantial coverage of the security legislation, had already set the parameters of debate that called for the withdrawal of Bill C-157.

In reviewing the press coverage, it was interesting to note the process of consensus-forming in reporting. For instance, while an editorial by the Ottawa Citizen on May 20, 1983 (P. 8), clearly favoured and endorsed Bill C-157 ("There are ample protections for the public built into the government's plan for the new Canadian Security Intelligence Service - contrary to the complaints of the NDP"), a later editorial (June 1, 1983:8) by the same newspaper ("There is cause for concern that the draft of the bill, if passed into law verbatim, would give the security service enormous leeway to abuse the rights of citizens") presented a modified position advocating changes to the flawed legislation. This change or "flip-flop" in editorial position coincided with the clear consistency in other newspapers' criticism of the proposed legislation. To a large extent this consistency may have resulted from the heavy reliance on the Canadian Press (CP) agency's news releases. As well, the reporting from a group of Parliamentary reporters who are in constant contact may have played a role. The negotiation and interaction of the parliamentary press gallery, in conjunction with the centralized dissemination of information by the CP, helped to achieve the consensus of reporting (see Seigel, 1983, for a discussion of CP and the Parliamentary Press Gallery).

Although there was a symmetry between newspaper reports, the test of the reflection thesis is that it should reflect public attitudes. Public attitudes are difficult to gauge at

best, but it would appear that the media were not reflecting these concerns. A Gallup Poll published August 23, 1983 (Montreal Gazette:A16) showed that most persons surveyed were not aware that there was legislation before Parliament dealing with the creation of a new Canadian Security Agency (61 per cent nationally; 76 per cent in Quebec; 52 per cent in Ontario). From this poll, it would appear that Bill C-157 was not a priority with the public and that press concerns were not those of the public. As well, the press focus on the abuse of civil rights may not have had a strong basis in public attitudes.

Historically, Canadians would seem to have a strong sense of "station" and belonging, as opposed to what can be seen as a focus on individualism. They expect the government to solve most of their problems and the police to protect them. Solutions, to a large extent, are seen in terms of group action instead of individual efforts (see Tepperman, 1978). The dilemma of civil rights versus national security surrounding the press coverage of Bill C-157 may thus have been more of a media construction than a reflection of public attitudes. First, the public did not appear to be aware of the CSIS legislation, and second, Canadians seem to have a long-established trust in institutions' ability to protect their rights. In this regard, an article in the Globe and Mail (Critics sure public can change spy law, June 24, 1983:8) typifies the indifference of the public, but also the realization of the mobilization of public opinion as a determining force:

Civil libertarians acknowledge that it will be a difficult battle, but they're convinced they can rally enough public opposition to force Solicitor General Robert Kaplan to back down on some sections of his proposed national security bill... they know the real struggle will be lost or won on the common ground of public opinion... Canadians generally have been apathetic about the growing powers of the government to intrude in their lives.

Of course, this does not mean that there was no advocacy and public support for the protection of civil rights in connection with of the security legislation. What it does mean, though, is that the civil rights - national security dichotomy portrayed in the media was probably more representative of the interaction and negotiation of political parties, media interests, and lobby groups than a reflection of public attitudes and opinions.

Through the reflection metaphor one can compare the English and French press coverage of the security legislation. From the data collected it is clear that there were discrepancies in how the French and English media portrayed the events leading to the creation of the CSIS Act. The first major difference was the amount of coverage allotted to the security bill. The Globe and Mail had extensive coverage (usually on the the front or first few pages) dealing with the legislative process and the developments leading to the legislation (above all, the McDonald Commission). The French coverage, particularly in Le Devoir, was minimal, dealing with a few key events in the legislative process such as the introduction of the Bill in the Commons, the

formation of the Special Senate Committee, and the passing of the legislation. Although there was some editorial coverage in Le Devoir (discussing the "October Crisis," the War Measures Act, and the Keable Commission), the total coverage was limited to 14 articles (see Appendix). This is somewhat unusual since one might expect a newspaper that is known to have a strong political agenda (Le Devoir) to devote more energies in covering an event that had controversial precedents in the province of Quebec ("FLQ October Crisis" - see Crelinsten, 1985). As Seigel (1983) notes, the overwhelming emphasis in the French-language media is on Quebec province. This, in connection with an international focus, may have contributed to Le Devoir's limited coverage of the security legislation. In some respects, the coverage of Le Devoir may be representative of the French media's limited focus on what happens in federal politics (again, see Seigel, 1983, for a discussion of the similarities and differences between English and French media).

Another issue within the rubric of the reflection metaphor is the extent of press coverage of the security legislation during the entire legislative period (May 1983, to July 1984). Besides the consensus of reporting among major newspapers, the fluctuation of coverage was also similar among the newspapers. The heaviest reporting took place in May, June, and July 1983, dealing with the flawed nature of Bill C-157. The reporting continually diminished till November 1983, when the Special Senate Committee presented the re-draft of the legislation

(called Bill C-9; see Canada. 32...1984). Coverage during November and December 1983, was virtually non-existent with an increase of reporting in January 1984, focussing on the improvements made in the proposed Bill, but also on the potential abuse of the widespread powers the CSIS would have (for example, Ottawa Citizen, January 20, 1984:8; January 21, 1984:5; Le Devoir, January 20, 1984:6; Toronto Star, January 22, 1984:F7). The issues presented in January 1984, were essentially a continuation of earlier reporting. The following excerpt from the Ottawa Citizen (January 21, 1984:19) typifies this reporting:

But what will happen if the new agency does something that is not strictly legal? If there is unwarranted state snooping? If there is a rebirth of the former RCMP "dirty-tricks squads" of barn-burning fame?

Whatever might happen, the public will likely be the last to know. Once the beast is born, it will become virtually invisible to public scrutiny.

From February to July 1984 (Royal Assent), the reporting was generally sparse (with an increase in June, 1984), again centering on how the proposed legislation was an improvement on its precursor, though still flawed. In this latter period of reporting, the vigour of earlier stories was lacking. The reason for this may have been that the press had exhausted the "angles" from which to approach the story. Also, the waning of the Liberal government and other political events (for example, the

possibility of an upcoming election) may have contributed to diminished and cursory reporting on the CSIS Bill.

An exception to this lack of coverage was the reporting on the New Democratic Party filibuster in the House of Commons justice committee and their attempts to block passage of the bill in the House of Commons. An article in the Ottawa Citizen (June 9, 1984:3) typified this coverage:

The NDP touched off a dispute which delayed for almost an hour the announcement that the Commons justice committee had completed its detailed study of the legislation replacing the RCMP security service with a new civilian spy-catching agency.

The committee wrapped up its study Friday morning, after weeks of debate and public hearings and a three-day filibuster by New Democrat Svend Robinson.

Committee chairman Claude-Andre Lachance - who plans to resign after being forced to cut off the filibuster - was ready to inform the Commons it could proceed with final debate on the bill when the wrangling began.

But before he could make the announcement, New Democrat MP Dan Heap, an outspoken critic of the legislation, accused acting prime minister Jean-Luc Pepin of lying to the Commons about youth unemployment.

...Commons business then ground to a halt while the division bells summoned MPs to vote on whether Heap should be expelled.

The New Democrats were hoping the Conservatives would stay out of the House with them, letting the bells ring and thus blocking the committee report to the full Commons.

But the Tories returned, Heap was expelled by a 65-7 vote and Lachance was belatedly permitted to present his report.

Throughout all coverage, the basic reporting themes (as stated earlier in this section) were essentially the same. Again,

this suggests that the reporting may have been more a reflection of the interaction of specific institutions such as political parties, media organizations, and lobby groups than a reflection of public attitudes. For instance, the lack of reporting following the formation of the Senate Committee shows a link between the media and the political agenda. The minimal amount of coverage during November and December coincides with the winter holidays of the Commons. The limited coverage leading to the passing of the legislation coincides with the decreased emphasis on Bill C-9 in the Commons.

In summary, the coverage of the CSIS legislation was probably reflective mainly of political and media institutions. The role of the public would appear to be minimal.

(b) Refraction Metaphor

The reporting of the security legislation would indicate that the refractive metaphor is also inadequate in describing press coverage. As mentioned in the discussion of the reflective metaphor, the audience participation in the creation of the news is, to a large extent, passive. What the refractive model does address, though, is the production contingencies of the press in the creation of news stories.

A crucial element of the refraction metaphor is an audience input which is then converted into a news product. From the newspaper articles, there is little evidence of audience or

reader input of any kind. The production of the news coverage seems to be an interaction of political persons, lobby groups, and the media itself. Although there is a process of news creation that functions in the press, this process has little participation from the public.

(c) Tool Metaphor

This metaphor can separate discourse into two entities: 1) the press as an instrument to control the masses and propagate the dominant ideology of consensus, and 2) the press as the protector and "watchdog" for the average citizen.

From the collection of articles gathered, it would appear that the press demonstrates elements of both poles of the tool metaphor. The coverage was uniformly critical of the legislation in relation to civil rights, yet the reporting tapered-off and was practically non-existent after January 1984, to Royal Assent of the legislation in July 1984. The critical basis to the reporting never questioned the presupposition of the necessity of a security force, nor did it offer alternatives to the proposed legislation. The uniformity of reporting across Canada also points to the establishment of the parameters of discourse as prescribed by the interaction of the media with political groups. One could argue that while "mainstream" reporting presents one view, alternative media sources provide divergent or critical perspectives. Although these different sources combined may

provide a full spectrum of opinions on a particular phenomenon this argument neglects that the news is a product which is intended for consumption, and as such is controlled by market factors. Divergent and dissident opinions do find expression in marginal media sources, but these sources are often only tapped by those who are informed, or already hold such views. In reviewing the collection of news articles, it appears that mainstream reporting offers a uniform view of public discourse. An element that is directly related to the uniformity of press reporting of the security legislation may be the specific ownership of the print media. The Royal Commission on Newspapers, 1981 (Chair, Tom Kent) explains that 77 per cent of all copies of daily newspapers published in Canada in September 1980, was done by chains (for example, Thomson and Southam). Within the marketing concerns and strategies of the large corporate media organizations that inevitably control media dissemination, there is little room for content divergence. Although the form of the media product may be different (tabloid, daily, weekly), the news content abides by negotiated rules that work towards consensus.

(ii) Infrastructure of the Press and the CSIS

(a) Agenda-setting

As previously mentioned, agenda-setting can be seen in terms of obtrusive issues (those with which people have contact), and unobtrusive issues (those remote concerns for which the media are the primary and often only sources of information). In the case of the reporting of conventional crime and other areas such as the economy and unemployment, there is a "closeness" which the public feels. The consequences of higher prices, increased taxes, and the fear of crime have a basis in everyday interaction. Many persons have been the victims of criminal acts or at least know someone who has been victimized. Moreover, the potential of being victimized can be easily visualized by most people. In the context of the press, such occurrences can be categorized as obtrusive issues as they are experiences that can be perceived directly through subjective typification.

In the case of the press coverage of the CSIS legislation, the issues are unobtrusive because the media are the primary sources of information. As well, the typifying schemes of these issues are much more external as they do not have a strong foundation in the daily lives of most people. Questions of civil liberties and national security, though vital to a democracy, do not have the same experiential basis for most people as other issues that have daily repercussions. As such, the public agenda

in this area is more dependent on the media presentation of the story.

As previously suggested, there is some doubt whether the public took much notice of the CSIS legislation. This is not surprising considering that the reality of civil rights/national security and the world of spies is given to most persons in a highly objectified form. The typifications and metaphors of this reality are largely drawn from literature and film. The media presentation of the CSIS legislation is accordingly framed in such metaphors and typifications. The continual reference to "spies," "spy legislation" and "spooks" invokes images of James Bond and John LeCarre novels. A glaring example of the use of these metaphors can be found in a Vancouver Sun editorial (May 20, 1983: A4). The headline reads "Licensed to kill?" which is a direct reference to the mandate given to film character, James Bond. The editorial itself, consistent with the overall reporting of the bill, describes the possible abuse to civil rights in the proposed legislation. The disjunction between a rather sensational headline and a subdued story typifies a substantial proportion of the collected articles (for example, Ottawa Citizen, May 21, 1983:17; Winnipeg Free Press, May 20, 1983:6; Montreal Gazette, May 31, 1983:B2; August 26, 1983:A8; Toronto Star, May 21, 1983:A16). The headline seems to act much like a carnival barker trying to usher people to buy tickets to some mysterious and fantastic performance. In grabbing the attention of the reader through metaphors which invoke sensational imagery,

the headline draws the reader into reading (or at least glancing over) the particular story.

The media use of typifications and metaphors is framed in the "public idiom" (Hall et al., 1978) in order to appeal to established stereotypes. Although the media dictate the public agenda (through the interaction with interested institutions), the form that the media agenda takes is based on preconceived notions of public typifications. These preconceptions facilitate the quick production and consumption of news. They also limit discourse through static typification. In the press coverage of the security legislation the public idiom was reinforced through the theme of big government versus the ordinary citizen. This theme was largely perpetuated by the use of sensational headlines such as "For spies, a loophole to get away with murder" (Ottawa Citizen, May 21, 1983:12).

The collection of newspaper articles clearly shows that the press agenda was contingent on the political agenda. News coverage systematically followed government events. The introduction of Bill C-157 in the House of Commons, criticism by the opposition parties, the formation of a special Senate committee, the introduction of a re-draft (Bill C-9), procedural wrangling in the Commons, and passing of the Bill, were cornerstone events that were covered by all the major newspapers. The political agenda set the press agenda for all the major newspapers in Canada. The priority these events were given in mainstream newspapers was, as one might guess, remarkably

onsistent. With the exception of Le Devoir (which covered the events but in smaller articles, usually not on the first pages), all the newspaper articles collected covered these political events in a prominent fashion (first few pages and comparatively large allotment of column-inches or space). This finding appears somewhat inconsistent with what appears to have been an apparent public disinterest in the story (see "reflection metaphor") and points to a disjunction of press and public agendas on the issue of the security legislation.

(b) Net Metaphor

A review of the press coverage in terms of Tuchman's (1978) typifications of news (hard news, soft news, spot news, developing news, continuing news), will follow.

The press coverage surrounding the security legislation appears to fit several of the categories of newswork that Tuchman (1978) delineates. With the introduction of the legislation in the Commons, the story was given extensive coverage (front pages, large column space). The typification most appropriate in the early stages of reporting would be "hard news" (events which are deemed important and of interest to members of society). The coverage dealt with the details of the legislation (balancing of state security with individual rights) with little mention of the history leading to the legislation, particularly, the McDonald Commission in relation to the RCMP "dirty tricks."

The hard news story took on the quality of "developing news" as opposition to the bill mounted and more actors became involved in the story. As the parameters of discourse were entrenched in the media, the reporting enveloped characteristics of developing news. Political actors argued the benefits and faults of the bill, lobby groups warned of potential civil liberties abuses, and the media itself criticized the inadequacies of the bill. The developing news aspects of the coverage were augmented in the early summer of 1983 by a series of stories that dealt with the analysis of the legislation and associated stories covering the issue of security. Stories dealing with topics such as the RCMP's "dirty tricks" and intrusive techniques were presented. This aspect of the press coverage can be seen as continuing news.

The coverage of the security legislation pivoted on key political events such as the introduction of the bill in the House of Commons, placing the legislation before a special House of Commons committee for discussion, the creation of a special Senate committee, the release of the report of the special Senate committee, the NDP filibuster, and the passing of the legislation. The coverage of these events could be typified as hard news and the coverage surrounding these events could be seen as developing and continuing news.

The importance of these news categories to the production of news lies in how they transform occurrences into news stories. In the case of the security legislation coverage, the reporting

revolves around central political events (hard news) with ongoing (developing news) stories loosely connecting these central events. As well, there are specific stories which deal with analysis of the legislation, and the subject of state security and espionage in general (continuing news). In addition, there appeared to be a relationship between the hard news coverage of the legislation and the other categories of coverage. As the hard news coverage decreased, so did the other coverage. It would appear that the longevity of security legislation news stories was contingent on the production of hard news and developing news. The key to these news categories and the net metaphor is the decision process that determines the categorization and longevity of hard news, developing news, and continuing news. Of course, this is a complex question, but it is evident that in the case of the reporting on the security legislation there is a close interaction between the media and the political sphere.

The news net is typified by the intimate relationship news workers have with power. News reporters routinely search out powerful persons to comment on news stories, whether or not these persons are qualified to comment. As such, the news net is largely constructed to project the opinions of those with high profile and access to power. Throughout the coverage of the security legislation, discourse was limited to the three major political parties, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, provincial Attorneys-General, and a few specialists in the area

of national security. The contingency of authoritative reporting often results in the construction of two-sided arguments. This is clearly the case in the reporting of the CSIS Act. The media, federal opposition parties, provincial political actors, and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association were critical of the legislation and the government that produced it. Of those against the bill, there was a varying degree of criticism (ranging from demand for slight changes in the proposed bill to complete re-drafting), but the premise of a security agency was never questioned. When the Special Senate Committee produced its changes to the proposed legislation (to address the criticisms directed towards it) the balance of the two-sided argument was disturbed. The government stated that the proposed changes dealt adequately with the criticisms. The other side argued that though the changes improved the bill, the proposed agency would still have too much power. The critical side was now in a weaker position, as they could be seen as inflexible. As well, the hard news reported throughout January 1984, was basically an iteration of earlier critiques. This limitation on the production and propagation of news may have been responsible for the greatly diminished reporting after January 1984.

Political manoeuvring may have also helped dissolve the dichotomous news construct framing the security legislation discourse. In effect, the Tories went from an adversarial position (generally proposing the Service remain in the RCMP) to a position of cooperation with the government. The then

Solicitor General, Robert Kaplan warned that if the Tories stalled the bill, the new agency would not be formed before the upcoming election. A Globe and Mail article (January 20, 1984:8) reports:

Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan has warned that if the Tories try to stall the bill while they sort out their differences the new agency may not get off the ground before the next election... The Tories, who hope to pick up additional seats from the New Democrats in western Canada in the next election, don't want to be seen as insulting the RCMP. There is a fear that western voters... might see the move to a civilian agency as an affront to the RCMP... there is a general Tory agreement that there is a need for a security service of some type and that its mandate and powers should be enshrined in legislation.

As the Tories knew that a new security agency was unavoidable, and that the issue could be politically volatile, it may have appeared to be in their best interests not to delay the legislation. With an upcoming election, and the possibility of forming the following government, the Tories probably did not want to have to deal with the issue. In any case, Tory opposition, as conveyed by the media, was minimal after January 1984.

The production of news stories (reporting) is crucial to the news net. The following inventory of fallacies examines the reporting of the security legislation by reviewing the collection of news articles in relation to the inventory of logical fallacies established in Chapter 2.

1) Appeal to authority: Appeal to authority played a large role in the press coverage of the security legislation. The framing of the press coverage pivoted on the discourse of major institutional actors. The government, and in particular, the Solicitor General, served as the focal point of interaction. The legislation was drafted, introduced, and promoted by the government. The NDP opposed the bill on the grounds that it was an affront to civil liberties while the Progressive Conservatives maintained that the security service should have remained within the RCMP. Other players included the Civil Liberties Association, provincial politicians (for example, Attorneys-General), a few specialized academics, and of course, the media.

Although the actual legislative process included briefs and presentations by a diverse cross-section of interest groups and individuals, the press reporting focussed almost exclusively on the above-mentioned groups. As a result of this, the parameters of the press discourse were quickly established and maintained throughout the coverage. Because of the closed network of interaction, the reporting was consistent and predictable throughout the legislative period.

2) Provincialism: The fallacy of provincialism encompasses the appeal to "in-group" thinking. The use of provincialism by the media in their coverage of the CSIS legislation revolves around the implicit assertion that the media were the people's voice. The media established themselves as a leading critic of the

legislation and promoted the conflict necessary to maintain an ongoing story. The press became the champion of civil rights against a government that would trample on the people.

3) Jumping to conclusions: To a large extent, this fallacy does not seem to apply to the coverage of the security legislation. There were ongoing references to the crimes committed by the RCMP in the 1970's and this was used as a basis for the concern of the possible sweeping powers of the CSIS. The precedent of past actions of the security service provided a basis to criticism of the proposed legislation. However, the extent of this connection was greatly exaggerated. The media equated the CSIS with the establishment of a totalitarian state.

4) Ambiguity: The misleading use of ambiguity in the coverage of the CSIS Act was mostly limited to the headlines that projected sensational images based on dystopian literature (for example, Orwell) and references to the clandestine world of espionage (KGB), while the articles themselves did not pursue this trajectory. Besides this, the press was vague in its frequent references to the crimes committed by the RCMP in the 1970's as "dirty tricks."

5) Ad hominem: This fallacy permeated most of the press coverage. The lacunae in the legislation were attributed to the then Solicitor General, Robert Kaplan. For instance, the

Vancouver Sun produced the headline "Mr. Kaplan's KGB" (June 2, 1983:A3). Other personalities that figured prominently in the reporting of the security legislation were then Attorney General, Roy McMurtry, Alan Borovoy of the Canadian Civil Rights Association, and NDP member of Parliament, Svend Robinson. Although these personalities were prominent in the reporting, it should be noted that the press did cover specific issues regarding the legislation, particularly ambiguous clauses in the legislation which were perceived as possible threats to civil liberties. Therefore, some caution must be exercised when describing the reporting as presenting issues in terms of personalities. Although this is true enough, it would be inaccurate to say issues, in themselves, were not discussed. To a certain extent this caution should be applied to all the fallacies discussed. Although blatant at times, the fallacies can also be quite subtle, and they do not necessarily preclude informative and insightful reporting.

On the other hand, some coverage was quite explicit in its focus on personalities. Besides the extensive use of photographs of then Solicitor General Bob Kaplan, the use of political cartoons conveyed the ad hominem fallacy. For instance, a Toronto Star (May 20, 1983:A18) political cartoon has a caricature of Mr. Kaplan sitting on the edge of a desk, opening someone's mail. To his left are two other characters: one opening mail, the other, with headphones, listening and recording a telephone conversation. On the desk there is a sign that says

"Canadian Security Service (Snooper Section)." Kaplan is wearing a badge that says "Smile you're on Kaplan camera," and the captioned speech of Kaplan reads: "Your mother says hi and sends her love, your sister left town with that married flamenco dancer, and she doesn't want you to worry about your you-know-what; she'll never tell a soul! By the way, I love your new pillowcases." There are several connecting themes in this cartoon, first, the association of Kaplan with a television program (Candid Camera = Kaplan Camera) which filmed persons in embarrassing situations. This sets an entertainment motif to the cartoon. Further, Kaplan's captioned speech typifies how the government can know every minute detail of an individual's life; the motif of the big government versus the individual citizen. The juxtaposition of these two themes provides an ironic flavour to the cartoon (the silliness of an inane television program juxtaposed with the intrusive powers of the state). The two security fellows in the background add a somewhat comic element to the cartoon in that they are both portrayed as dullards. This is not comic in itself but in relation to the romanticised image of espionage, the two characters can be seen as a deprecating contradiction.

What is particularly interesting is that this cartoon accompanies a news article that gives a detailed critique of the proposed legislation in terms of the findings of the McDonald Commission, the accountability of the Solicitor General, and the rule of law. This combination points to the connection of a news

value and an entertainment value in the production of the story. This connection is commonly seen in the relationship between headlines and stories - the attempt to combine an entertainment and news value in an effort to provide a product that the public will consume.

6) Tokenism: The use of tokenism was not clearly evident in the reporting of the security legislation. The loss of civil rights was always the central issue surrounding the coverage, and this was never downplayed. The tokenism of the coverage seems to be located at a different level. The lack of public concern with the legislation may point to the coverage being apprehended in terms of entertainment, or as something novel. Because of the remoteness of an issue such as national security and civil liberties, and the cinematic imagery of the "spy world," it is possible that most Canadians showed little concern over the legislation.

Tokenism in the press coverage is most evident in the lack of seriously addressing the issues of East-West relations and the resulting needs for security.

7) Straw Man: The straw man fallacy is not openly demonstrated in the reporting. The crucial issue of freedom and a right to dissent in a democratic society was always at the fore of reporting. However, at another level one could question the whole process of reporting of the security legislation. If

indeed it was of such importance, why was the reporting in the latter stages of the legislative process limited? It may be that the story had lost its commercial value or possibly that the passage of the legislation was seen by the press to be a "fait accompli." As well, the issue of the necessity of having a security agency was never discussed. The press focussed to a large extent on the issues of internal threats by the CSIS, but said very little about the external threats that the CSIS was created to contravene. The overall reporting of the security legislation points to an almost symbiotic relationship between the press and the political sphere.

8) False analogy: This fallacy was particularly related to the press imputation that the proposed CSIS legislation would lead to an organization analagous to the KGB. This, of course, implies that the legislation would also ultimately culminate in some form of a totalitarian state. To a certain extent it is not an unreasonable observation to see the CSIS in terms of other security services. The methods of surveillance, intelligence gathering, and secrecy cannot be extremely divergent between different agencies. However, the press neglects that unlike totalitarian states, the Canadian democracy has a body of safeguards such as the Charter of Rights, civil liberties groups, and the media, which can minimize the possible excesses of security agencies. The CSIS legislation itself provides some measure of accountability through the Security Intelligence

Review Committee and the Inspector General. This is not to say that injustices cannot happen at the hands of powerful government agencies, as the McDonald Commission clearly demonstrated. What it does point to is that though there may be similarities between different intelligence services, one must be aware of the differences, particularly in reference to political context.

9) Either-or fallacy: This fallacy is portrayed in the press coverage of the security legislation through the focus on the possible threat to civil rights inherent in the proposed legislation, neglecting an adequate discussion of the complexity of the world of security and espionage. While criticism was leveled at the legislation, little was offered in terms of concrete solutions.

(iii) Spiral Metaphor and the CSIS

As was shown in the previous chapter we can view the press as enabling (positive spiral) and as constraining (negative spiral). As well, the press can be seen within the utopian and dystopian modes. This section reviews the press coverage of the security legislation within these parameters.

(a) The Press as Enabling:

Just as metaphor has been shown to be enabling, the press can be seen as such. In Chapter 1, metaphor was shown to be a ground to social communication and action. One can view the press as an extension of metaphor as enabling in that it mediates communication to a mass population which would not be possible through face-to-face interaction (consociates). The press amplifies and extends metaphor by opening up vistas of communication in a mass society that would otherwise not be available (of course, this argument applies also to other media such as the telephone and television). Through the dissemination of information, the press encourages the development of systems of relevance among diverse sectors of society. Through this development a congruency can be achieved where persons may communicate with each other on social issues. An ongoing discourse is perpetuated where people can re-evaluate and transcend typifications. This process can lead to a greater sense of identity, community, and knowledge which in turn can lead to the achievement of goals by groups. In effect, this spiralling of interaction (Thunberg et al., 1982) can promote liberation from dominance.

In the case of the press coverage of the CSIS legislation, the spiral of increasing communication of the public on this issue is not evident, although several lobby groups did become involved in the legislative process. To a large extent the issue

of the CSIS legislation did not appear to be a priority in the public agenda. The coverage of the legislation was critical and did address important questions such as civil liberties, political accountability, and the rule of law, but the public did not seem especially concerned with the proposed legislation.

(b) Press as Constraining

With technological extensions in human capacity there is also an accompanying reduction. For instance, the telephone permits us to communicate over great distances (extension), but in so doing we lose some modalities that are present when persons are face-to-face. With the press coverage of the security legislation this extension-reduction phenomenon results in a shift from subjective typification to objective typification - the story becomes more and more anonymous and has little basis in everyday life. Most Canadians are probably not concerned with national security and civil liberties beyond the level of entertainment and novelty because they do not see these phenomena as affecting their lives in any significant fashion.

A Globe and Mail report (June 24, 1983:8) noted the opinion of counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association:

Mr. Borovoy said one of the greatest dangers of the new bill is that it could create a climate of fear and censorship. "People may become reluctant to exercise their freedoms of expression, assembly and association because they fear being put under surveillance."

This remark is congruent with the spiral of silence metaphor mentioned in Chapter 2. Although this is a reasonable concern, it would appear that, for the most part, public concern was not high enough to warrant this fear. This may be due to a general apathy towards the political issues of national security, legitimate dissent, and civil liberties.

(c) Dystopian and Utopian Views of the Press

To a certain extent, press coverage of the CSIS legislation would fit into a dystopian mode. Because the legislation occurred in 1984 it is not surprising that the media compared the security bill to the George Orwell's classic 1984. CSIS was portrayed as "Big Brother," everwatching and all-knowing. This dystopian perspective describes the CSIS as an all powerful institution capable of destroying people. The bleak dystopian view is based on total control by the state. Historically, the atrocities of Nazi Germany serve as a modern example and a metaphor of the dystopian regime (one could argue that the biblical tale of Fall of man is the primordial example of the dystopian perspective). Through the media, other states have been portrayed as dystopian. The Soviet Union, Iran, and China, have been described as dystopian. The press coverage of the security legislation has referred to the CSIS as an instrument in creating a dystopian state (for example "Kaplan's KGB"). The Winnipeg Free Press (May

20, 1983:6) article entitled "Too much for the spooks" best typifies the dystopian theme. The article itself is typical in its criticism of the proposed legislation for possible abuses to civil rights. The accompanying cartoon (which takes more space than the article) encapsulates the dystopian perspective. A half open manhole cover with CSIS written on it is shown in what seems to be a laneway. Under the manhole cover are two mysterious looking eyes in a black background. The caption, which points to under the manhole cover reads "Is it 1984 yet?" This is a powerful portrayal of CSIS as lowlife (coming out of the sewers) waiting for the opportunity to enforce a form of doctrinaire rule. The juxtaposing of this cartoon with an article that details flaws of the proposed legislation forms a news "package" that seduces the reader.

The media, on the one hand, presupposed the necessity of a secret police force and, on the other, presented the CSIS as dystopian. This suggests that the dystopian imagery in the media construction may be part of the contingencies of news production which require immediacy and sensationalism, rather than a part of a coherent view of the world. Through the attempted use of fear (fear that the government, through the CSIS, will be all-controlling), the press tried to increase readership by getting people's attention.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to show the importance of metaphor in the social world, particularly in reference to the press coverage of the CSIS Act. People apprehend and conceptualize the social world through typifications which are based in the metaphorical process of comparing and contrasting. The comparing and contrasting elements of metaphor (the "is like" and the "is not") are essential to a comprehensive vision of the social world. If the interplay of these elements is neglected, metaphor can become a constraining phenomenon (metaphor as constraining). Conversely, if one appreciates the dynamic nature of metaphor it can be an enabling phenomenon. In terms of the press, the dissemination of information in a mass society plays an important communicative role which can expand as well as limit the horizons of knowledge and discourse.

The examination of specific metaphors used to describe or encapsulate the press was undertaken in the attempt to achieve a deeper understanding of the press coverage of the security legislation. A major theme that was explored in this regard was the relationship between the press, the public, and the political sphere. The reporting indicated that the production of news was governed by a close relationship between the press and the political sphere. Fluctuations in press reporting were consistent with the political agenda. As well, the press coverage depended on persons in powerful positions (usually

politicians) to define the limits of news stories. Moreover, the public appeared to play a passive role in the production of the security legislation. A Gallup poll done in August 1983 indicated that most of the Canadian public was ignorant of the proposed Act. Furthermore, there was little evidence of public input in the actual news stories.

Another theme in this examination was how news production appeared to be consensus-forming. There was not only uniformity of reporting within specific newspapers, but also among newspapers across Canada. The juxtaposition of national security and civil rights served as the framework for virtually all reporting. Discussion of the necessity of a security agency, or the implications of international relationships on security matters, was excluded. Through the use of standard press typifications such as "hard news" and "soft news," and by framing discourse in the public idiom, the press coverage of the security legislation was largely stereotypical. Romantic images drawn from spy novels and films were used to sell the news coverage of the CSIS Act to the public. These images were often couched in a dystopian view of a CSIS-controlled state. Political cartoons, which sometimes accompanied articles, reinforced the dramatization of the coverage. As well, political personalities played a prominent role in the reporting, and to some extent, the issues themselves became personified (for example "Kaplan's Bill" or "Kaplan's KGB"). It appeared that the press coverage of the CSIS legislation presented a limited view of the world using

dystopian imagery and the contingencies of news production (for example, immediacy and sensationalism) to market a product.

Of course, the press did cover issues of importance, particularly the issue of civil rights. The issue is not whether the press disseminated important information. Rather, the point is that this information was incomplete and distorted, mainly due to the contingencies of news production.

In this thesis I explored the different levels of discourse involved in the production of the news, particularly with respect to the creation of the CSIS Act. I attempted to integrate studies on metaphor with a phenomenological approach in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the subject matter. However, this project could be further developed in several ways. A content analysis of the news articles could be done. This would possibly provide more detailed information on the dynamics of the metaphors explored in this thesis. An historical analysis of security matters in Canada and an analysis of the actual legislation (including a discussion of events following the implementation of the Act) would provide a better grounding for the work in this thesis.

The relevance of this thesis to criminology is evident. The underpinnings of how social and political issues are conveyed to people is crucial to the understanding of how order is constructed and maintained in a society. The interpretation of

phenomena by the media lends itself to an understanding of the negotiated processes (within and between institutions) which orders society. The study of mass communication provides a view of how this order is maintained.

Issues of national security are relevant to criminology because they explicitly involve the state, and the state (however one wishes to define it) is ultimately responsible for the maintenance of order in society. Through criminal justice institutions the state addresses "conventional crime." Through security institutions the state addresses "political crime." Through the concept of metaphor I have attempted to understand media discourses on the creation of the CSIS Act.

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APPENDIX A

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Page</u>
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	May 21, 1983	2
	May 21, 1983	12
	May 21, 1983	18
	June 1, 1983	1
	June 2, 1983	1
	June 2, 1983	10
	June 4, 1983	3
	June 7, 1983	7
	June 7, 1983	12
	June 15, 1983	5
	June 16, 1983	5
	June 22, 1983	4
	June 28, 1983	9
	July 5, 1983	8
	August 12, 1983	10
	September 7, 1983	3
	September 13, 1983	4
	September 22, 1983	2
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	Le Devoir	May 19, 1983
May 20, 1983		12
May 21, 1983		2
May 28, 1983		5
June 6, 1983		10
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January 20, 1984		6
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June 22, 1984		2
July 13, 1984		2
July 17, 1984		1

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Le Droit	January 13, 1984	13
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	January 21, 1984	5
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	July 13, 1984	1
Winnipeg Free Press	May 19, 1983	1
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	June 20, 1984	11
	June 21, 1984	1
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	July 17, 1984	10
	July 18, 1984	6
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	June 8, 1983	A10
	June 9, 1983	A20
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January 21, 1983	B5
February 1, 1984	B7
February 6, 1984	A6
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March 21, 1984	B1
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June 6, 1984	E1
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