uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTOCTORALES

uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSDOCTORAL STUDIES

Sophie Nadeau

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

M.A. (Communication)

GRADE / DEGREE

Department of Communication

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

Making News: A look inside two Ottawa television stations

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Mark Lowes

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Jenepher Lennox-Terrion

Sherry Ferguson

Gary W. Slater

Le Doyen de la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales / Dean of the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

Making News: A look inside two Ottawa television stations

Sophie Nadeau

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the MA Communication

Department of Communication
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-50908-1
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-50908-1

Table of Contents

Table of Contents ii

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements iv

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Chapter 2: Scholarly literature review 10

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology 38

Chapter 4: Results and Analysis 49

Chapter 5: Conclusion 80

Appendix A: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board Certification 86

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form 87

Appendix C: Interview questions 89

Bibilography 91

Abstract

The work conducted in Canadian television newsrooms has significant implications for journalism, news and society. This research investigates how the routines and decision-making processes of two local private television newsrooms form a "working ideology," potentially influencing choices relating to news content. Data were collected through interviews with employees of two Ottawa newsrooms, both technical and editorial. This thesis finds a 'dumbed down' routine may have serious implications for content, including increasing bureaucratic dependency and centralization of story choice. It finds that dwindling resources result in aggressive efficiencies, including the new emergence of a competency gap between newsroom needs and available skill sets of employees. Finally, it finds that soft integration between news and advertiser interests is occurring. The findings raise important questions about the ability of Canadian local television news to deliver the socially important stories the public expects.

Keywords: Television journalism, work routines, news objectivity, professional ideologies, television news industry

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Professor Mark Lowes for his support and guidance in supervising this thesis.

Thanks to Monique, Larry, Julie and Eric Nadeau for their unfailing support and Oren Frankl for his love, encouragement and patience.

The author would also like to extend a special thank you to all the subjects who participated in this Master's project. It could not have been completed without their trust in the author and willingness to speak from the heart about their chosen profession.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The work of a local television newsroom plays a critical role in building the collective knowledge of a community. The relationship between the newsroom and the viewing community extends well beyond Habermas' concept of a public sphere into a shared social experience which culminates in the possibility of shared learning by all parties in a larger community of practice (Habermas, 1989; Wenger, 1999). Or, more simply put by W.I. Thomas and echoed by subsequent sociological studies of newswork, our picture of how the world works is integrally tied to how we work in the world (Fishman, 1980; Thomas, 1928). A local newscast, in many ways, imprints an identity on a community, offering important information about its progress, accomplishments and failures.

Despite this important role, self-analysis does not come easily to the Canadian private television news business. The way the news is covered – the way it is manufactured -- is not a part of the newscast. As a consequence, the production of local television news, the minutia of the craft, is a mystery to viewers. Furthermore, journalists rarely cast a critical eye on themselves unless a very public and significant ethical breech takes place. Some researchers in journalism studies and communications have lamented the essential hypocrisy at the core of the industry: newsrooms demand accountability from the world around them while refusing to discuss or reveal their own decision-making processes.

The result of this secrecy, regardless of intent, is that the viewing public is left to assume that the processes by which the news is manufactured serves both the news and the viewer well. There is no mechanism available for the public to observe what takes place behind the curtain. As such, how can a real accountability structure exist in modern

television journalism? This context makes the study of journalistic routines even more important, if only for the information and benefit of the public.

Business and economic researchers have identified routines as the "genes" of an organization. Nelson and Winter (1982) underline two key dimensions of routine in *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change*. Routines can be the organizational memory of any particular business and, at the same time, they can be the "truces amongst conflict," helping companies to run smoothly (Nelson & Winter, 1982, p. 134). Building on these ideas, Cohendet and Llerena (2003) make the argument that the study of the localization of routines within an organization has "important consequences" for understanding routines and business processes generally. In other words, the particular context in which a routine develops must be explored in depth to enable global analysis of the way in which particular organizations and professions work. Cohendet and Llerena conduct their business research with the concept of community in mind, in much the same way Wenger (1999) uses the concept of community in a communications context.

Understanding the way the media business works is important. This, combined with the democratic responsibilities placed upon the media industry generally, underlines why this area of study should stir a greater sense of urgency. These democratic responsibilities, arguably never properly defined in a modern context, find their roots in scholarly work dating back to the 19th and early 20th centuries with Carlyle's (1886; 1893) concept the fourth estate and its power in society. Habermas (1989) has also built the foundation of a definition of this responsibility by describing the media's mediating influence between the people and government. The media is a pillar in modern pluralist liberal democracy. The viewing public often expects of its media a 'watchdog' positioning, keeping tabs on the

other agents of bureaucratic action. This conceptual rooting leaves modern researchers with an important job: to better understand the way media works in today's democratic context. At the intersection of media and communications studies, business and sociology we find a particularly unique area of interest which demands more investigation: How do the work routines of local television journalists influence the content they produce?

In the tradition of newsroom work routine studies conducted by Breed (1955), Tuchman (1978), Gans (1979), Fishman (1980), Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1987; 1989; 1991) and Lowes (1997; 1999), this study investigates the work routines and professional ideologies of two local private television newsrooms in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Specifically, it examines how the routines and decision-making processes of newsroom employees influence the production of news content. It also examines the extent to which business pressures impact story and source choices in the newsroom. To achieve this goal, data were collected through in depth interviews with the editorial and technical employees of Ottawa's two leading private television newsrooms. For the purposes of this study editorial employees are defined as reporters, producers and newsroom leaders. Technical employees are defined as camera people, editors, directors and equipment technicians.

This study reveals how resource constraints, community responsibilities and competitive drive towards ratings success have a significant impact on the kinds of stories reporters follow and produce. As demands on local private television news production grow, the way journalism is conducted is changing. It has been shown dwindling resources force change upon the "old" kind of journalist (McLean, 2005). In the past, these "old" journalists practiced activities such as research and discovery of new sources separate from the business of the television station. The research discussed in this thesis shows how changes in the

work routines of local television journalists have created a new hybrid of newsroom employee: one who is trained to identify the commercial opportunities, operational consequences and journalistic elements of a particular story. This new generation of television newsroom workers is sensitive to the realities of the business and understands that the priorities of the television newsroom have changed.

In Ottawa, Ontario (Canada), there are few English local television news choices. Viewers can choose from two private television stations, A-Channel and CTV Ottawa, or the publicly-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's local supper hour news. The cable television station Rogers 22 offers some news programming but not in a newscast format. In a viewing area of almost a million people only one television station has been at the top of the market, virtually since its inception. CTV Ottawa (CJOH) has dominated television BBM Canada ratings in the Ottawa market for as long as interviewed subjects in both newsrooms can remember. Many interview subjects agree "no station has ever made a proper run at CTV" (Nadeau, 2007a). This, despite the fact that a majority of respondents say competition is a critical element to journalistic excellence. CTV local news service in Ottawa became available in the spring of 1961, offering viewers in the area an alternative to the CBC French and English television service ("CTV Ottawa Web Site," 2007). In 1995, CTVglobemedia decided to homogenize all its local news stations under the same CTV umbrella; known as CJOH Television News for years, the station is now simply known as CTV Ottawa.

CTV Ottawa is an anchor-driven private television station journalistically led by one man, Max Keeping. Keeping sets the tone for the market focusing many of the news gathering resources of the station on community-oriented stories, whether they involve

fundraising for a good cause or telling an Ottawa community success story. The leadership exacted on the CTV Ottawa newsroom has defined the tone for the entire Ottawa news market for several decades. Max Keeping is the only interview subject included in this study who agreed to answer questions on the record. His comments serve to punctuate and often challenge many of the elements discovered in this study.

A-Channel Ottawa is now also working to become an anchor-driven station promoting anchor Sandra Blaikie as the trustworthy source for Ottawa news. A-Channel is, however, a relatively new producer-run newsroom, where the news director and show producers retain real control and influence over content and technical choices. A-Channel has never been able to catch up to CTV Ottawa's hold on the top ratings spot but they are trying to make gains. To further complicate, recent ownership shifts in the television world have made the news landscape in Ottawa additionally volatile. A-Channel now, according to the most recent set of BBM ratings, has fallen behind CBC's local Ottawa news (CTV.ca, 2007).

Volatility is certainly nothing new for A-Channel, created as a CBC affiliate in 1961 in the Ottawa valley under the call letters CHOV; its known history is littered with several different owners. After being acquired by CHUM in 1997, the station, now with the call letters CHRO, gained the ability to broadcast in the city of Ottawa. CHUM re-branded CHRO in 2005 to increase profitability and build a more competitive machine on the road to becoming a full-fledged network ("About A-Channel," 2007).

We are on the precipice of a new world for the employees in both newsrooms following CTVglobemedia's purchase of CHUM Television. Currently, as per CRTC approval, both Ottawa stations are now owned by CTVglobemedia. As this thesis is being

concluded, it appears CTVglobemedia may be poised to rebrand the A-Channel stations yet again. The regulator allowed CTV to retain the channels in the hopes it can provide a financial boost to the long-suffering stations. According to newspaper reports, the company hopes to build a second national network aimed at a younger audience (Robertson, 2007a). What this means for day-to-day journalism in both newsrooms in largely unknown. Additionally, there is an aging workforce approaching retirement at CTV Ottawa, including the inevitable retirement of the influential Max Keeping. The combined effect has everyone wondering what outcomes the people who work in private television news in Ottawa can expect.

Because the interviews for this thesis were conducted between January-July 2007, the results provide a unique window into a changing world. The Ottawa private television market provides a fascinating microcosm for the study of journalism in North America. The routines that may be discovered in these newsrooms represent the front lines of a changing media landscape. These stations are competitors and yet now belong to the same company, and at ground level, live much the same day-to-day reality. The Ottawa market is unique and complex; however, the experience of the workers interviewed for this study tells a universal and important story. It is, predictably, a story about the impact of convergence and business choices on the everyday lives of newsworkers. However, this thesis also seeks to uncover a story about the reality of news production in local television news and how a combination of factors can combine in a media market to create working ideology.

Chapter two of this work will outline the theoretical placement of this work, situating it not only in the newsroom work routine literature mentioned earlier but also in a larger communications context. There are currently two significant trends in journalism studies

that can benefit from the information contained in this study. The first is the field's interest in the impact of convergence and business principles on the news industry. The second is the wider concern of the "dumbing down" of news. There is a growing academic concern for the future of journalism globally as the demand for news as product edges out resources dedicated to the quality of story telling and research in individual stories. This study does not wade into the ethical implications about the changes in newswork; however it does give those wishing to study the subject a rich Canadian look at the dynamic culture of the newsroom that could lead to debate and discussion, which this author hopes can assist the industry.

Chapter three will discuss the methodological techniques utilized in the execution of this study. This work employs qualitative interview techniques and methods standard to communications research in social sciences. The most appropriate methodology for this work is confidential in depth interviews with individuals from both television stations over a six month period of time. Twenty subjects were asked the same general questions about their work routine in an effort to document common trends and perceptions. In this case, the qualitative data is a mix of interview results and on-going review of the changing media landscape. Along with the expert knowledge of the author on this topic, which facilitates a better understanding of the data, it is this strategically chosen path that enables the best analysis of newswork in local private television news.

Chapter four will examine, in detail, the work routines of editorial and technical employees in these two newsrooms at what has proven to be a very interesting and unpredictable time. This work does not attempt to predict the future of private television in the Ottawa market. It builds upon, as some Canadian studies on private television have done,

existing causal links between media concentration and work routine outcomes. Amidst the competition and the business of television, it seeks to explain the day-to-day realities of work for those people who find themselves in private television in Ottawa today. And, it is also hoped, this information can provide particular insight into what these realities might mean for Canadian journalism, communication and society.

Chapter five will conclude with an exploration of the ways in which this study reveals new and interesting details for this field of research and provides additional evidence to embolden existing academic theories. The irony in this completed work is that, despite the die-hard competition and drive held within the heart of journalists working in these two newsrooms, the trends and realities are much the same and, for many of the subjects interviewed, cause great concern.

This research investigates how the routines and decision-making processes in two Ottawa private television newsrooms form a "working ideology" and influence news content. It seeks to understand the essential conflict private television newsrooms face: the competition between the journalistic creative process and commercial realities. It seeks to further deepen an understanding of the existing link between newsroom routine and story choice. It also brings new information to light about the impact of resource availability pressures on the quality of journalistic work being conducted in Canadian television newsrooms, especially at the local level. Building upon the existing research in the field this study also seeks to explain how the actual journalistic activities of newsroom employees are consistently coloured by the business priorities of local private television news.

It is hoped this exploration will offer new information about how local private television news is produced in Canada and the implications of this production for the craft of

journalism. The results of this thesis also aim to call into question journalism's role as a democratic agent in modern society overall and stir debate about the future viability of this role.

Chapter 2: Scholarly literature review

The news media seem to be fascinated with covering the *business* of television: parent companies bought and sold, anchors hired and lost, and ratings revealed for another season. However, newsroom work and the behaviour of journalists in the workplace is taboo for journalists themselves to cover. (Turner, 2005) It appears the press is in the unique position to ignore, strategically perhaps, the issues facing its craft. (Lapointe, 2003) Coverage of journalists and the newsroom, when it happens, usually centers on incidences of fraud and fabrication, which erode the public's trust of journalists and (by coincidence) stumble upon matters of process and routine.[1] In addition, the existing media coverage of this subject is American and largely focuses on the dynamics of newspaper newsrooms.

There is great concern in the field of media studies about the "dumbing down" of television news and journalism in general. In simple terms, the "dumbing down" of television news can be described as a thinning of journalistic vigor for research and originality. Taken further, "dumbing down" can perhaps be accounted for by outright laziness or "efficiency" on the part of some television newsrooms. For example, in the U.S., the use of "fake news," or news offered to newsrooms from public relations companies and corporations, is becoming quite a concern.

> It's shocking to see how product placement moves secretly unfiltered from the boardroom to the newsroom and then straight into our living rooms. Local TV broadcasts -- the most popular news source in the United States -- frequently air video news releases without fact-checking, conducting their own reporting, or disclosing that the footage has been provided and sponsored by big corporation (Farsetta & Price, 2006, p. 3).

---

1 A quick search with the Poynter Institute (poynter.org) offers a list of better known fabrication examples. 1998 was a particularly bad year, featuring the work of The New Republic's Stephen Glass, for instance.

The Center for Media and Democracy's report on fake news specifically lays blame on convergence and a drive for profit for this unsettling trend in the U.S. and sets out as one of its goals to watch the behaviour of American local newsrooms very carefully ("About CMD," 2007). There is no available research in the public or academic spheres to suggest that the same kind of behaviour is happening in Canada. However, there is no comparable body undertaking the kind of research in Canada that the Center for Media and Democracy is doing south of the border. Nevertheless, the concern is present and summed up well by a former CTV News Vice-President: "We are in a media paradox. Never have we consumed so much news but so mistrusted the journalists delivering it...never have we been offered so much choice but felt so starved for fairness and accuracy" (Lapointe, 2003).

Many researchers believe the global media industry has lost its desire to adhere to the historically prescribed aesthetic that journalists must serve an informational role to hold democracies accountable (Fulford, 1999; Ursell, 2003). This process of sense making holds specific values in high regard: impartiality, accuracy, balance and attention to detail. Ursell argues a drive towards popularity and entertainment goals in modern media pose a direct threat to this accepted informational role. To some, journalists have become a slave to their deadlines and, as such, "the system of newsday cycles has a tendency to abolish historical awareness, creating a perpetual series of foregrounds at the expense of in depth and background" (Schlesinger, 1977, p. 349). In other words, the system may be excusing a lack of research and attention to detail in an effort to simply get the job done.

Others argue entertainment and a certain desire to appeal to popular culture has always been a part of television news. For these academics, "entertainment is the supra-ideology of all discourse on television" (Postman, 1985, p. 87). These researchers lament

that television specifically "has a grave defect for newspeople: It compels sensible people to behave melodramatically...So television gives us the news as show business—or to put it another way—as fun" (Baker, 1999, p. 103). The problem in news is deciding what is popular, what constitutes entertainment and what exact actions constitute an abandonment of traditional journalistic values.

In a recent study of television journalism news processes in the United Kingdom, Ursell makes a compelling argument that it is the routine behind television news which is causing this "dumbing down" phenomenon and not social desire, or lack thereof, for popular culture in news. He argues, "'dumbed down' working conditions add up to compromised professionalism, which adds up to "dumbed down" product" (Ursell, 2003, p. 43). He adds that, at least in UK journalism, "the valued media professional and creative individual is in training to becoming either de-professionalized and/or subordinated by cost-driven production criteria" (Ursell, 2003, p. 45). In other words, the public service element of journalism is fading quickly and the evidence of this erosion can be seen in the working ideology and common routines of television news employees.

The Government of Canada has long been obsessed with trying to understand the impact of media on Canadian society. Various House of Commons and Senate committee studies serve to illustrate this point: the *Senate Special Committee on Mass Media* (1970) chaired by Keith Davey, Kent's *Royal Commission on Newspapers* (1981), *The Ties that Bind* (1992) and *Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting* (2003). All attempts reveal the impact of the media on society, largely in the context of Canadian content. That is, how much creative programming and writing should be Canadian in order to prevent a negative impact on the culture of Canada? They also reveal important

national values when it comes to the press. They address critical concerns about concentration and ownership in media generally. Each also reveals the essential debate over the role of government in media. Both Kent (1981) and Davey (1970) talk about the freedom of the press as a right of the people, which also contains, by consequence, an element of social responsibility. In turn, each recommended additional government controls in media that never came to fruition. The multitude of government studies and reports on this subject reveal that, while we have a high degree of interest in the quality and delivery of media in Canada, we have never sufficiently decided as a society what it is Canadians expect from their media. The answer is critical in establishing priorities in the newsroom and setting the tone for newsroom culture.

The Senate Standing Committee on Transport and Communications recently completed a study on "the current state of Canadian media industries; emerging trends and developments in these industries; the media's role, rights, and responsibilities in Canadian society; and current and appropriate future policies relating thereto" (*Final Report on Canadian News Media*, June 2006). This committee, which received little to no coverage in the mainstream press, provides new information for researchers concerned with the work of media. At the heart of their work lies an important question: Are entrepreneurialism and imagination fueling each other or at odds with each other in the newsroom? In other words, do current trends towards increasing convergence in the name of media profits damage potential diversity in and quality of coverage? Diversity especially is of great importance in light of the committee's assertions about the importance of a free press.

> To make informed decisions, citizens need a wide range of news and information. They also need access to a broad and diverse array of opinions and analyses about matters of public interest. Journalists are important providers of such information, as are the information media that transmit such material. This

is why the freedom of the press is widely recognized as a central pillar of any democracy (*Final Report on Canadian News Media*, June 2006).

Their recommendations say much about the work of journalism and the responsibility of the federal government in supporting and preserving the craft in the face of changing technology and business pressures. Among the recommendations made by the Senate committee is that the Broadcasting Act "be amended to give a clear priority to news and information programming within the Canadian broadcasting system" and that "a network of centres of excellence for research on journalism and the state of the Canadian news media be established." (*Final Report on Canadian News Media*, June 2006).

These recommendations have not, as of yet, been acted upon by the federal government. The Senate committee also offers a host of suggestions for the media to consider in an effort to preserve the quality and diversity of news offerings in Canada. Among these suggestions are the following:

- News media should make efforts to establish public editor positions.
- Media should assist in the creation and ongoing support of press and media councils in Canada.
- News organizations that have not done so should develop statements of principles that apply to their news gathering activities and include explicit pledges that the interests of the proprietors will be treated in exactly the same way as all other news coverage and the statement of principles should be made public and be widely distributed within the organization, in particular to its journalists.
- The Canadian Broadcast Standards Council should make transparent its complaint mechanism and add people with paid experience in journalism to its review processes.
- News organizations should provide more, and more regular, opportunities for mid-career training for journalists.
- Large media firms should continue, and indeed increase, support to Canadian schools of journalism.
- Canada shall develop its own independent media research centre.
- Secondary schools should include courses in media literacy.
- News and information organizations, in their hiring decisions, should attempt to obtain a demographic balance reflective of the larger society (*Final Report on Canadian News Media*, June 2006).

The Senate's significant work and research in this area spurred these suggestions; however, they are simply suggestions. There is no evidence any effort has been made among Canadian media to undertake new efforts in this area. The lack of action is further emboldened by a Canadian public that is poorly informed as to how the news is produced and, therefore, not inclined to take interest in the suggestions. In other words, the pressure upon Canadian media companies to implement any change is minimal.

In addition, as with many other Canadian-based government reports on communications issues, this report has little to offer in way of analysis of the way in which newsworkers take on their tasks everyday. The challenges presented in newswork routine, and by association quality or content, remain largely unexplored by Canadian politicians and the public. What does seem to be clear is the long standing frustration of Canadian journalists with the increasingly multi-tasking nature of their jobs. This newest Senate report connects the dots between the stacks of documents on Canadian media on this issue:

> The Davey Report in 1970 suggested that most newsrooms were "bone yards of broken dreams. Eleven years later, the Kent Commission quoted Davey and argued that concentration and conglomerate ownership had increased the frustration, confusion and malaise affecting journalists. Today, the 24-hour news day and the need for multi-tasking have added to the pressures on journalists (*Final Report on Canadian News Media*, June 2006).

Despite the concerns of the Senate committee regarding media convergence and the impact of the centralization of news due to economic pressures, there is still little information in this report about the actual routine of newswork at play in Canadian newsrooms. There is allusion to an adaptation being negotiated on the part of journalists but no significant evidence of the kind of adaptation existing in day-to-day operations.

This author contends that the roots of the tension between the business and journalistic ends of television news can be witnessed in the work routine of local private television news. The concept of revealing critical trends in journalism through observing work routines is well-established in several ethnographic studies, across journalistic mediums. For the purposes of this study, newswork is defined as "the act of constructing reality rather than recording it" (Lowes, 1999, p. 5). Or, otherwise put, newsroom employees in local private television news do not simply cover the stories of the day, by their choices they formulate what is news and what is not, as well as often dictate what an acceptable news agenda is before it has even happened.

The media set the tone for the definition of news. The news, by this definition, is socially constructed. The concept is an extension of Ericson, Baranek and Chan's work in *Visualizing Deviance: A Study of News Organization* (1987), *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources* (1989) and *Representing Order: Crime, Law and Justice in the News Media* (1991) where the media institution in question imbues critical powers to its employees "as selectors of which people can speak in public conversations, as formulators of how these people are presented, and as authors of knowledge" (1991, p. 16).

The study of newsroom routines from an ideological standpoint arguably begins with Warren Breed's analysis in *Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis* (1955). Breed set out to discover how story choices are made, via newsroom policy or position, in a newspaper newsroom; this in an effort to explain the possible reasons behind potential bias in the press. Breed explains that newsroom policy is learned by new employees through six basic vehicles of social control: institutional authority and sanctions, feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors, mobility aspirations, absence of conflicting group allegiance, the

pleasant nature of the activity and news as value (Breed, 1955, pp. 330-331). And, as Breed explains, while the policy can be circumvented in certain situations, these conditions create conformity among employees in relation to story choice. He concludes:

> The cultural patterns on the newsroom produce results insufficient for wider democratic needs. Any important change toward a more "free and responsible press" must stem from various possible pressures on the publisher, who epitomizes the policy making and coordinating role (Breed, 1955, p. 335).

The idea of newsroom routine formulating ideology can, in this way, be seen as a measure of control by those running the news business in particular. The sociology of a newsroom creates conformity and, as Breed sets out, newsroom management defines the ideological framework, which in turn guides decision making for the newsroom.

Tuchman's (1973; 1978) ethnographic research builds on this academic analysis of work routines in the newsroom. Tuchman's analysis of *news as frame* underscores "the ways in which professionalism and decisions flowing from professionalism are a result of organizational needs" (1978, p. 2). In other words, the business and logistical concerns of producing news are thought to play a significant role in determining its content. Tuchman also sheds light on the debate about norms and objectivity in the creation of television news, especially in the area of visual norms. She also describes how news gathering, during the time of her study, takes place in a hierarchical system framed by the cooperation of a "complex bureaucracy" of employees (1978, p. 25). The whole, Tuchman reports, tends to resist the utilization of news text, photos and footage from centralized services or wires preferring its own work first and foremost. This is a phenomenon that, as we will see in the results of this thesis, has changed dramatically.

Tuchman's *Making News* (1978) describes in detail the way in which news employees categorize or typify news to make it easier to control, predict and cover within the context of their daily routines. Tuchman outlines the five general categories of news as hard, soft, spot, developing and continuing. She adds that newsworkers interviewed during the course of her research found these categories difficult to fully define since they were, at the time, taken so much for granted (Tuchman, 1978, p. 47). This is similar to Breed's (1955, p. 328) assessment that news employees had a difficult time quantifying the specifics of newsroom policy and routine. The parameters of news coverage and what makes news can be very nebulous when required. Tuchman also finds that a generalist position is favored among journalists, rendering them more flexible to the demands of the day (1978, p. 67). A generalist position is considered in contrast to reporting within a beat structure where certain journalists have expertise in certain areas. Importantly, she also discusses how the cost of potential legal libel suits, due to errors in fact, act as a deterrent to sloppiness because credibility (even perception of credibility) is of paramount importance (Tuchman, 1978, p. 84).

A criticism to consider regarding Tuchman's work is that her arguments are perhaps too "perfectly meshed" and "lack any sense of contradictions" (Robinson, 1981) and thus challenges Tuchman's thinking in this way:

> Does the self-validating and self-perpetuating system of newswork Tuchman describes allow no real dispute from within or without? If news is only "a means not to know," from where do those "who know" get what they know…The danger in such a finely woven, all-embracing net is that it can be taken as an invitation to defeatism and despair (Robinson, 1981, p. 1342).

A concerned, perhaps negative, position seems to be commonplace in similar studies; however, it remains to be seen how relevant the emotional value of conclusions is to the greater debate of challenges facing the news industry.

Gans (1979) digs into the potential reasons behind story choice and coverage in his simultaneous look at CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time. The sociologist looks at several areas in determining the reasons behind how the media decides what is news including the relationship between sources and journalists, how stories fit with a particular medium, news values and ideology, profits and audience and additional pressures (internal or external) that could produce censorship of various kinds.

Gans concludes the most significant influencing factors in how news is produced are efficiency and power. By efficiency, Gans means journalists must do what they can, with what they have, in the time allocated. "Efficiency is thus a function of deadline, for while no one knows whether the audience wants the latest news, the news must be on the air or in the readers' mailboxes at a prearranged time" (1979, p. 283). And, by power, Gans refers to the power held by sources to "supply the information that makes national news and to exert pressure" (1979, p. 282). Gans adds that while these two concepts are intertwined it is difficult to choose which is more important. He also adds that the power concept is sometimes shared among different parties: the audience and various sources, not just political ones. Journalists then, Gans argues, have autonomy but "within the bounds of these two restraints" (1979, p. 284). More generally, Gans attributes the fundamental nature of news to the hierarchical nature of North American society.

Fishman's (1980) research into the ideological dimension of newswork, particularly in *Manufacturing the News*, reveals the importance of *bureaucratic construction* in the

newspaper industry. Fishman explains how the process by which the news is created directly affects the content produced. In this groundbreaking study he systematically explores how newsworkers' routine are defined to create a "bureaucratically constructed universe" which allows them to produce the content necessary in a restrictive environment of deadlines and resource limitations (Fishman, 1980). He determines the following areas are specifically defined for reporters to enable daily work, thereby making news ideological:

> 1. Their movement through a beat territory. [2]
> 2. Their exposure to news sources.
> 3. The meaning and relevance of what they are exposed to (i.e., their sense of something as an event and their sense of its importance.
> 4. What occurrences are not worth seeing (i.e. non-events)
> 5. The permissible times at which events may be reported (i.e. news pegs)
> 6. What constitutes a factual account and, thus, what constitutes the facts of a case.
> 7. What constitutes a suspicious account and, thus, what constitutes a matter to be investigated.
> 8. What constitutes errors and oversights and, then, what constitutes their correction in news stories.
> 9. What constitutes a controversial matter and, then, what constitutes the sides and terms of the controversy (Fishman, 1980, p. 134).

The exploration of these ideological procedures is important because they may help us understand the decisions of newsroom employees and why they may choose certain actions over others. These often become "procedures people use as a means not to know" (Fishman, 1980; Smith, 1972). In other words, the way in which journalists work may permit them to systematically overlook actions, ideas and improvement which do not fit into the adopted routine of the newsroom. This behaviour is not seen as a failure since the choice still meet the demands of the procedure.

---

2 When Fishman refers to a beat he means a defined subject area for coverage such as business or politics which journalists are assigned to for on-going monitoring and relationship building.

Once having identified the deep ideological roots of news production, Fishman identifies three critical dynamics in the American news production system: the bureaucratic logic, the normative logic and the economic logic of news reporting (1980, p. 140). Fishman maintains that the routine of newsworkers makes up only one part, albeit an important one, of the construction of news. He maintains that it is useful to "think of news as the outcome of two systems which produce accounts: a system of journalistic accounts and, underlying this, a system of bureaucratic accounts" (Fishman, 1980, p. 141). As such, the bureaucratic logic maintains that stories are created in complex systems prior to reaching news organizations and that these systems, in fact, feed the news cycle. This was witnessed by Fishman in the beat assignments of reporters, which centre around institutional stalwarts such as government, police, and the courts, for example.

The relationship is important, Fishman argues, because newsworkers can count on the *routinized* news by these systems. It is the newsworkers' need for reliable information which leads them to bureaucrats and officials. This is because, as Fishman maintains, "news personnel participate in upholding a normative order of authorized knowers in the society" (1980, p. 144). This is the basis for the normative logic which asserts that, because of this norm, newsworkers will take information from these knowers as "credible, competent" fact rather than "merely as a claim" (1980, p. 144). This norm amounts to "a moral division of labour: officials have the facts; reporters merely get them" (Fishman, 1980, p. 145).

Finally, the economic logic of news reporting underlies the bureaucratic logic. Fishman explains "deadlines, story quotas, and the need for conveniently locatable, expectable, and dependable quantities of raw news all have their rationale in the capitalist economy of news enterprises" (1980, p. 146). If a news organization can deliver reliable

news daily it can gain the trust of the news consumer, thereby assuring a stable and loyal audience for advertising and subsequent revenues. Fishman's analysis of newswork logic and ideology lays down important parameters for the study of newsroom work routines.

Ericson, Baranek and Chan's (1987; 1989; 1991) studies of news organization also reveal a language and ritual to newswork over the several studies they published. In the study of newsroom work routines, *Visualizing Deviance* (1987) stands out for its conclusions about the apparent systematic routine that creates news. The researchers conclude that the nature of the relationship between sources and journalists is such that the sources become reporters for news organizations and that, as such "fluidity exists in organizational boundaries" (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 345). In this way, they further confirm the bureaucratic logic identified by Fishman. They explain journalists behave in this way because modern society is obsessed by organization and structure. The media's fascination and coverage of deviant acts, often criminal acts, demonstrate the foundation of this position.

> News of deviance and control rises to the fore because of this focus on procedure. While it has other values and functions – holding audiences because it is entertaining; fitting with constraints on making news in a predictable way; articulating with news culture values of what is newsworthy; instructing about dominant culture values concerning the nature of social order – news of deviance and control dominates because it contributes to the organizing and enactment of social life (Ericson et al.,1987, p. 346).

They support the findings of Tuchman and Fishman that news is a social construct of journalists and their sources. However, they take a step further in imparting responsibility on journalists saying they are "power brokers" and "active agents of organized life" (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 347). They also object to previous assertions that the systemic nature of news is necessarily rule-bound. They maintain newsworkers "experience the process of news

making in terms of equivocality, change, fluidity, and discovery" and that, furthermore, journalists feel torn between the "intuitive" nature of their work and the "organizational constraints" of news (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 347). These constraints, such as resource availability and deadlines, not only limit workers, they are used as justification for daily decisions.

Ericson et al. also have a great deal to say about the journalistic routine. First, that values and principles are negotiated daily between newsroom workers, story to story, to determine what is important and that these discussions form a "vocabulary of precedents" upon which employees can return to for guidance (Ericson et al.,1987, p. 349). They maintain journalists are generalists out of necessity so they can be moved from beat to beat, topic to topic. They do not cultivate news from their audience rather from friends, associates and sources, earlier defined as "authorized knowers." Finally, researchers maintain that journalists have limited opportunity to directly observe the substantive facts of the stories they work on and that, when they do, their view is already structured by the bureaucracies offering the news at hand (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 351). In their conclusions, they explain how news production is a "social process involving active manipulation of common-sense forms of culture" (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 352). The day-to-day gathering of news, by this definition, formulated from a compilation of a journalists' interactions with the newsroom environment and, indeed, the greater social and bureaucratic environment.

Finally, Ericson et al. offer a few observations on the particular nature of television newsrooms. They find this environment to be "a more enclosed social organization than the newspaper, and its content more preordained" adding "television news is a system of paint-by-numbers" (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 355). In other words, the process is so greatly defined

that those working in it need only to fill in the holes of production with news that fits with the demands of well-defined newsroom constraints. They maintain this is caused by limited resources and an emphasis on general assignment reporting, the length of stories (typically shorter than ninety seconds) and the need for visual representations. Television news also, in their view, consistently looks for dramatic and entertaining news items to retain the audience.

Much of the research discussed here demonstrates how newsworkers depend on a daily routine focused on efficiency and production. As well, researchers say journalists are "led to rely heavily on predictable sources of stories in particular bureaucratic settings" (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 355). It is also the conclusion of these authors that newspaper workers have more autonomy than workers in television news. However, they add that our understanding of the differences between these media, both in routine and ideology is still limited.

Crane (1991) has found additional evidence to explain how the constraints of television production direct workers to focus on story format rather than quality of content. Her study specifically looks at how local television news producers and television viewers each watch and relate to news stories. It turns out the perspectives of audiences and producers, in the U.S. at least, are very different. Crane's conclusions are that television producers would be well served to focus on the elements important to viewers: "developing salient, topical themes; establishing why they should care; providing important background information; answering the 'so what?' question; and linking video and narrative"(1991, p. 31). This conclusion is important for researchers studying news content. During the course

of her study, Crane also learned about some important elements of the local television newsroom routine useful to the development of this thesis.

Crane found that newsroom employees tend to focus on the production elements of a story and value these elements much more than viewers would. She also maintains that employee reactions to news stories largely depend on their particular skill set and focus in the workplace. Photographers worry about pictures, for instance, and assignment editors would be taken with "the" story for the day. She also noticed that news employees tend to evaluate news stories based on the reporter's performance rather than on the information contained within the story. Interestingly, the viewer cares about exactly the opposite. Crane maintains news employees respond more positively than viewers to "media event" stories, despite complaining about having to cover them. Viewers, on the other hand, saw these kinds of stories as entirely non-newsworthy. Finally, newsroom employees tend to care a great deal about competitor behaviour which was of no consequence to viewers. Overall, Crane essentially concludes that local television producers have a difficult time listening to the concerns and needs of the viewer (1991, p. 27). The implications of this kind of break in communication patterns between producers and viewers have consequences on the routine of news production and, also in turn, may be exacerbated by current news production practices.

Building on the work of Tuchman (1978), Fishman (1980) and Ericson et al. (1987; 1989; 1991), Lowes (1999), in *Inside the Sports Pages*, strengthens the theory that news is an ideological pursuit by taking us behind the scenes of a Canadian newspaper's sports newsroom. His study negotiates the particular dynamic between commercial sport and commercial news with the goal of better understanding the institutional relationships which

determine the choices made in news coverage. Lowes (1999) maintains that the economic logic of media restricts sports media to cover primarily major-league sports, because this category of sport draws a profitable reader demographic as well as advertising revenue. Both media players and major sports teams need each other to remain profitable; Lowes describes this relationship as promotional discourse. He adds that the media is a critical player in the creation of audiences for sport and that is it their job to "construct an imaginary 'us' around major-league sports" (Lowes, 1999, p. 97). However, critics have noted that, on this ideological matter, Lowes does not explore the impact of sports writers themselves being fans on promotional outcomes (Gasher, 2001). In this way, the intent of reporters in specific situations and the impact of that intent largely remain a mystery to researchers in the field.

In terms of the newsworker routine, Lowes describes how pressure, constraints and deadlines affect the degree to which sports reporters can be creative with their stories. The combined effect, he argues, limits sports reporters to regular sources and a steady flow of news from the mainstream sports promotional machine (1999, p. 98). In his view, sports coverage is simply promotional discourse stemming from long-standing institutional relationships. This interaction is viewed by the participants as a common sense approach, further underlining its ideological nature. The study is an interesting microcosm for the entire media industry revealing the complex relationships behind the delivery of daily sports news.

A different way to approach the question of newsroom functioning is to evaluate the organizational culture of newsrooms. Two Northwestern University's Readership Institute studies, conducted in 2000 and 2004, about newsroom culture in the newspaper industry reveal important evidence about the existence of defensive and constructive newsrooms

(*Culture Report: A Profile of the Impact Newspapers and Their Departments*, 2000; *Readership Institute New Readers Study: Culture Report*, 2004). The institute set out on a massive survey of American newspaper newsrooms in an effort to determine "the culture of the newspapers in terms of "what is expected" of members – or, more technically, the behavioral norms and expectations associated with the more abstract aspects of culture such as shared values and beliefs" (*Readership Institute New Readers Study: Culture Report*, 2004, p. 3). Both studies found a majority of print newsrooms in the U.S. are aggressive-defensive in nature: slow to change, slow to reveal work patterns and defensive in the face of criticism. In addition, the aggressive-defensive posture tends to be perfectionistic. This posture implies appearing to be competent, and oppositional, detached and objective with an eye for mistakes (*Readership Institute New Readers Study: Culture Report*, 2004, p. 13).

In Canada, researchers have attempted to better understand newsroom culture by surveying the values and identifying features of newsroom leaders. Barber and Rauhala's (2005) assessment is that the people who run newsrooms can influence what gets covered and that, therefore, their personal values and lifestyle is relevant to newsroom culture. They identified the following potentially influencing trends among Canadian news directors:

- Tend to have grown up in middle-class families and currently live a middle class lifestyle;
- Are somewhat more likely to have no religious affiliation;
- Have the benefit of higher education;
- Are mostly men;
- Are mostly white;
- Tend to vote regularly in patterns that mirror those of Canadians (Barber & Rauhala, 2005).

These researchers continue their work assessing the demographic profiles of Canadian television news director attitudes "about the social, economic, and political issues" which

deserve airtime and "the roles of journalists who work for them" (Barber & Rauhala, 2005, p. 290).

The way journalists feel and relate to their work has also garnered some academic interest. Willis (2003), for instance, sets out to debunk the idea that journalists effectively distance themselves from their work, regardless of their eager proclamations. Willis discusses how, in fact, each newsworker relates to his or her work in different ways, especially when covering difficult stories. Some are "more rationally or cognitively oriented" while others are "more emotionally or affectively oriented" (Willis, 2003, p. 119). He concludes:

> Perhaps we shouldn't see emotions as such frivolous or negative things when it comes to reporting or the decisions reporters make when they do that reporting. Clearly it is the adrenaline factor that often gets an enterprising reporter past high hurdles and to the finish line that journalists call the deadline (Willis, 2003, pp. 130-131).

Interestingly, an after word contained in Willis' book, written by three guest authors, adds that journalism's discomfort with emotion and the human aspects of the craft position it to suffer from systematic issues of post-traumatic stress disorder and substance abuse, given regular exposure to trauma, violence and workplace stress (2003, pp. 133-149). There is work to do in this area, assessing the psychological impact of the news routine on those working in the craft. This thesis, however, does not venture into this territory beyond describing subject perceptions of the issue.

Kurpius (2000) combines the ideas presented in this chapter to formulate new ways of looking at how particular local television news stations in the United States "operate within a profit-driven system to achieve goals of value to the civic community" (p. 340). He defines four basic 'market positions,' or station goals to obtain increased viewership, to

explain station focus and subsequent routine. They are: a public affairs position, focusing on government processes and civic issues, community service stations, dedicated to helping the community with sponsorship and coverage, crime and disaster stations, capturing hard news quickly with breathless pace, and, finally, the public journalism market position, focusing on enterprising reporting, or reporting that seeks out non-discovered or discussed stories. One can think of these positions as banners draped across each television station's front door proclaiming the focus of its public face. Kurpius found each of these market positions tend to adopt a specific routine necessary for the completion of each station's end goal.

He further classifies stations into integrated stations, special project stations and publicity stations each with additional unique routine elements. Integrated stations weave public journalism into daily coverage, most commonly utilizing ideas generated at daily editorial meetings. Special project stations deal with public journalism, as the name suggests, project by project. These stations have a more defined management style and managers take the lead on determining the nature and logistics of the projects in question. This structure prevents "spillover" from the public journalism projects into daily news. Finally, publicity stations display a strong centralized management structure. Meetings focus on logistics rather than story; content decisions are usually made prior to meetings by management. These are the stations that label news "community orientated" because of a clear and real connection to community to increase ratings. As Kurpius explains, "These are the stations that give journalism a bad name," (2000, p. 344) given their propensity to use the optic of community care to compel advertisers and viewers to support the station.

After ninety-three interviews, over ten months, Kurpius' analysis offers important new information for the study of journalism work routines. He found story meetings were

deemed more important in integrated stations than in special project stations. And, over all, Kurpius asserts that "news meetings are an important part of most local news operations" (2000, p. 349). The journalistic norms often discussed in this area of study (objectivity, professionalism, typifications of news and source selection) were commonly held across the majority of stations. Marketing and promotion of news content is found to have gained acceptance among news employees as common place in television news production. Enterprise reporting was found to have a significant role to play in stations where public journalism was a priority.

Kurpius concludes news managers hold the key to changing the focus and work of any particular local television station. The data collected in his study suggest "routines are more important than journalistic norms in determining coverage patterns" and that "most of the criticisms of public journalism by journalists in [the] study were based on challenges to routines rather than norms," suggesting "...managers and not individual newsworkers are the key to the success or failure of the public journalism effort" (2000, p. 353).

James S. McLean, a researcher at Concordia University in Montreal, has undertaken a fascinating exploration of events taking place in the CTV Regina newsroom over several years as corporate concentration took hold of the local television news landscape in Canada. The news operation had thirty-one employees in 1987 until media convergence and cut backs sliced that number to fifteen by 2005, which included several contract staff (McLean, 2005, pp. 332-333).

McLean's study, *When Head Office Was Upstairs: How Corporate Concentration Changed a Television Newsroom* (2005), is the only brief look into local Canadian television newswork. He found that downsizing and an amalgamation of job duties has put a serious

strain on the craft. The result of corporate concentration is that there has been a drop in enterprising reporting and the creep of "profit motive" into the newsroom (McLean, 2005). The cuts eliminated the system of beat reporters that once existed in the newsroom; management expected journalists to be generalists to the exclusion of specific areas of expertise (McLean, 2005, p. 334). McLean maintains the "profit motive" changed the nature of journalist employment from team member in a journalistic culture to free agent, selling expertise under contract. He concludes profit shortfalls are use as a way to shed "trouble employees" in "a crude but ever-present means of control" (McLean, 2005, pp. 334-335).

McLean notes, importantly, that staff reductions "led to the removal of many of the control mechanisms" that used to be a part of the understood hierarchy in the newsroom (2005, p. 335). The set of checks and balances, idea generation, source research and team work which once formulated television news in Regina were virtually gone leaving complete creative control with video-journalists (McLean, 2005, p. 336). The fundamental results of these changes cause McLean, a former television producer himself, great concern.

> The dynamic tension and resulting richness of meaning that grows out of discussions about gathered information, suspicions, credibility of sources, video possibilities, editing solutions, and overall benefit to the community is inevitably truncated. Add to this systemic pressure to produce formulaic and uncomplicated news reports, and it becomes unlikely that complex stories requiring sensitivity and nuance will be pursued with any degree of alacrity. To paraphrase Schulman, the safe and mundane is mostly favoured over the risky and experimental (McLean, 2005, p. 338).

Indeed, Shulman (1990) talks of this choice in much the same way Hans (1979) speaks of efficiencies in news. First, Shulman breaks down news employees into two groups. The liberal-pluralist identifies journalists as truth-seeking gatekeepers who take ethics into account at all times and understands professionalism as opportunity. On the other hand, a critical/class-based group which understands journalistic work as an ideological exercise,

where workers aim to please and the functions of the newsroom seek to control those who work within it. Otherwise explained, the former identifies journalism as "socially responsible profitability" and the latter a "production of culture" (Schulman, 1990, p. 115).

The question Shulman fundamentally asks is what are the actual benefits of the perceived "professionalism" of working as a journalist? Shulman argues journalism is, in fact, not a profession per se, like medicine or law, because it has none of the binding codes of ethics or licensing. As such, the only boundaries journalists face are ones of efficiencies, as Gans (1979) also argues. The way journalists work then controls their choices and does not constitute an opportunity. "Opportunity, says the critical perspective, is not the reward of the professional, as the liberal perspective asserts. It is the illusion through which people who believe their occupations are creative make themselves stay well within the prescribed boundaries" (Schulman, 1990, p. 119).

The business environment of the newsroom, whether it is manifested through funding cuts, convergence or ownership issues, plays a major role in newswork and culture. Bernard Shaw, former principal anchor at CNN, claims the shift in broadcast television economics is due, in part, to the creation of the 24-hour all news channel and the company's affection for great journalistic efficiency:

> Another reason we in the news media, especially in network television news, have seen a diminution in our esteem is what I call a guillotine of greed, which has fallen upon this industry. I think CNN's inception is partly responsible for this attitude. A guillotine of greed. There was a time when news divisions of networks only preoccupied themselves with covering news (Kalb, 2000).

Technology is often the impetus behind economic choice and change in the newsroom. John McManus, a professor at Stanford University, draws our attention to the "bumpy transition period" journalists live day to day. He reveals how market-driven

journalism and news quality clash in the shadow of the competition from Internet journalism, for example. McManus (2004) argues the convergence of issues in this field erode the perception and the reality of solid trustworthy reporting. More broadly, McManus' (1994) research has found that active journalistic discovery is linked to available resources. McManus' assessment in this area stands in stark contrast to research from only a few years ago which asserted that reporters were far from being "technojournalists," far from using technology, such as the Internet, as a part of daily journalistic work (McKercher, 1995).

The business pressures faced in television news are also discussed in a 2001 American study entitled *Directors' and Newspaper Editors' Hiring Decisions*, by C. Ann Hollifield, Gerald M. Kosicki and Lee B. Becker. The study found that news executives are making some effort to hire candidates who "maximize the specific competitive advantages or meet the needs of the production conditions of their respective media" rather than for skills valued by the professional culture of journalism (Hollifield et al., 2001, p. 111). In other words, business needs may have become more important to executives than journalistic needs. The study also found that "television news directors are more sensitive than their print counterparts to the need for employees who can meet organizational demands" (Hollifield et al., 2001, p. 110).

However, these directors are not making these business decisions in the often predicted categories of visual appeal and on-air performance. The study found that "because television stations tend to have fewer gatekeepers than do newspapers, news directors may have to hire people with strong pre-existing professional values and background knowledge. The production conditions of television limit both training opportunities and supervisory oversight of new employees" (Hollifield et al., 2001, p. 112). The issue of relevant

competencies in the newsroom is of critical importance from both a business and journalistic perspective.

This emerging trend is also discussed prominently in the newest findings on the state of the U.S. news media conducted by the Project for Excellence in Journalism, an institute affiliated with Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. Specifically, an ever-fragmented audience, as a result of a growing number of television channels, presents significant challenges to the future of local television news. The report finds "the local TV news business (in the U.S.) remains robust financially, but a fundamental concern looms. If audiences are dropping, and there are limits to how much more news programming can be added, there comes a point where financial growth becomes difficult" (*State of the News Media 2007*, 2007).

The trend towards this concern is being replicated in Canada according to the major television networks, who argue "local newscasts are increasingly expensive and are losing money in some markets" which is forcing companies to "rein in costs at a time when conventional TV is under fire from competing media such as specialty channels and the Internet" (Robertson, 2007b). It is fair to say the current way of operating in broadcast news, at least on the business end of the equation, in both Canada and the United States, is under review.

These combined findings may signal that the very support system behind the creation of television news is crumbling. Local news is under attack according to comments made by the Canadian Association of Journalists (CAJ) before the September 2007 Diversity of Voices Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) hearings. CAJ President, Mary Agnes Welch, maintains media convergence has created an

"environment in which journalists are overworked and fewer are "digging beyond the press release or the sound bite" (Doyle, 2007). Welch elaborates:

> In the space of a daily news cycle, it is virtually impossible for one reporter to do an adequate job on a television news item, a newspaper story, a web story, even covering a routine press conference. There is far less time to consult a variety of views, to verify information, to treat sources critically, to understand background and context, to track down documents and to explain the information in the clearest and most useful way to readers and viewers. There is certainly no time left to do some old fashioned digging, following up on tips or courting sources, the kind of gumshoe reporting that often yields the ground breaking stories (*Diversity of Voices Proceedings*, 2007, pp. Sept. 19, 4054).

Welch also told CRTC commissioners that "repurposed" content, that is story material that is reused across multiple platforms in the same company or from news wire services to additional media, is becoming a significant problem and should not count as diversity. The Canadian Media Guild backed the concerns voiced by McLean saying convergence has also put enterprising journalism at risk. Overall, Canadian journalists have demonstrated overwhelming concerns about the shift to commercial priorities being felt by newsrooms in all media, in all areas of the country (Turner, 2005; Winn, 2006).

However, on the matter of diversity, media managers appear to have little concern with the direction of Canadian media today. CTV President Rick Brace justified media convergence to the CRTC in this way.

> [A] plurality of editorial voices doesn't necessarily mean it's going to be make better news. It doesn't necessarily mean the product is going to be better. I mean, what we would argue is that, through consolidation and the building of strong companies, we have a better chance of making that product better (*Diversity of Voices Proceedings*, 2007, pp. Sept. 18, 751).

Regardless of which side one falls on in this particular argument it appears the position of the CRTC has moved little since its inception. Again, through this series of discussions it appeared to be unwilling to interfere with the newsroom and the way it

functions. CTRC Chairman Konrad von Finckenstein says the regulatory body is "very reluctant to interfere in anyway with journalistic independence" adding, "to what extent do we get into the business of journalists? And I'm not convinced our job is to tell journalists not to collaborate or work together." His colleague James Stuart Langford adding "the closer we get to the newsroom, the more we risk people saying 'get out of the newsroom'" (Doyle, 2007).

This is an important time to explore how the local television news production routine is responding to these pressures. Is it really as bad as the Canadian Association of Journalists claims? Is the current routine fundamentally different from existing conditions and experiences? This critical juncture presents a unique opportunity to test many of these concerns and trends at ground level, in local television news in Canada. It is possible that given the timing, one would be able to observe a critical shift in routine by talking to those who are currently living and working in the routine. The concepts discussed in this chapter related to news routine and subsequent impact have never been tested in local private television news in Canada. It is important to extend the research into new territory.

In many ways, the majority of the findings discussed in this chapter revolve around the very same theoretical concepts. News is, in essence, a sociological construct and, as such, is greatly influenced by the inner workings of the profession. It is at this juncture that one can find debate. News routine is a very broad concept which contains many elements, from task-setting to personal intent. The common thread linking the research conducted during the last sixty years on this topic is that the machinations of a newsroom are important. This author agrees with the majority in the following regard: These machinations, often the minutia of the inner workings of a newsroom, are critical to determining news

outcomes. This routine is more important than the opinions and personal identifying factors of the people working within any particular context. There is an opposing philosophy which suggests that the biases and backgrounds of journalists determine news outcomes and therefore this is where news can be fixed: through hiring minority voices, for instance (Barber & Rauhala, 2005). However, this view, while much easier to research through surveys of basic information, does not cut to the root of news processes and, perhaps, ignores the complexity of the issue.

Newsworkers are affected and led by a complex bureaucratic process, created both inside and outside the newsroom. The pressures created by this process coupled with the economic logic of television and the technological complexity of the medium force workers to consider unique relationships and efficiencies to get their job done. The question is: Do these relationships and efficiencies erode the original intent of journalism, in a broad sense, and as such, do they exist without the support of the viewing public? Or, in other words, what is happening in the newsroom and are we, as a society, okay with it? Furthermore, upon analyzing the news routine, does it contribute to a "dumbing down" of television news and an erosion of democratic processes generally?

It is with these matters in mind that the theoretical home of this study can be found. This author does not seek to dramatically pull apart these concepts but rather test them in an arena where they have never been tested. With this aim in mind, the concepts can be further deepened or, perhaps, refreshed with new evidence.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

This study into the work routines and professional ideologies of two private local television Ottawa newsrooms utilizes a qualitative design relying on the data collected through confidential, in person, in depth interviews. Nineteen interview subjects participated under condition of relative anonymity and agreed to terms set by University of Ottawa research ethics policy and clearly expressed in the consent form read and signed by all study participants.[3] Given the competitive nature and size of the Ottawa television market, interview subjects are not identified by name or company. One subject, Max Keeping, Vice-President of News & Public Affairs and Co-Anchor of CTV Ottawa, insisted on speaking on the record, signing an adapted consent form. Mr. Keeping's comments are considered globally in the results analysis; however, his comments on specific issues are attributed to him as requested. The interviews took place between January and July, 2007. Unless otherwise noted, all interview excerpts are from the author's interviews with these subjects. Due to the confidential nature of the interviews, the complete list is represented by one bibliographical entry. The entire list is known by only the author and the supervisor of this thesis.

Specifically, interviews were conducted with newsroom employees at two privately-owned Ottawa television stations: A-Channel and CTV Ottawa. The author was committed not only to interview the journalists and producers in these newsrooms, but also to talk to the cameramen/women, editors, directors and graphic artists about their work routine and the impact the routine may or may not have on news produced by their employer. Television is a team sport requiring many different hands and minds to create a news story or item. For the

---

3 See Appendix A for University of Ottawa REB approval documentation.

purposes of simplification and confidentiality, these employees are represented in two global groups: editorial employees and technical employees. Editorial employees are defined as reporters, producers and newsroom leaders. Technical employees are defined as camera people, editors, directors and equipment technicians. By focusing on only one group of workers in this environment, it is this author's view that critical data essential to the television-making process would be missed.

As briefly discussed in the introduction, the research strategy employed in this study draws upon the theory and practice described by Glaser and Strauss' 1967 work, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Grounded theory is "an inductive, theory discovery methodology that allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of a topic while simultaneously grounding the account in empirical observations or data" (Martin & Turner, 1986). The challenge in studying journalistic work routines is that quantitative methodologies do not sufficiently express the special nuances and trends of day-to-day journalism work, and newsworkers themselves are unlikely and often unwilling to submit to formal surveys or other quantitative methods of analysis (Lowes, 1997; 1999; McLean, 2005).

Numerous studies, as indicated in chapter two, as well as this author's personal experience with local media demonstrate that employees who work in local private television newsrooms are extremely busy and constantly inundated with information. Asking someone in a newsroom environment to think critically about what he or she does and how he or she does it, while in the environment, is unreasonable. There are too many distractions and simply too much competitive pressure to speak openly. As underscored in Lowes' (1999) study of sports newsrooms, newsrooms do not welcome outsiders easily. In fact, as

McLean (2005) has indicated in his study of a television newsroom in Saskatchewan, journalists are often suspicious of anyone who has knowledge of how the business works casting a critical eye on their operations. McLean had the benefit of observational evidence for his study, as did Lowes (1999), which would also have been the ideal case for this study as well. However, given the current dynamic in local television newsrooms, the option to observe has become impossible to negotiate.

Both stations were approached to formally participate in this study. CTV's response came from an Assignment Editor, at the request of his superiors: "Your request prompted quite a discussion here at the station but I am afraid we will have to say no to your proposal" (Brent, 2006). There was never a formal reason offered for why the station declined to formally participate. However, when interviewing Max Keeping for this study, Mr. Keeping indicated he could not imagine why access had been declined to the newsroom for observation and/or interviews (Nadeau, 2007b). Nevertheless, an actual invitation to the CTV newsroom never materialized.

For A-Channel's part the answer came from the Director Community & Media Relations: "Unfortunately, we are not going to be able to help with your master's project at this time. It is an incredibly busy time for the station – and we don't have the resources available to devote to the project right now" (Bain, 2006). A-Channel's News Director was approached by phone but he did not return the call. Once it became clear neither station would be willing to formally participate in this study, it was determined that confidential interviews with employees at both television stations would be the only option available. Because of the author's previous experience working in television news, previous researchers' attempts at mail/phone surveys were known to be met by disdain, written

requests largely ending up in the garbage. Television newsrooms today are met with a relentless daily barrage of information, much of it dealt with quickly and severely. The people at the gate have little patience for analysis and observation.

The management at both stations each knew of the author's extensive experience in television and journalism, and from the received responses, it can be concluded neither was keen to have someone who understood the language and rhythm of television carefully watching and/or burdening the daily process. The last argument to consider on this point is that the author's current position as Media Relations Officer for the University of Ottawa could make some in the newsroom uncomfortable. It could be argued that if someone in public relations had a greater understanding of newsroom processes, they could find a way to abuse or exploit the system. This final point did not seem to have any measurable effect in this author's ability to locate potential interview subjects for confidential interviews. However, given the great importance of journalism in societal discourse and democracy, it seems odd that any of these concerns would outweigh the public's right to know of the process by which their daily television newscast is produced and delivered.

This author is of the opinion that it is for the above reason that every person approached for this study agreed to participate. Furthermore, many more employees in both newsrooms would likely be willing to discuss the issues at hand if it were not for the concern of reprimand from newsroom management. While an open discussion of the processes by which private television news is produced is not ideal for the business of television, it is clear the editorial and technical employees who are tasked with creating the product are eager to discuss the challenges facing the industry today, as revealed through the

interview process for this study. Their collective hope is, of course, to ensure television journalism becomes more accurate and accountable to the Ottawa viewing public.

It is with this research environment in mind that the comparative analysis techniques employed in grounded theory become particularly useful and relevant. One-on-one, in depth interviews allow for trust to be built between the researcher and the subject while collecting experimental data. Furthermore, the process of data collection demanded by this methodology allows for complexities and ideas to emerge organically rather than have the information fit to any one particular existing theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967) maintain that, especially in sociological contexts, rigid research paradigms can limit potential discoveries and that the way we reach conclusions must not be divorced from the theories we create. Understanding this concept, methodologically we embark on the collection of data while looking for relevant conceptual categories and the properties of these categories to formulate emergent theory in our area of study.

This chosen methodology is not meant to be perfect or final. In fact, it should only be used to suggest hypotheses in our chosen area of study and identify trends and commonalities. As Glaser and Strauss note, the researcher's job "is not to provide a perfect description of an area, but to develop a theory that accounts for much of the relevant behavior" (1967, p. 30). Perhaps what is most exciting about this kind of methodology is that it is inductive, allowing new and relevant questions to be asked during the course of the research process.

Charmaz (2006) has further underscored how critically beneficial the flexibility and personal engagement element of this methodology is to social science researchers. Charmaz explains the grounded theory experience depends on interaction between the researcher and

the environment in which research is being conducted (p. 179). She adds that grounded theory analysis "shapes the conceptual content and direction of the study," offering a "fluid, interactive, and open-ended" process (p. 178). Otherwise, and importantly underscored, "generality emerges *from* the analytic process rather than as a prescribed goal *for* it" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 181). Charmaz' interpretation of grounded theory finds its roots in the Chicago School of Sociology, with Strauss particularly, and takes a pragmatic view of the methodology. She argues, "returning to the pragmatist foundations encourages us to construct an interpretive rendering of the worlds we study rather than an external reporting of events and statements" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 184).

It is important to acknowledge some of the criticisms associated with this chosen methodology. Key among them is the perennial problem of defining meaning, the different ways it can be interpreted, and the implications for research. "Even such an apparently well grounded methodology as grounded theory has no uniform and self-evident interpretation" (Dey, 1999, p. 23).

There is particular debate around the elements of verification originally indicated by Glaser and Strauss'(1967) in their classic work setting out the theory, and later revised by Glaser and challenged by Strauss and Corbin (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; 1994). Glaser's 1992 position is that the verification of theory developed by any one particular researcher should be left to others to test. "Grounded theory looks for what is, not what might be, and therefore needs no test" (Glaser, 1992, p. 67). This position exists in stark contrast, as noted by Dey, to Strauss and Corbin's later assertion that verification is, in fact, weaved through the course of a project.

> Regardless of level of theory, there is built into this style of extensive interrelated data collection and theoretical analysis and explicit mandate to strive toward

> verification of its resulting hypotheses (statements of relationships between concepts). This is done throughout the course of a research project, rather than assuming that verification is possible only through follow-up quantitative research (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 274).

The disagreement leaves researchers to their own devices in determining the role of verification in the process, and subsequently how inductive and deductive reasoning each play a role. Glaser suggests a purely inductive approach while Strauss and Corbin suggest a combination, adding deduction can facilitate verification (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

Despite the ambiguity facing the definition of this methodology, its challenges are the very reasons social scientists such as this author are drawn to it. As aptly argued by Dey, by applying the technique in different research scenarios we discover the necessity of some degree of vagueness in our methodological outlook, if only for the benefit of the subject matter:

> The very attraction of grounded theory may lie in the way it obliges us--because of its commitment to theory--to face up to some fairly basic issues about the nature of social research. If we accept the elementary (but awkward) principle that to do research requires reflection on what we are doing and how we do it, at the very least we should try to confront and clarify these issues (Dey, 1999, p. 24).

Setting grounded theory methodology aside momentarily, it must also be added that this author gave thought to the impact of interview style on the results. Specifically, thought was given to the benefits of a personal versus formal style of interviewing, as defined by the Cannell (1979) question-answer process. That is to say, it is important to be aware of the potential impact of the interviewer's behaviour during an interview, a concern largely overlooked by the grounded theory process. A 1987 study by Wil Dijkstra provides some additional clarity on the potential effects of interviewer behaviour during a question-answer session, as was undertaken during this particular study into newsroom work routines.

Dijkstra tests two hypotheses related to interviewing style: the motivation hypothesis, where the interviewer's personal style motivates the subject to answer as best and accurately as possible, and the ingratiation hypothesis which suggests a personal style would lead the subject to more socially desirable responses and conformity. Dijkstra's results support the motivation hypothesis. Dijkstra concludes, "The style of interviewing (personal versus formal) affects the motivational level of the respondent rather than the tendency to ingratiate oneself with the interviewers" (1987, p. 330). This finding is of critical importance in relation to this study and to the exploration of why a study such as this one is difficult for researchers to execute because of the closed nature of the newsroom. Individual connection, trust and a commitment to a friendly and personal style of interviewing is critical to amassing data in this area of study.

Furthermore, the matter of trust between the interviewer and subject is critical to the internal validity of qualitative research results (Schostak, 2006). Internal validity is, in the same way as grounded theory's coding and categorizing process, a way to extract an authentic position or pattern from an interview. According to Schostak, the relationship between the subject and interviewer is critical to truly understanding the content in play:

> To gauge whether the representation of a given "reality" accurately portrays that reality the researcher in a sense mimics the acts of consciousness of the actors in order to learn a way of experiencing, that is sensually, intellectually, emotionally constructing this world (Schostak, 2006, pp. 148-149).

This concept is critical to understanding why previous researchers may have had a difficult time accessing the reality of Canadian newsrooms. Surveys and other kinds of quantitative techniques seriously lack the sensitivity necessary to understand what may be happening at ground level.

With this in mind, it is important to note that the author has previously and continues to work with both newsrooms featured in this study. This experience puts the author in the unique position of having already gained trust from subjects and created an ease of access few others can have. The relationship is one that has proven useful to researchers who have conducted similar studies in the past, namely Gans (1979) and McLean (2005) for instance. The author took great care in remaining as unbiased and transparent as possible. The comparative element of this study is critical in preventing research errors in this regard. By interviewing members of competing local television newsrooms, the author has been able to compare and contrast the experiences and techniques in each and find appropriate overall trends, instead of resting on personal knowledge and experience. In addition, the presence of University of Ottawa ethical guidelines regarding subject participation, anonymity and rights assisted a great deal in clarifying the relationship between the interviewer and subject. Providing clarity on these matters also goes a long way in creating an environment of trust (Keats, 2000, pp. 28-32).

This study's procedural focus was simple and, as such, provided easily digestible results. The twenty subjects featured in this study were approached according to University of Ottawa ethical guidelines and asked to participate in a one-on-one private interview lasting between one and two hours. Due to the access limitations placed upon this study and concern related to confidentiality, the author approached subjects based on relatively vague criteria. Subjects were first sought out based out their position in the newsroom, aiming for a balance between technical and editorial employees. Consideration was given to availability and willingness of subjects. A cursory attempt was also made to cater to a reasonable

demographic balance between age, sex and educational background. However, this last point was not considered at all in the analysis of the data.

Despite formal refusals on the part of both companies, this author believes an excellent cross section of jobs and employees are represented in the study. This cross section is not outlined in detail in this thesis to protect the confidentiality of the subjects. This is because, in each newsroom, there are often only one or two people in each job. Revealing specific job titles and tasks would most certainly reveal the identities of some of the subjects. Ideally, should this study ever be repeated, it would include complete data collection from all employees in both newsrooms, a sample size of approximately 100 people, with the support of the companies involved.

Subjects who agreed to participate were asked to read and sign an approved consent form outlining their rights and responsibilities as a participant in the study.[4] A set of interview questions was created by the author and asked of each and every subject, regardless of position within the respective company.[5] However, in line with grounded theory principles, as emerging themes presented themselves, additional follow-up questions and discussion followed with each new subject. Interviews were recorded by hand written notes and tape recorded as a backup measure.

The process of note taking in the use of this methodology is very organic compared to more formal styles of data collection. Glaser (1998) advises against word for word recording during interviews because it may interfere with the emergent nature of the methodology. Other scholars interpreting the procedure suggest researchers undertake additional note taking and keyword collection (Charmaz, 2006). As a backup, it seemed

---

4 See Appendix B for consent form.
5 See Appendix C for complete question list.

wise to this author that recordings be undertaken and kept, according to University of Ottawa ethical guidelines, in case of significant data analysis challenges and for other double-checking needs.

As the data were collected the author identified relevant codes and categories of interest to establish emerging trends. The discussion and analysis of these trends are discussed in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4: Results and Analysis

The objective of this thesis is to explore the ways in which working ideology in the newsroom influences story choice and journalistic actions. In an effort to achieve this objective, this study utilized the method of uncovering and investigating the routines and decision-making processes of the two leading private television news stations in Ottawa, Ontario: CTV Ottawa and A-Channel Ottawa. There is a significant body of existing research describing how journalists who work in news carry out their daily tasks and decision making into a working ideology. The implications of this study for journalism, news and society compel us to study whether this ideology is replicated across case studies and whether it is shifting, creating new outcomes and impact.

The results and analysis contained here are the result of nineteen confidential interviews with editorial and technical employees at both stations and one "on-the-record" interview with CTV co-anchor Max Keeping between January and July, 2007. The comments and observations offered in the confidential interviews are expressed without attribution, often in a general context. The observations noted in this chapter are formulated uniquely from the qualitative interview data generated from these interviews. As mentioned in previous chapters, the author has experience in this field and has had many interactions with both newsrooms outside the parameters of this study. This experience is critical in contributing to a learned analysis of the data but is not the basis for what follows in terms of conclusions. The subjects interviewed describe the day-to-day reality of the working ideology in journalism, explaining how it is manifested at ground level, in the trenches of local private television news.

Subjects interviewed from both stations express a respect for their colleagues in their competitor's newsroom. As convergence and ownership changes rough up the industry's workers, every one - editorial and technical - acknowledge they are in the same boat. Everyone is being asked to "do more with less" and adapt to the increasing business concerns of television news. Despite the fact that CTV and A-Channel "battle for eyeballs," as the saying goes, their internal processes are largely similar. While CTV Ottawa's consistent ratings success and major network backing offers slightly more resources than A-Channel, the competitive pressures have forced CTV to cover more during the day, thereby putting additional strain on the resources they do have.

Since the completion of interviews for this study, both newsrooms have become the property of the same parent company, CTVglobemedia. The Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) normally prohibits one company from owning two conventional stations in one market. However, they do sometimes allow exceptions, and did in this case, saying it is necessary when the following elements are in question: "a) the need to sustain strong, locally focused programming for smaller communities located adjacent to large urban centres and b) the financial ability of the licensee to provide such local programming, and thus contribute to the diversity of voices, while maintaining a viable enterprise ("Broadcasting Decision CRTC 2007-165," 2007). By CTRC rules, the company must maintain separate newsrooms; however, they can, in some cases, share resources. For example, both now have access to exactly the same international footage and both now air the same pictures in that category of news as a consequence. This resource sharing, a kind of quiet recycling, has brought these competitors closer than ever before.

This study's findings demonstrate how a lack of resources and investment in people and technical gear in a newsroom can lead to carelessness in the newswork routine, exhausted and burnt out employees and the basis for a shift towards a new kind of "quick and dirty" television journalism where the scale between business and journalism has tipped in favour of profitability. The newsroom work routine trends identified by the researchers mentioned in chapter two largely repeat themselves in these findings, but the velocity and volume of work and growing pressure to create 'watchable' local news stories traps subjects in their known routine as a means to daily production. It is the experience of an increase in velocity and volume of work in the face of thinning resources which creates the new element in this regard. The results have consequences for the people living the routine in question and the news produced by it.

The line between employees who work on news programming and employees who work on longer format programming such at A-Channel's Breakfast Television or CTV Ottawa's Noon News program is exceptionally faint. That is to say, both stations, arguably out of financial necessity, have established a pool of employees who can and do work on either news or long format programming. Employees are expected to contribute to and think about the big picture, whether to recycle information from one show to another or simply to fill-in where needed. This phenomenon appears to be new and quite different from previous findings in this field. Tuchman (1973; 1978) and Fishman (1980), specifically, allude to a routine which is focused on the production of one broadcast or one particular product, not many. The phenomenon essentially combines several jobs into one, compressing the routines of each into one day. This development adds a new layer of pressure to the different elements of logic in television production.

The expected multi-tasking works well for those employees who enjoy a challenge and are driven to constantly prove themselves in new areas. However, it adds additional stress and confusion for those employees who crave structure and organization in the face of chaotic expectations. It also adds significant work hours to an employee's weekly schedule, including regular and predictable overtime and increasing responsibility. A fifty hour week in television is the norm and the hours often extend well beyond that. Long-term expectations of this nature could impact rates of burnout and turnover. Subjects interviewed for this thesis expressed concern over unreasonable workloads.

The economic logic of television, as defined by Fishman (1980), is shifting as newsroom employees' work to produce not one daily newscast but many, in addition to other elements for long format programming and promotional efforts. This trend is a cost-saving measure. Cost-saving in television news, as in business generally, is to be expected and often necessary. The "more with less" trend, however, does create confusion for the employee, blurring the lines between journalism and the business of journalism. For example, in the rush of the day the same policy and focus exist across the production of different products. The end result for all must be titillating, be interesting, attractive to viewers and in some cases pleasing advertisers (especially in long format programming such as A-Channel Breakfast). It is this economic logic, in this author's view, that compels private television newsrooms to keep their processes quiet and well away from public view. The illusion of sound journalistic practice, and not market-driven journalistic practice, is essential to maintaining economic viability, because the trust of the viewer has remained a key element to a station's success.

In essence, what we are witnessing is the creation of a new hybrid, journalistically and economically aware employee, who is expected to - and often can - take on all the tasks necessary to bring the news to air. This "jack of all trades" phenomenon can be witnessed at A-Channel in consistently relied upon job sharing between editorial employees and technical employees. Technical employees, most of whom do not have the necessary training for journalistic work, are asked to morph into videographers, expected to shoot video and gather the information needed for a particular story. Many of the technical employees interviewed for this study from A-Channel worry about this expectation, primarily because of their lack of training. The technical employees at CTV Ottawa worry about eventually having to carry out the same tasks, however, for the time being the existing unions at the station largely preserve the status quo. On this matter, it appears integrated multi-tasking between the editorial side and technical side is inevitable according to Max Keeping who says, "We've talked to the unions about this, the time is coming, it's a tougher business, more demands...it's a necessity" (Nadeau, 2007b).

The flip side of this concern is the growing number of journalists who must shoot and edit their own material. The trend is a major part of the A-Channel routine, centralizing each story with one person. The news gathering process at CTV Ottawa is still split between journalist, camera person and editor; however, change is on the way. "The push to multi-task is there and it has drawbacks," says Keeping. "We're still able to pay attention to pictures and story, but the move in that direction is present in the business" (Nadeau, 2007b).

The prevailing sentiment among both technical and editorial employees at both television stations is that there is no clear or predictable schedule or routine to their work. As discussed earlier, this is a commonly expressed sentiment among journalists in other

ethnographic studies as well, many not knowing how exactly to outline their daily work. For instance, Breed's (1955) subjects could not easily describe a deliberate newsroom policy, and Tuchman's (1978) subjects had a difficult time narrowing particular story typifications. Of course, the work is, by nature, dynamic and must be flexible to accommodate the changing nature of news and resource availability. However, upon further investigation, one can outline a very basic daily structure for technical and editorial employees, not unlike the routines expressed in previously completed ethnographic studies.

The routine at both stations is, in many ways, largely the same. The day revolves around execution of tasks for the day's programming needs. The majority of respondents work a shift that begins at 10 a.m. and ends at 7 p.m., when the supper newscast is complete. This also allows many employees (at CTV only as A-Channel recently cancelled its noon news) to work the noon news and the six o'clock news, in addition to updates leading to both newscasts. This commonly worked shift usually moves at breakneck speed to accomplish the necessary tasks of the day.

For editorial employees, the day usually begins with a quick check of E-mails and voicemails, newspapers and other local media. For the well-known on-air employees, the volume of administrative work can sometimes be significant as viewers make contact with comments and suggestions. These communications often produce excellent story ideas and, at the very least, are critical to maintaining positive community ties.

At both stations, reporters and anchors are not only expected to execute journalistic work but also become important members of the community, joining boards of non-profit, charity and other organizations, making community appearances and being available to talk to viewers and community leaders. It is believed these connections increase viewer loyalty,

which in turn increases ratings. This commonly held position is often linked to the wild and consistent success enjoyed by CTV Ottawa. Many agree the success is due, in part, to their deep connectedness with the community. Its co-anchors and reporters are involved in many community organizations and, in fact, Max Keeping has his own fundraising foundation ("About the Max Keeping Foundation," 2007).

This unique aspect of local television news in Ottawa can act as a double-edged sword. Clearly, the good charitable work undertaken by both news organizations cannot be understated. Both stations, for instance, broadcast fundraising telethons, which raise millions of dollars for CHEO (by CTV) and the Ottawa Regional Cancer Foundation (by A-Channel) ("Cancer Foundation Telethon," 2007; "CHEO Telethon on CTV Ottawa," 2007). The attention these stations pay to charity oriented stories encourages the local community to help. As such, those in the Ottawa media scene often make reference to Ottawa being one of the most generous cities in Canada because, perhaps, of their proximity to the issue. Ironically, in fact, Ottawa does not make Statistics Canada's top three most generous; Abbotsford, British Columbia tops that list, followed by Toronto and Vancouver (Fitzpatrick, 2007).

This phenomenon, which many in the Ottawa market believe is unique to Ottawa, offers a new spin to Kurpius' (2000) analysis of public journalism in local television news. As explained earlier, Kurpius groups stations in order to define the way they carry out traditional journalistic civic duty for the public good. A-Channel and CTV Ottawa fit into his concept of community service stations with one important difference: The U.S. stations which he describes in the category offer story coverage and sponsorship of events for the public good but not personal news employee involvement in day-to-day charity endeavors.

The focus in the category defined by Kurpius is retained in story delivery and these stations put a particular focus on discussing stories with civic value in daily story meetings. In contrast, CTV and A-Channel demand their employees, especially on-air talent, not only attend community events but sit on community boards and play as active a role as possible. Both channels, as a consequence, tend to cover only the stories in which they are personally involved, ignoring competitor causes. And, as will be explained later in this chapter, there is little discussion or direction as to how these relationships should play out since story meetings at both stations have been virtually eliminated.

The evidence obtained in this study, therefore, challenges Kurpius' rigid station definition categories. It is this author's opinion that such a dynamic industry cannot best be served by such particular definitions. It may be academically convenient to organize newsrooms in strict categories according to a station's particular position towards public interest stories. However, in light of new evidence, Kurpius' categorizations should be reconsidered with the actual routine behind public interest stories in mind. The local television newsroom choice to cover these stories has economic and promotional benefits. It is also possible that a station both does public good through journalism *and* contributes to its own success by choosing this focus, depending on the particular circumstance. This new form of advocacy journalism witnessed in the local television news context requires more study as it is not clear if it is replicated in other media markets across Canada.

The consequence of the A-Channel/CTV experience in this regard is that both newsrooms are known internally and externally to have their own agendas in the community arena. One interview subject described it by saying, "We have our agendas, it bothers everyone but that's just the way it is." The community aspect and station link to it is often, if

not always, a critical element in what gets covered in Ottawa. If a station anchor or reporter from CTV or A-Channel is involved in a community event you, can expect to see a camera there.

Whether this happens at the expense of other important news is debatable, but it certainly adds pressure to the resources available for handling the day's events. Occasionally, these arrangements will add an extra story to a camera man, editor, reporter or producer's day. More often, it pulls a lead reporter or anchor away from the newsroom grind for a few hours. The community responsibilities coupled with competency issues, in the A-Channel newsroom specifically, create a situation where errors are more likely to be made and missed, stress increased and journalistic lines blurred. The most popular choices for community events and promotional tasks happen to be the senior newsroom people who are critical to quality control and accuracy.

Max Keeping is seen by many as the lynch pin in this dynamic, having made community involvement his personal goal and responsibility for more than thirty years. CTV Ottawa has an official child and youth policy, dedicated to putting kids first, and the station publicly supports many local charities such as the CHEO Telethon, the Bell Walk for Kids, the Heart Institute Telethon, the CHEO Duck Race, the Max Keeping Bowlathon, CTV Blood Donor Day, the United Way Campaign, Child and Youth Friendly Ottawa's Spirit of the Capital Awards, Heart and Stroke Foundation, Cancer Society – Ontario, Cystic Fibrosis (Ottawa), Juvenile Diabetes Foundation, Ottawa Senators Foundation and MADD Ottawa to name a few ("CTV Ottawa Web Site," 2007). Keeping understands the criticisms and the concerns regarding bias but does not worry about them. "People say I'm too close but to hell

with them, I'm a guilty cheerleader. There is nothing wrong with advocacy journalism" (Nadeau, 2007b).

This position has set the tone for the Ottawa market. A-Channel has tried to involve and position itself in community advocacy because it is believed Keeping's technique has directly resulted in ratings success. Community involvement in the Ottawa media market is a business decision as much as a decision for the greater good. Employees at both stations talk begrudgingly about being a part of a community. It is a community of families, advertisers, and charities where you can run into your sources and your clients (often one and the same) at the grocery store everyday. This environment creates an interesting natural accountability. However, one cannot help but wonder if this kind of environment also creates an unspoken chill. In the world of local private television news, the first priority is the business, ratings and potential to raise advertising revenue from relationships.

In addition to the community responsibilities required of on-air employees at both stations, employees in the most prominent positions are also drawn into daily promotional activities. In some cases, this can mean up to an hour spent shooting video and voicing promotional pieces for that day's newscast or for future newscasts and news specials. This can also involve radio promos and photo shoots for print advertisements and the Internet. Promotion is seen as the key "teaser" to draw in a viewer and keep them interested in the news program at hand, an increasingly prominent element of the economic logic of news. A discussion with subjects from both newsrooms shows A-Channel is more involved in this kind of activity than CTV, perhaps since it is in the position of needing to attract more viewers to remain competitive. Subjects expressed a desire to draw upon the extensive

promotion for - and during - news programs used in U.S. markets, where the level of competition is significantly more aggressive.

A-Channel has trained its employees on how to write better promo copy and "attract eyeballs." The training came from a specialist who helped newsrooms south of the border. It is not known if CTV has undertaken the same kind of training; however, it does engage in basic promotional activity. The A-Channel example can be utilized to extend Lowes' (1999) theory regarding promotional discourse to local television news. This discourse at the local news level does, however, manifest itself slightly differently. While the promotional relationship in newspaper sports journalism exists between sports teams and newsrooms, this relationship in television appears to exist primarily between the parent company and the newsroom. That is to say, the pressure to promote the brand of the station and to favorably represent the company through news activities is a function of the promotional discourse between newsworkers and news managers. It can also be intermittently seen in the relationship with advertisers and with bureaucratic agents, to be discussed later in terms of *soft integration*.

Returning to the fundamentals of the daily newsroom routine, after newsroom employees check e-mail and the news of the day they usually meet with either the lead producer for the newscast or the senior assignment editor to receive their assignment for the day. The process by which stories are assigned is centrally controlled at both CTV and A-Channel. Both stations used to have morning story meetings where reporters and senior newsroom employees would discuss the news of the day and which stories would be covered. In the last few years (it is difficult to pinpoint an exact time), mandatory meetings

were virtually eliminated. The reasons behind the elimination of these meetings are varied, but it appears a lack of resources is the key factor behind the decision.

Many of this study's subjects who act in senior roles at both stations will argue with this assessment, saying anyone in the newsroom can offer their two cents on the day's lineup. They argue a story meeting does not need to be mandatory or comprehensive to be effective. Indeed, the centralization of story choice is not necessarily new or unique. Breed's (1955) work shows that control and centralization are a key element of newsroom policy dating back to the 1950s. However, this author maintains, and many of the subjects support the idea that the opportunity for discussion and actual story discussion and participation are two very different things, resulting in different routines and outcomes. The elimination of story meetings signals the centralization of control around content and perhaps even signals a vote for quantity over quality.

The implications of this change can be measured against the importance these kinds of meetings have in the U.S. stations that Kurpius (2000) discusses in his work. In his view, the stations that do the best job in executing traditional public journalism spend a significant amount of time in meetings discussing story ideas. The meetings not only flesh out ideas but infuse minority points of view with conventional wisdom. Without these kinds of meetings the particular stories in a newsroom are more likely to fall prey to bureaucratic conventions, both internal and external.

At A-Channel the News Director and the Senior Producer for the 6 p.m. news will discuss the news line-up with the anchor and discuss how best to use the available people and technical resources for the day. At CTV, the morning assignment editor, news director and lead anchor/Vice President News (Max Keeping) discuss the day's news line-up and

how resources should be used. Reporters and camera people are then given their assignments for the day. The discussions in both stations are apparently brief. And while both newsrooms say the processes are open to discussion, the time available for debate is limited, thereby centralizing control over the day's news and routine to a chosen few.

The story choice process for news features, which run during the ratings period, is a more involved but still highly centralized process that involves another layer of promotional and sales planning. The potential impact of promotional considerations in feature stories is of great importance since longer features stories constitute the last efforts in local news to take on in depth, original reporting. It should also be mentioned at this point that the process by which feature stories are produced is quite different from the regular routine. Sometimes reporters will be given two to three days to research and work on these kinds of stories. It appears an effort has been made at both television stations to preserve additional time and support for these projects making them the envy of the newsroom and prompting many subjects to call the time employees work on features "featureland." This routine, therefore, exists in stark contrast to the routine in place for all other news items.

There is a great deal of debate on the implications of change in the area of story meetings, choice and promotional considerations ranging from no impact to significant concern of the role of sales and promotion in news making decisions generally. Max Keeping's position on this matter is that "sales people do not have any impact on news or features. But, sometimes *soft integration* takes place if it works. The newsroom will talk to an advertiser about integration but not at the expense of what the newsroom really wants" (Nadeau, 2007b). In the absence of formal observation of day-to-day newsroom activities, it is difficult to develop a clear picture of what *soft integration* really means and whether it

negatively impacts the news. Anecdotally, when watching either newscast, one can observe the phenomenon in sponsored weather or sports spots, during fun feature stories, in location choices for particular stories and in the prizes sometimes given away during a newscast in the ratings period. More research, especially content analysis, is necessary in this area and this specific matter speaks to the new relationship between news gathering and the business of television news, again further defining the promotional discourse specific to private local television news.

To return to the fundamentals of the routine, once a reporter or a camera person has their assignments for the day, the assumption on the producer/assignment editor's part is the assigned employees will proceed to research their particular stories and book sources to complete the story. There is some disagreement among the interview participants about the volume of work assigned to reporters, camera people and editors. It is difficult to pinpoint an average number of stories because the volume is often dependent on the news of the day. However, reporters and producers will usually take care of one to three stories on a shift. Camera people will complete four to six. In the case of editors, the numbers are not as clear. At A-Channel reporters and camera people, who both collect video and sound, also edit their own material.

At CTV, the system exists largely in well-defined silos where a reporter will take care of the story, a camera person will accompany the reporter, or be sent out to shoot simple video/audio, and editors will package the material with appropriate instructions. This does not mean each reporter/camera person is completing a full length story or "pack" on a particular issue. A pack is a 1:00-1:30 full story on a news item, sometimes called a SOT (sound on tape), and is the most widely known form of television journalism. Newsroom

employees will also be called upon to gather "viz-clips," which feature copy for the anchor to read over pictures, followed by a clip of an interviewed source on the story. At other times camera people will be assigned to "spray the room" or gather visuals and natural sound at a particular news event to be played with anchor copy. This last technique is used quite often to deal with news stories that can not be missed but also can not fit into the daily structure and available resources; the technique is also used for stories of lesser importance or for simplifying complex stories into a thirty second sound bite. Some subjects report great embarrassment with this since the assigned person is in and out of a location in a matter of minutes and does not investigate further, leaving those being covered to wonder whether would the media can understand the context of the event.

Editors and producers will often use in-house archived or "stock" video to supplement stories and sometime to stand alone with news copy pulled from the wires. This is a time-efficient way to complete stories without ever having to leave the newsroom and, to the viewer, it is very difficult to tell which pictures are stock video and which are not; archived video is kept specifically because it is not time sensitive in nature. This is, in part, what was earlier referred to as 'repurposed' content and it does appear, according to this study's participants, to be used more and more in both newsrooms to supplement daily stories, thus confirming the concerns of the Canadian Association of Journalists (Doyle, 2007). This is a very different world from the one Tuchman (1978) described as resistant to using material originating elsewhere.

Finally, both stations have access to video from feeds. At CTV, they can tap into the resources of the CTV Network through an Internet-based system that also provides international news from ABC. At A-Channel, they will pull international video and stories

from CNN and will also occasionally use stories, when appropriate, from their fellow "New-Net" stations (now A-Channel stations) in the CHUM family. During the period of time these interviews were taking place, CHUM did not have the kind of integrated feeds system that CTV has in place, making covering national and international news at A-Channel especially challenging. Now, as mentioned earlier, due to the CTVglobemedia deal, both stations access the same feeds.

Both stations have microwave trucks to carry news live on location. CTV has an additional satellite/microwave truck, which is used by both the local station and the national network on stories in the Toronto-Montreal corridor. For example, the trucks at both stations can be called out to news stories in Montreal or Kingston if the news is significant enough. Anecdotally, the unpredictability of news can often mean technical crews and reporters can sometimes leave for work in the morning and not return for days if that is what the news calls for. Television is unique in this respect because continuity in coverage, even if it is the illusion of continuity, is valued at the local and national level and it is always preferable to leave the same crew on-site at a story, both for journalistic and cost reasons, if possible. A "hand-off" is understood to be much easier in print and radio as in these media the reader's and listener's emotional link to the journalist is different because they cannot see them in connection to the story.

Another technical footnote to consider: the digitized editing process at CTV requires real-time downloading of video for editing purposes. This means an hour of tape will take an hour to download. The consequences of this reality are that camera people are careful not to shoot too much material so as not to slow the process. The same technical issue does not appear to be the case at A-Channel. However, even at A-Channel deadlines demand a

certain restraint when shooting visuals. The more tape you shoot the more there is to go through during the editing process, the more time it takes to complete a story. This can sometime create friction between camera people, reporters and editors because an error can cost someone else valuable time in the daily routine. However, according to some participants, as positions become streamlined, and reporters also shoot and edit their own stories, this friction dissipates as the barriers to quick completion are completely eliminated. In this regard, the cooperative teamwork element of news production is also eliminated, further supporting McLean's (2005) findings at CTV Regina.

As mentioned, when an assignment is handed to a reporter/camera person, there is an assumption made by the producer or assignment editor that research will be undertaken to ensure story quality and accuracy. However, subjects interviewed as a part of this process reveal there is little research taking place at all. Time and resources seem to be key factor behind this behaviour. Reporters and camera people feel newsroom leadership should hand off assignments with more research and information on the front end. In many cases, they report receiving location information for events and nothing more. Newsroom leadership feel it is the reporters' responsibility to research the stories they work on; however, reporters express that the time crunch forces them to "research on the fly", or perhaps better explained "fly by the seat of your pants," in order to get by. This is not unlike the observation made by Lowes in his study of newspaper sports newsrooms. As he explains, "...the critical judgment about the key moment of the game has to be made in a matter of minutes...the amount of scoring play and other such factual material that actually goes into a story depends primarily on how close the reporter is to deadline" (Lowes, 1999, p. 45).

At A-Channel, camera people are asked to gather script-clip information on their own by asking questions of sources in the field. Newsroom leadership organizes the interviews and sometimes will send the camera person with questions but more often than not provides very little information. To exacerbate the situation, camera people interviewed for this study, who have not been trained in journalistic techniques, often do not see it as their job to research stories. They consider themselves technical experts not journalists despite the role they are clearly taking. Camera people at CTV do not face the same situation because of union-negotiated rules. However, subjects report the rule is sometimes broken because of time and resource constraints. These instances are carried out in good faith by the technical staff and are not brought forward to the union. The work being conducted at A-Channel presents a new challenge in the newsroom work routine that has not been fully observed in previous studies. Maclean (2005) speaks of the role of videographers in his study of a local CTV newsroom in Regina however does not explore the extent to which this phenomenon impacts the overall ideology.

When reporters/camera people arrive at a particular event they must cover, the goal is to get in, get what you need and get out as quickly as possible. This prevailing "get it done mentality" is critical to the completion of tasks during any particular day. Admittedly, some days are easier than others, however, more often than not, subjects describe days that fly by, in which every moment must be used with care. Others have described the routine as requiring a special brand of time management in which working quickly and accurately is paramount. For example, a reporter at either station will usually receive an assignment to cover an event at noon at about 10:30 a.m. This reporter must first try to learn as much about the event as possible prior to departing. Then must get to the location, navigating traffic and

weather, and arrive at the appropriate location. Once there, the reporter must determine who the key people are and what the focus of the story is.

The critical element of the research component of the television newsroom routine is that technology, and specifically the Internet is paramount to the process. Many subjects report they "can't remember a time when television was done without the Internet!" Picking up the phone and calling sources or just checking in with people you know are now deemed "old fashioned techniques." Fact checking, source research and plain old copy and paste techniques live in tandem with the Internet (news sources and random sites) and with existing wire services in the television newsroom. Subjects report there simply is not enough time to do anything else. A quick check of the Web can provide an editorial or technical employee with all the information they need for a story. The increasing dependence on the Internet is an ironic twist since the very thing journalists need to complete their job is also adding more work to their daily routine, parallel to McManus' (1994; 2004) suggestion, as the race to provide Internet content in all media becomes paramount.

Media-to-media fact checking, rather than source driven fact checking, is an important part of a local television employee's day. This phenomenon extends beyond the tendency of journalists in previous ethnographic studies to rely on "authorized knowers" (Fishman, 1980) in a potentially dangerous way. The interviews for this thesis suggest that in local television news, the "authorized knower" is often an Internet, wire or newspaper story previously run elsewhere. The "authorized knower" is the larger media community leading to all kinds of potential concerns regarding accuracy and diversity of news and voices. The integration of media-to-media sourcing adds a brand new concern to Fishman's (1980) concept of bureaucratic construction. It appears the bureaucratic nature of news, in

local television news, has practically folded onto itself. The media is one element of the greater bureaucracy which provides news. While this study is not an exploration of content, one can imagine how, from newsroom to newsroom, an incorrect story can be corroborated quickly and disseminated widely without regard for the actual facts of the story. In fact, this very concern has been recently lamented by the Canadian Association of Journalists before the CRTC (*Diversity of Voices Proceedings*, 2007). There is a presumption among the subjects interviewed for this study that if the information is on the Internet or on the news wires it is likely safe to use and often the only option for fact-checking given the time available.

Again, the flip-side to the Internet element is that media fragmentation is pushing television journalists to extend their content to multiple platforms and engage in media partnerships. A-Channel now offers additional repurposed video webcasts of the six o'clock news and blogging content on their website with the same resources that go into producing the existing long format and news programs ("Top Stories," 2007). The pressure to produce web-based material will grow to satisfy the "news when you want it" tendencies of modern viewers. Max Keeping confirms that, for CTV Ottawa's part, they are adding additional web-based content and extending their product to the Web to keep up with the shift. CTV plans major website changes for February 2008 which, according to subjects interviewed for this study includes three new staff members dedicated to the project. However, like at A-Channel, everyone will play a role in feeding this new beast. Among subjects who participated in this study, even the idea of news at 6 p.m. is now in question. Many argue viewers do not have the time to watch the news at dinner time making it more important to offer web news and news at alternate times. There seems to be some consensus that if there

is major change coming in local television news in Ottawa it will likely take place in the area of time slots.

As explained earlier, most A-Channel reporters shoot their own material. All reporters at A-Channel edit their own material. This means the list of tasks to consider grows for those now managing the technical elements of shooting a story and appropriate visuals for the editing process. Event-based stories are logistically difficult for television because they are often time consuming and you must often wait until after the event to conduct an interview with a key source. In some cases, this kind of assignment could keep a reporter or crew on site until 2 p.m. The employee must then return to the newsroom, navigating traffic and weather, to begin assembling the script and editing the story. Again, depending on the newsroom, the resources available for this part of the routine are limited. At A-Channel, a reporter is virtually on his or her own, save for occasional help with script editing from senior producers and the anchor. At CTV, the process is still quite formal, the reporter writes a script and hands off the tape and script to an editor to assemble the story. On average, there will be one to four hours available at both stations to write and edit a news piece for the 6 p.m. news. This example is quite specific and controlled. Imagine a scenario where the assignment is not given until early afternoon or breaking news interrupts a process begun on another assignment. On the flip side, for pre-organized features or original stories that are not based on an event the coverage of the story can be quite a bit more relaxed because the employee has additional control over the scheduling of the day.

To add to this mix is the issue of camera availability and prioritization of stories and promotional tasks. Just because there is an event scheduled for a particular time or an interview subject available at a particular time does not mean a camera and/or camera

person is available to take on the task. At CTV, the task of figuring out how to juggle resources falls to the coordinating producer and to the assignment editors. At A-Channel, the producers and assignment desk employees work out the details. This process is plagued with stress and confusion at both stations. The job of getting the necessary resources to match up with the day's news agenda is a complicated task at the best of times. It is also when communication issues and team dynamics show themselves to be quite influential in the routine. Subjects expressed their frustration with the inability of work colleagues to properly relay important details. The nature of television work requires team collaboration however the lack of resources and time leaves very little time and patience for actual communication to unfold in achieving this goal. A good example of this is also the centralization of decision making for story choice and resource distribution; as discussed earlier, there is no time for story meetings any more, this despite the fact that it arguably could improve communication between members of the team, thereby reducing stress and confusion. Add to this situation the intensity of newswork and the perceived stakes at play and subjects across the broad report feeling stressed and over-worked.

It is within this context that one can best understand why, according to those interviewed, there is no consistent fact-checking or quality control processes in either newsroom. Additionally, when errors occur, subjects report these situations are not handled consistently or professionally in an effort to improve quality. Subject consensus on the genesis of this phenomenon is that there simply is not the time and/or resources to enable proper processes to emerge, nor the management will to formally introduce them into the daily routine and ensure they are maintained. At best, several subjects report attempts at formalizing processes which eventually evaporate overtime, buried under the weight of a

relentless routine. The other factor at play is that admission of errors in television is very rare. There is an attempt to correct errors live-on-air as they happen; however, once they have passed into the ether they are virtually gone. To apologize for an error which occurred on previous newscasts would likely require an explanation to the viewer, perhaps subjecting further damage to the aggrieved party.

As explained in chapter two, Tuchman describes how the potential for legal action subsequent to errors of fact serves to act as a driving force behind the desire for accuracy (1978, p. 84). Yet, when discussing the matter of errors and credibility during this study, the matter of potential legal action was rarely, if ever, brought up. Perhaps this is due to the legal environment differences between Canada and the United States, where civil suits are common place. However, it is clear there is a significantly different relationship between the way in which this study's subjects relate to errors and credibility and the subjects featured in Tuchman's study. There appears to be complacency among today's local newsworkers about mistakes.

Unlike print journalism, the fluidity of television creates the perception that once something has aired it is gone, the slate is clean. It is likely increasing parallel production of material for the Internet could change this perception over time. Subjects interviewed in this study relay serious concerns regarding errors. First, the limitations of time and resources create a situation where material is used and reused between a station's programs and newscasts. There are instances where the lack of communication and lack of process combine to offer up the same mistakes on several shows. There is also the concern of a majority of respondents about journalistic integrity. It may be logistically difficult to admit errors on television but it is universally agreed when viewers see errors the experience

erodes trust in the particular station over time. The technical employees at both stations, because of the additional structure they enjoy, do benefit from a daily "fault report" outlining technical errors committed during a particular show. These reports are distributed to all employees by e-mail and many subjects report the e-mails constitute a "public shaming," "a management cop-out" and overall a less-than-progressive way of handling errors.

The emerging descriptions of limited time and resources as key players in the newswork routine are most identified by subjects. It can be best understood during the 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. time period where the most intense work and preparation takes place. During this period an hour-long newscast, which has been in preparation for the entire day, must come together no matter the circumstances. Subjects report racing through script writing and editing. At CTV, reporters rarely sit with editors to work on the production of their story, often heading back to the newsroom to write the lead for their piece, to help others with news items or to work on research for the next day. At A-Channel, where the employees engage in an impressive amount of multi-tasking, this would be the time they would edit their own pieces for air. Newsroom leadership goes over the show script, the introductions and special elements to the newscast. There is little time in this period for discussion or change. These are the new efficiencies, as identified by Gans (1979), which A-Channel and CTV execute to overcome the limitations placed upon them.

As the old saying goes, "the news begins at 6:00 p.m. not 6:01 p.m." There is no time to stretch the time available to produce the news. The work can not wait until later, or until tomorrow. The deadline is non-negotiable. Respondents describe this relationship with time in different ways. Predominantly, time is usually referred to as a resource, a reality in

the business, where if you have enough of it you can do a great job and if you lack time you simply have to make do. This description also fits with the prevailing view that flexibility is an integral element in television news forcing employees to be "time smart." The phenomenon also, however, creates inequities in volume of work between people who find it easier to manage the time demands and those who can not.

Others express an overwhelming frustration with the lack of time available to complete the day's work. In this group the concern is that the lack of time afforded to daily tasks, combined with resource limitations, directly impacts content quality. Some of subjects in this category add that, to get the news done for the day, the tasks and expectations at hand must be manipulated by lowering standards and engaging in "quick & dirty" work. Finally, an equal number of subjects also felt the time crunch facing television workers each day drives productivity. Under pressure, employees are driven to be the fastest and first, and must, under the circumstances, work together as a team to get the job done. There is a special element in local television newswork that creates what can only be described as a compression of existing time to complete tasks.

The impetus behind getting the job done, the incentives which exist to encourage people to work within the limitations of the newsroom, have not changed much since Breed's (1955) study. An overwhelming majority interviewed for this study indicated that they show up for work everyday because they love the work and have a great degree of loyalty for their colleagues at all levels and the collective effort their team mounts each and everyday. This is fundamentally the same social control phenomenon Breed observed noting employees expressed "feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors" and a desire for "the

pleasant nature of the activity" (1955, pp. 330-331). Although, it should be clarified that subjects did not describe the work as "pleasant" rather "cool, respected and fun."

Others express an affinity for the pressure of the job saying "it's in your blood, you can't shake it, and the adrenaline keeps you coming back". Working in television news is a lifestyle with some on-air personalities treated locally as celebrities, perhaps a by-product of the intense community services being conducted in this market. A secondary set of responses, perhaps alluding to the increasing promotional goals in local television news, express an affinity for the perks associated with the job or "goodies from the sales department" such as hockey and movie tickets, free stuff and special access to businesses and establishments in Ottawa. These perks are handled differently in each newsroom. CTV draws names for the most desired perks. At A-Channel senior employees dole out available perks as deemed appropriate. Because of the nature of the business, some employees at both stations have access to station vehicles and cell phones for personal use. These are most often camera people who are asked to come in early from home or stay particularly late for a story. This also means they can take the brand home and act as permanent promotion for the station.

In short, the newsroom environment does not come with traditional incentives, such as bonuses, progress thru the ranks pay or other common human resource benefits, short of a regular pay check. The demands of the business dictate the complete absence of an allocation of additional financial or time compensation. However, CTV Ottawa does offer a merit increase program which few employees know about or access. The program must be applied for and the applicant must demonstrate clear and unique merit on the job.

Nevertheless, subjects in this study express unfailing buy-in into the work despite all of the shortcomings expressed about the routine.

An additional interesting element present in private local television newswork that appears to have not been discussed in previous media studies relates to available competencies in the newsroom. In the business world, the concept of competency is widely understood to describe the skills employees offer to ease the completion of work. More recently, some researchers have taken extra steps to drill down to specific aspects of the concept introducing the idea of meta-competency to describe a person's general ability to learn and apply competencies effectively in many different ways to all the tasks of their particular job (Fleming, 1991). It is this former idea that can perhaps apply to competencies as they apply in journalism.

Borrowing from our colleagues in the business field, the competency gap effect, a concept introduced by this author in an effort to explain data learned during the course of this research, seeks to explain the lack of available competencies of employees in the newsroom, especially in the area of historical and factual knowledge to make up for shoddy research. Time management skills and professionalism also seem to be critical competencies in this regard. This gap further compresses existing stresses, time and resources, by forcing reliance on the skilled workers, away from employees who are known not to carry out duties with accuracy or speed. Some subjects report "being penalized for doing a good job" or being given even more work because they demonstrate the necessary "workaholic" tendencies to please newsroom management.

The appearance of the competency gap effect on the newsroom routine is one that needs to be followed and studied more carefully. The shift of workload to employees who

are perceived to be more competent and can work with more precision under the guise of necessary efficiencies has the potential to burn out or chase out the most talented employees in the newsroom leaving those lacking experience, drive and dedication to further entrench the principles of "quick and dirty" television news. The phenomenon serves to support Ursell's (2003) assertion that a "dumbed down" newsroom can only produce a "dumbed down" product.

Senior, experienced subjects especially lament the decreasing competencies of new newsroom employees and intern additions from journalism schools. Their concern lies specifically in a lack of general existing knowledge of news stories, political processes and history—all key elements in an environment where there is less and less time available for story research. It is important to mention at this juncture that nine of the subjects interviewed for this study have significant experience in journalism, six have formal educational training in journalism and four have minimal training and experience.

The competency gap phenomenon also reveals itself in the process through which employees negotiate hours of work, overtime and vacation. Some subjects go as far as to say the employer in both newsrooms "abuses good work ethic" to their advantage. Others express that once a person is viewed as a competent employee the status can be used to better negotiate holiday and overtime time. The employees who fall in the "competent" category also report unforgiving expectations, assumed tasks and responsibilities, compounding stress, and feeling the weight of community expectations.

These same subjects also worry about the impact of traumatic stories on themselves and their colleagues. While employee assistance programs are in place at both stations they are rarely discussed or used to help in coping with the daily stresses of the profession. Most

subjects admit a level of desensitization to trauma and stress is necessary to cope, which may have the unintended effect of damaging the employees' ability to relate to some of the stories they cover. However, in the end, the prevailing sentiment is often "if you can't handle it you shouldn't be in the business" emboldening the traditional optic of a particular breed of journalist. These subjects also tend to be very driven, "A" type personalities. This speaks to the concerns expressed earlier by Willis (2003) about the nature of the work burying opportunities for journalists who need assistance to get it.

Further deepening the competency gap issue is a failure in both newsrooms to provide consistent and reliable journalistic training. An overwhelming majority of subjects expressed that training depends solely on personal initiative and that the work in these newsrooms is best for self-starters who will figure things out on their own. The minimal training that does exist is reserved for major technological changes in the newsroom that demand new skills or for technical employees that operate the most valuable newsroom equipment. Employees in both newsrooms expressed frustration with a perceived inability on the part of newsroom management to invest in the people doing the work, rather than the equipment that puts the news to air. One respondent commented: "The brain is just as important as the technical equipment. I can't understand why they wouldn't be worried about that." Finally, at A-Channel specifically, emphasis has been placed on improving techniques in promotional writing for all employees to make news promos and story leads catchier in an effort to draw and keep viewers.

Stress and time issues in a television newsroom worker's routine force a "get it done mentality." This has significant implications for content development. What happens to stories that are too complicated or not visual enough to fit into a local television news cycle?

The demands on the process are too great to produce anything more than a surface gathering of the facts. Under duress, one wonders if promotional forces could wedge their way further into the newsroom while employees are too busy to argue?

In terms of story choice criteria, employees in both newsrooms share common beliefs about what makes for a good story. The unanimous overarching explanation for what may or may not be covered in a news day is that it depends of the circumstances of the day and the available person and equipment resources. Once this explanation is understood there are certain stories that are more likely to be chosen over others according to the subjects interviewed in this study. The overwhelming condition is that a story has community value or local interest, not uncommon to local news generally. However, in the context of the unique relationship between these two particular news stations and local charities and institutions, the response is particularly relevant.

The impact and scope of a story is next in terms of priority. Third, and perhaps most interesting, is the "watercooler" or "infotainment" potential of a story. "Watercooler" potential refers to the likelihood that viewers are talking about a particular story around the water cooler at work. Respondents who make reference to this element lament the choice and are concerned with the increase in "infotainment", concerned it contributes to the "dumbing down" of news generally. Respondents also indicated they consider factors such as availability of visuals, uniqueness, classic narratives (good v. bad) and what the competition may be covering.

The barriers inherent in and frustrations with the newswork routine in local private television news in Ottawa provide interesting insight into the present challenges faced by employees. The number one concern is overwhelmingly with the availability of people,

equipment and time. As the volume of expected work increases and availability of resources decreases the natural crunch which ensues creates constant stress for employees caught in the middle. Successful employees are able to "make do with what's available" or "make the best of a bad situation."

The level of expectations within this context frustrates a majority of subjects as well in the area of community responsibility, personal competency without traditional training support and the constant judgment for some of on-air personal appearance. Add to the equation the challenge of communication and collaboration, all the elements in the television news routine that can not be controlled, the integrity of equipment, which often breaks down at inopportune moments, and the availability of sources during the short period of time you need them and it is clear a local private television newsroom is a daily pressure cooker where the subjects in this study say they simply hope to put out the best product they can.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The people who work in local television news are often heard adapting the quote made famous by Hunter S. Thompson when describing their chosen career path. Their version reads: *The TV business is a cruel and shallow money trench, a long plastic hallway where thieves and pimps run free, and good men die like dogs. There's also a negative side* (Emery, 2007).

This phrase points to an image which is glamorous and entertaining while simultaneously rather sad. The reality, however, is, in fairness, quite different. Perhaps the quote is just a titillating way of explaining life in television news, which, it turns out, those who work in the business are quite fond of doing. Private television news in Ottawa is not drastically different from the news conducted in different media and locations in the history of media and described in the study of their respective work routines. This author would suggest that what is different is that the routine changes observed during the completion of this thesis are conducted in order to become more efficient, in a journalistic and business sense, and more promotionally oriented. It appears the changes are not malicious or deliberate but are part of an unintended metamorphosis for survival purposes. Local television is under attack across Canada: there is less and less money available to deliver it and fewer and fewer people willing to watch it. However, once identified, these elements of the daily routine can be altered, changed and perhaps reversed in some cases to preserve the journalistically critical elements of local news production. The key question for employees and newsroom leaders in the Ottawa market is: What should the priority of the news routine be? The answer could determine the future viability of news operations in Ottawa.

Television news is a fluid process. The technology of the medium, the deadlines and the increasing volume of content needed to feed demand change so quickly it can be difficult to pin down trends and commonalities. It is clear, however, a new generation of television newsroom workers has a practical view of the job. The elements of social responsibility, so often attributed to the fourth estate, still exist in day-to-day work but are often coloured by the pressure to make the newscast watchable.

This study has demonstrated a change in the news routine in a number of areas. First, the promotional relationship between the newsroom and external charitable partners appears symbiotic to a fault. While, covering the local community has always been a priority of local news, in Ottawa it is additionally important to be an active part of it and to cover each move of and result from the developing relationship. The blurred line in this area may be softening the integration between other outside business, sales and bureaucratic agents and the newsroom as well. If *soft integration* benefits both parties mutually then it takes place in the newsroom, sometimes without the explicit knowledge of the viewer. These changing relationships and the way in which they change the news routine are of great interest and require more study to assess the degree to which this is occurring in other markets.

Local television news is a business and as such must remain profitable and must be as cost-efficient as possible. It is a reality that employees in Ottawa news understand and have integrated into their day-to-day routines. Employees have gone from content generalists to task-masters, able to do several different jobs but not necessarily proficient in different subject areas of journalistic interest. This economic practicality carries significant risks for employees in news and for news content. In an effort to become increasingly efficient, on all resource fronts, the steps by which news is researched and constructed are

dwindling, limiting diversity of story ideas and sources in addition to fact checking opportunities. Work skills are valued over knowledge.

The consequence of reduced staff, technological resources, training opportunities and time for individual stories is an increased dependency on the bureaucratic elements of news. Newsroom employees, without the benefit of time and necessary resources, have no choice but to lean on easily available stories, events and relationships. The process by which stories are chosen has become increasingly centralized and, as the time available to conduct work decreases, the autonomy of individual employees to question the process also decreases. The crunch witnessed in our two Ottawa newsrooms highlights a new research question to consider: At what point does media bureaucratic dependency become excessive? Or, otherwise put, is the kind of journalism conducted by media in local television news really journalism when there are little or no enterprising elements at play?

This study's results also show that the effort and time put into research has dwindled to practically nothing and, to make matters worse, little training is available to employees to improve the journalistic skills needed to make up for the lost effort. The result is a palpable competency gap where the remaining skilled workers are leaned upon until they burnout or get out of the newsroom altogether and less motivated employees utilize repurposed content from media sources to get the job done.

Finally, this study highlights how, above all journalistic considerations, the circumstances of a particular news day determine story choice in local television news. If a story does not meet the efficiency criteria of a newsroom, it will be difficult - if not impossible - to cover. This particular concern is not new; however, combined with increasing worry about the infiltration of "dumbed down" infotainment in news content and

the economic logic of television pushing "sexy," "watchable" content, one wonders what we are left with.

Ursell's (2003) conclusions, based on data collected in the United Kingdom, is that the creative person who works in the newsroom is being de-professionalized in favour of cost-driven production criteria. It is also this author's conclusion that the experience of workers in the local private television industry in Ottawa amounts to a similar result. The routine in this context has tipped in favour of business considerations and the people, once considered professionals in the field of journalism, are no longer so. Sadly, this is not for lack of effort and will on the part of the employees themselves. A combination of pressures and realities has, in a way, sucked the journalism right out of the routine of making the news. Without the key long standing journalistic principles of significant research, preparation, discussion, teamwork, care to identify and correct errors, originality and independence, this author has a difficult time applying the concept of journalism to the work being conducted in the Ottawa market. This thesis serves to further underscore Ursell's point that 'dumbed down' working conditions are directly responsible for a 'dumbed down' product (2003).

This observation in the Ottawa market opens the door to some important questions. Is this the case in other private television markets across Canada? Are the observations made during the course of this thesis unique to private television news and exclusive linked to convergence or simply driven from competition in light of increasing fragmentation? Could, for instance, these trends be observed in public television? How will local television's move to multiple platforms affect routine? Should journalism schools rethink the way they train new journalists in light of concerns around the competency gap effect?

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, what do these observations mean for journalism's role in democratic discourse and as the convener in the community conversation? Further study and discussion is required to assess how a shift to cost-driven considerations may impact the way society relates to the media and other institutions necessary to the progress of a healthy democratic society.

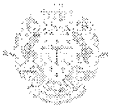
The findings and conclusions of this thesis are bound by certain limitations. Due to the lack of direct access to the newsrooms in question, for observational purposes especially, it is difficult to verify the accuracy of the comments and assertions made by study subjects. This author's personal experience, while useful to learned analysis of these comments, is not sufficient enough to fully substantiate the data. With better access to the newsrooms, samples would be additionally fulsome and representative. For example, with company approval one could access company staff lists and draw on a more complete sample for analysis. Also, one can not presume that because these findings occur in a local private television newsroom in Ottawa that they would necessarily be replicated in other television markets, and certainly not necessarily in other media. This study is also bound by the limitations of time since, as discussed, this field's fluidity and rate of change is so unpredictable that the theories discussed in this thesis may be the particular result of a certain period of time.

Nevertheless, this study's discoveries are important because they supplement the study of journalism and communications with the most basic knowledge about Canadian local private television newsrooms. This work contributes to a better understanding of how work routines in television journalism affect newsroom content. It is hoped the results of this

work will also empower the people working in television newsrooms to change elements of their work routines in an effort to evolve and protect the craft of television journalism.

Appendix A: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board

Certification (extended on July 19, 2007 and valid until July 19, 2008)



Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

Service de subventions de recherche et d'éthique Research Grants and Ethics Services

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that the University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (REB) has examined the application for ethical approval for the research project **Making News: A Look Inside Two Ottawa Television Stations (File # 05-06-23)** submitted by Sophie Nadeau and supervised by Mark Lowes of the Department of Communication. The members of the REB found that the research project met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards, and accordingly gave the research project a Category Ia (Approval).

This certification is valid for one year from the date indicated below.

_____ July 19, 2006

Catherine Paquet — Date
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For the Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB
Richard Clément

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form

Title of the study:
Making News: A look inside two Ottawa television stations

Sophie Nadeau, Researcher,
Communication Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
E-mail:

Mark Lowes, PhD, Supervisor,
Communication Department, Faculty of Arts University of Ottawa
Phone: 613-562-5800 Extension 3824
E-mail: mlowes@uOttawa.ca
Business Address: 556 King Edward, Room 202 (Ottawa, Ontario)

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Sophie Nadeau and Mark Lowes, PhD.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to explore the changing nature of local television newswork and its impact on news, journalism and society.

Participation: My participation will consist essentially of a tape recorded interview during which I will answer questions and discuss issues related to the study. The interview has been scheduled for _____.

Risks: My participation in this study will entail that I discuss my work behaviour and routines. It will also entail I discuss my opinions on the culture and business of journalism in Canada. This may result in unforeseen economic and social risks. These risks could include reprimand in the work place. I have received assurances from the researcher that every effort will be made to minimize these risks.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help explain the changing nature of local television newswork and contribute to the academic discussion around journalism and democracy in Canada.

Confidentiality and anonymity: I have received assurances from the researcher that the information I will share will remain anonymous. Anonymity will be protected by not attributing specific comments to specific participants or their organizations. Complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed given the nature of the study and the relatively small pool of participants and the nature of the field being studied.

Conservation of data: The data collected, including hard copy notes, tape recordings and transcripts, will be kept in a secure manner in the researchers' home for a period of five years. Access to the documentation will be restricted the supervisor's office.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered from me until the time of withdrawal will be destroyed.

Acceptance: I,_____, agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Sophie Nadeau of the Communication Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa, which research is under the supervision of Mark Lowes, PhD.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or her supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, (613) 562-5841 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: Date:

Researcher's signature: Date:

Appendix C: Interview questions

These questions were asked to all interview subjects.

1) How long have you worked in the newsroom?

2) Please describe to me your pre-newsroom experience.

3) What were your assigned duties upon receiving your job? (Job description)

4) What is the goal of your position?

5) What results are you supposed to achieve?

6) Who assigns you your tasks for the day?

7) What tasks are assumed or that you assign yourself?

8) What does your workday look like?
(Morning, Mid-Day, Afternoon, end of day: hour-by-hour descriptions of work done, actual tasks.)

9) In a week: How many hours do you work? How many of those hours are scheduled? How many are overtime?

10) In a year: How much vacation time are you allocated? Do you take your vacation time? What are the barriers to getting and taking vacation time?

11) What additional duties do you take on that are not a part of your job description?

12) How do the assigned duties differ from what you actually do during a day at work?

13) What are the barriers to achieving daily results?

14) What are the challenges in your workplace?

15) What would you say causes stress in your workplace?

16) What kinds of incentives exist in your workplace?

17) What tools exist to help you do your job?

18) When was the last time you had training of some kind?

19) Did you have training upon receiving your job? Since? What kind?

20) How would you say time plays into your work?

21) How are mistakes dealt with in your workplace? (Before the news goes to air, after they have gone to air)

22) How do you research and prepare for the stories you work on?

23) Who checks your work? How is it checked?

24) How do you deal with covering traumatic or difficult stories? How do your co-workers deal with it? *(If you feel like you need help dealing with trauma and/or stress that you have experienced in the workplace you can visit www.cmha.ca (Canadian Mental Health Association) for more information and resources.)*

25) I'm going to give you fictitious story examples. For each please tell me if it is likely to be covered in your newsroom, why and the way in which you would expect it to be dealt with:

An accident when no one is killed
An accident involving death
a major cash donation to a local charity
a government policy announcement
a political sex scandal
a murder
a scientific discovery
a kindergarten graduation
an infrastructure opening (a new bridge or building)
an election
a sports event

26) Is there anything I haven't asked you that you would like to talk about?

Bibilography

About A-Channel. (2007). Retrieved November 3, 2007, from http://www.achannel.ca/ottawa/5798.aspx

About CMD. (2007). Retrieved November 10, 2007, from http://www.prwatch.org/cmd/index.html

About the Max Keeping Foundation. (2007). Retrieved November 24, 2007, from http://www.maxkeepingfoundation.org/about.html

Bain, S. (2006). A-Channel response to research request. In S. Nadeau (Ed.). Ottawa.

Baker, R. (1999). Will the Media be the end of us? *Press/ Politics, 4*(3), 98-105.

Barber, M., & Rauhala, A. (2005). The Canadian News Directors Study: Demographics and Political Leanings of Television Decision - Makers. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 30*(2), 281-292.

Breed, W. (1955). Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis. *Social Forces, 33*(4), 326-335.

Brent, P. (2006). CTV Ottawa response to research request. In S. Nadeau (Ed.) (E-mail ed.). Ottawa.

Broadcasting Decision CRTC 2007-165, (2007).

C.F.Cannell, Oksenberg, L., & Converse, J. M. (Eds.). (1979). *Experiments in Interviewing Techniques*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Canada. (1970). *Report. Keith Davey, Chair.*: Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada. (1981). *Royal Commission on Newspapers [Report]. (Kent Commission)*: Ottawa: Supply and Services.

Canada. (1992). *The Ties that Bind. Recommendations of the Committee.*: Ottawa: Supply and Services.

Canada. (1970). *Report. Keith Davey, Chair.* Retrieved. from.

Canada. (1981). *Royal Commission on Newspapers [Report]. (Kent Commission).* Retrieved. from.

Cancer Foundation Telethon. (2007). Retrieved November 24, 2007, from http://www.achannel.ca/ottawa/tvshows_19769.aspx

Carlyle, T. (1886). *The French revolution : a history.* London: Routledge.

Carlyle, T. (1893). *On heroes, hero-worship and the heroic in history.* London: Chapman and Hall.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

CHEO Telethon on CTV Ottawa. (2007). Retrieved November 24, 2007, from http://www.cheofoundation.com/english/news/may312006.cfm?page=news

Cohendet, P., & Llerena, P. (2003). Routines and incentives: the role of communities in the firm. *Industrial and Corporate Change, 12*(2), 271-297.

Crane, V. (1991). *Listening to the Audience: Producer-Audience Communication.* Paper presented at the When Science Meets the Public.

CTV Ottawa Web Site. (2007). Retrieved October 1, 2007, from http://www.cjoh.com/about.asp

CTV.ca. (2007). CTV is Canada's Overwhelming Choice for Local News. Retrieved February 7, 2007, from http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/show/CTVShows/20080110/ctv_release_20080110/20080110

Culture Report: A Profile of the Impact Newspapers and Their Departments. (2000).): Northwestern University's Readership Institute.

Dey, I. (1999). *Grounding Grounded Theory: Guidelines for Qualitative Inquiry.* San Diego, California: Academic Press.

Dijkstra, W. (1987). Interviewing Style and Respondent Behaviour: An Experimental Study of Survey-Interview. *Sociological Methods & Research, 16*(2), 309-334.

Diversity of Voices Proceedings, Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (2007).

Doyle, S. (2007, September 24). 'Journalism is under siege across Canada,' journalists tell CRTC. *The Hill Times.*

Emery, D. (2007). Where Thieves and Pimps Run Free. Retrieved November 24, 2007, from http://urbanlegends.about.com/od/dubiousquotes/a/hunter_thompson.htm

Ericson, R. V., Baranek, P. M., & Chan, B. L. J. (1987). *Visualizing Deviance: A Study of News Organization.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ericson, R. V., Baranek, P. M., & Chan, B. L. J. (1989). *Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ericson, R. V., Baranek, P. M., & Chan, B. L. J. (1991). *Representing Order: Crime, Law, and Justice in the News Media.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Farsetta, D., & Price, D. (2006). *Fake TV News: Widespread and Undisclosed.* Madison, Wisconsin: Center for Media and Democracy.

Final Report on Canadian News Media. (June 2006). Retrieved. from http://www.parl.gc.ca/39/1/parlbus/commbus/senate/com-e/tran-e/rep-e/repfinjun06vol1-e.htm.

Fishman, M. (1980). *Manufacturing the News.* Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Fitzpatrick, M. (2007, November 2). Fewer donors in 2006, but more generous; Nunavut residents pay charities most, StatsCan says. *The Ottawa Citizen,* p. A12.

Fleming, D. (1991). The concept of meta-competence. *Competence and Assessment, 16*, 7-10.

Fulford, R. (1999). *The Triumph of Narrative: story-telling in the age of mass culture*. New York: Broadway.

Gans, H. J. (1979). *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. Toronto: Random House of Canada Ltd.

Gasher, M. (2001). Inside the Sports Pages: Work Routines, Professional Ideologies and the Manufacture of Sports News (Review). *Canadian Journal of Communication, 26*(2), 323-324.

Glaser, B. (1992). *Emergence vs. Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*. Mill Valley, California: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B. (1998). *Doing grounded theory: issues and discussions*. Mill Valley, Ca: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.

Habermas, J. (1989). *The structural transformation of the public sphere : an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (T. B. w. t. a. o. F. Lawrence, Trans.). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Hollifield, A. C., Kosicki, G. M., & Becker, L. B. (2001). Directors' and Newspaper Editors' Hiring Decisions. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 45*(1), 92.

Kalb, M. (2000). Guillotine of Greed: CNN and the Changing Economics of Broadcast Journalism. *Harvard International Journal of Press Politics, 5*(1), 13-21.

Keats, D. M. (2000). *Interviewing: A Practical Guide for students and professionals*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Kurpius, D. (2000). Public Journalism and Commercial Local Television News: In Search of a model. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 77*(2), 340-354.

Lapointe, K. (2003, September 29). Losing Faith in the Media. *Macleans Magazine*.

Lowes, M. (1997). Sports page: A case study in the manufacture of sports news for the daily press. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 14*(2), 143-159.

Lowes, M. (1999). *Inside the Sport Pages: work routines, professional ideologies, and the manufacture of sports news*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Martin, P. Y., & Turner, B. A. (1986). Grounded Theory and Organizational Research. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 22*(2), 141-157.

McKercher, C. (1995). Computers and Reporters: Newsroom Practices at Two Canadian Daily Newspapers. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 20*(2), 213-229.

McLean, J. S. (2005). When Head Office was Upstairs: How Corporate Concentration Changed a Television Newsroom. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 30*(3), 325-342.

McManus, J. H. (1994). *Market-Driven Journalism: Let the Citizen Beware?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McManus, J. H. (2004). Symptoms of Underlying Stress in Journalism. *Neiman Reports, Winter*.

Nadeau, S. (2007a). Confidential interview. Ottawa.

Nadeau, S. (2007b). Interview with Max Keeping, Vice-President of News & Public Affairs and Co-Anchor of CTV Ottawa. Ottawa, Ontario.

Nelson, R. R., & Winter, S. G. (1982). *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Postman, N. (1985). *Amusing ourselves to death : public discourse in the age of show business*. New York: Viking.

Readership Institute New Readers Study: Culture Report. (2004).): Human synergistics/center for applied research, inc.

Robertson, G. (2007a, June 13). CTV expected to rebrand A Channel *Globe and Mail.*

Robertson, G. (2007b, October 8). Will CRTC tune out decline in TV news? *The Globe and Mail,* p. B1.

Robinson, J. P. (1981). Reviewed Work: Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality. by Gaye Tuchman. *Social Forces, 59*(4), 1341-1342.

Schlesinger, P. (1977). Newsmen and their Time-Machine. *The British Journal of Sociology, 28*(3), 336-350.

Schostak, J. (2006). *Interviewing and Representation in Qualitative Research*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Schulman, M. (1990). Control mechanisms inside the media. In J. Downing, Mohammadi, Ali and Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle (Ed.), *Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Smith, D. (1972). The Ideological Practice of Sociology. Department of Sociology, University of British Colombia.

Standing Committee, C. H. (2003). *Our Cultural Sovereignty: The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting*. Ottawa, Ontario: Canada. Parliament. House of Commons.

State of the News Media 2007. (2007).): Project for Excellence in Journalism.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research : grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview. In N. K. a. L. Denzin, Yvonna S. (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks Sage Publications.

Thomas, W. I. (1928). *The Child in America*. New York: Knopf.

Top Stories. (2007). Retrieved November 24, 2007, from http://www.achannel.ca/ottawa/news.aspx

Tuchman, G. (1973). Making News by Doing Work: Routinizing the Unexpected. *The American Journal of Sociology, 79*(1), 110-131.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: a study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Turner, D. (2005). Canadian Journalism. Pretty Good. Not Really. Ughhh. *Public Policy Forum* Retrieved October 2005, from www.ppforum.ca

Ursell, G. (2003). Creating Value and Valuing Creation in Contemporary UK Television: or "dumbing down" the workforce. *Journalism Studies, 4*(1), 31-46.

Wenger, E. (1999). *Communities of Practice: learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Willis, J. (2003). *The Human Journalist*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Winn, C. (2006). "The State of Press Freedom in Canada." COMPAS Poll Retrieved February 26, 2006, from www.compas.ca