

# A Case Study of the Televised International Newsflow of Raidió Teilifís Éireann and The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: A Comparative Content Analysis

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## DECLARATION

I do hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment in the programme of study leading to the award of Master of Arts, is entirely my own work, further attesting that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text.

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*A Case Study of the Televised International Newsflow of Raidió Teilifís Éireann and  
The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: A Comparative Content Analysis.*

**Jason Thomas Testar**

**ABSTRACT**

The objective of this comparative newsflow study was to analyse the televised international news broadcast in the national public service of Canada and the Republic of Ireland over a thirty-day term. In doing so, a quantitative content analysis comparing the output of two national public service providers (PSB), Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is offered. In identifying the national origin of the international news, those reports utilizing the foreign correspondents of the PSBs were quantified. Finally, the ratio of international to domestic reportage and the volume of international news reports by quantity and duration are also compared.

This study reviews the literature of cultural, corporate and state sovereignty as it looks to the regulatory structures of the broadcasters. Gatekeeping dynamics and the critical media ecology of a re-feudalizing public sphere are addressed as are the roles of framing and domestication. An exploration of cultural imperialism and the newsflow studies of globalization and deregulation are also undertaken. The commercialization of international news values, compassion fatigue and declining demand are similarly explored. Satellite broadcasting and the influence of the news agencies is considered as is the literature pertaining to crisis-news driven parachute journalism and the role of the foreign correspondent.

The study revealed that the real sovereignty of both the CBC and RTÉ is demonstrably limited in terms of their ability to control the production chain from the source of the news through to the audiences. It's argued that larger outputs of international news increase the value accrued to civic knowledge and therein the value of the service offered. In terms of the offered 'value for public money' it's concluded that audiences of the CBC routinely receive greater value than do those of RTÉ.

**Academic Universe:** Media Studies, International Newsflow, Public Service Broadcasting, Comparative Content Analysis.

**Keywords:** Agenda Setting, Convergence, Cultural Imperialism, Cultural Sovereignty, Deregulation, Framing, Foreign Correspondent, Gatekeeping, Globalization, International Newsflow, Public Sphere, Public Service Broadcasting, Satellite Broadcasting, Wire-services, Dependence.

## GLOSSARY

- ARNG: Annenberg Research Network on Globalization and Communication
- AP: Associated Press
- BCI: Broadcasting Commission of Ireland
- BWFD: Broadcasting Without Frontiers Directive
- CAF: Canadian Armed Forces
- CBC: The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation CEFCOM: Canadian Expeditionary Force Command CP: Canadian Press
- CRTC: Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
- CTF: Canadian Television Fund
- DCU: Dublin City University
- DCH: Department of Canadian Heritage
- DTH: Direct to Home
- DTT: Digital Terrestrial Television
- IPS: Inter Press Service
- IPTV: Internet Protocol Television
- IAMCR: The International Association for Mass Communication Research
- MDS: Multi-point Distribution Systems NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
NCAD: News & Current Affairs Division
- NWICO: New World Information Communication Order
- OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
- PSB: Public Service Broadcaster
- PSM: Public Service Media
- RTÉ: Raidió Teilifís Éireann
- RAGC: Report of the Auditor General of Canada

SCCH: Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage

SCIST: Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology

SSCTC: Standing Senate Committee on Transportation and Communications

UN: United Nations

UNIS: United Nations Information Services

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VVOJ: Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten

WIPO: World Intellectual Property Organization

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my son, Daniel Thomas Testar.

*Tenus et un Astra*

# CHAPTER I

## Introduction

For Thomas Moore (1779 – 1852), “The harp that once through Tara's hall the soul of music shed...” (Moore 1846) epitomizes the cultural experience of the people of the Island of Ireland. It is an experience that led many from Ireland to be among the first European settlers in what is now Canada. Immigration from Ireland had a profound impact on the founding of Canada and left a living legacy of contemporary influence upon all aspects of Canadian life.

A Father of Canadian Confederation, The Right Honourable Thomas D'Arcy Etienne Hughes McGee PC (April 13, 1825 – April 7, 1868), was a renowned Irish nationalist and Canadian federalist. His position advocated for a new Irish identity founded in the principles of Canadian Confederation. On July 1, 1867, his vision was affirmed when the three colonies of British North America were remade into the Federal Dominion of Canada and the four provinces of Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were created. In the third quarter of the Canadian Coat of Arms achieved that day, which epitomizes the cultural inheritance of the people of Canada, the golden, silver-stringed Harp of Tara of which Moore spoke is presented upon a field of blue.

Historical and contemporary cultural proximity make Canada and Ireland well suited to the application of this comparative research. Specifically, these nations are especially suited to the application of this international newsflow analysis of their national public broadcasters. As two post-colonial nations, Canada and Ireland are linked both culturally and technologically and are as such the inheritors of a rich legacy (Benson 2001).

Heralding that legacy in 1866, the world's first transatlantic telegraph-cable connected Europe via the shores of Ireland to North America in what is now called

Canada. Reaching out across 1800 miles to the town of Clifden in Ireland, Guglielmo Marconi sent the first experimental transatlantic radio transmission from North America to Europe in 1901 from atop Signal Hill in Newfoundland. Later, in 1907, Marconi launched the first successful transatlantic commercial wireless service linking Ireland with Canada at Glace Bay, Nova Scotia (Attallah 2000). As a result, Canada and Ireland played leading roles as catalysts for what has become the global communications age.

Because of their respective geographical and historical positions in the world and certain common cultural and economic hazards facing them, Canada and Ireland can usefully learn from each other. The two countries would profit from co-operation in the formulation of appropriate responses to the threats and opportunities of the new global information age (Kenny 1997).

In the spirit of that achievement and in considering the contemporary parallels between Canada and Ireland as two mature liberal democracies, this quantitative case study generates its findings and draws its conclusions from the six daily news programmes of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Television News Division (CBC) and Raidió Teilifís Éireann One, News and Current Affairs Division (RTÉ). This comparable sample of national PSBs enables this study to identify and juxtapose the quantity, duration and national origin of the international news transmitted by both the CBC and RTÉ. In further considering the international news, this study also provides a snapshot into the news values of the broadcasters by quantifying the frequency by which they deploy their own traditional foreign correspondents.

The practical methods and journalistic values inherent in international news acquisition and distribution need to be studied in order to acquire an understanding of the role that public service-based news plays in influencing knowledge-based civil society. In first considering the question of what constitutes international news, this study looks to Hartley (1982), who divides the genre into hard and soft reportage and further into the subcategories of economy, politics, foreign affairs, occasional stories and sports. In this context, international news is considered either a hard or a soft

report that pertains to economics, politics and/or foreign affairs from abroad. While there are international dimensions to the reportage of sports, this study excludes the essentially entertainment-based genre from this analysis. Also, for practical purposes, this study excludes global market reports, focusing instead on international news as otherwise defined by Hartley (*ibid*) and later in the methodology.

In Canada, powerful regional political biases vary wildly throughout the country. Provinces such as Québec differ politically from the Maritime Provinces to the east, the central Prairies, and British Columbia on the West Coast. Concurrently, ongoing land claims by the first peoples have resulted in the creation of new semi-sovereign nations within Canada (Nisga'a Nation 2002). Attempts to balance one set of regional or national biases against another, whether they are found in Canada and/or Ireland or internationally, risk undermining this work in its assessment of high-quality independent international news in the public service. Therefore, in order for a report to qualify in this study as being international, the informative content must have been conveyed across an international border of a sovereign state as recognized by the United Nations (UN Information Services 2006).

Some scholars argue that comparative transnational research is impossible. They warn of “comparing apples with oranges” (Livingstone 2003 p480). Others, including Beniger (1992), believe that comparative research is a scholarly necessity.

Comparative research is the essential if not most important strategy to understand the nature of journalism and how it works across cultural boundaries. The study of journalism certainly needs more cross-cultural research (Berkowitz 2004 cited in Preston 2004 p161).

Blumler (1992) also promotes and defends comparative research as a matter of principle, stating that “all social science is comparative because all analysis is comparative” (p35). Cross-national research is further advocated by media scholars such as Calhoun (1992b), Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) and Schudson (1989). Nevertheless, according to Krauss (2000), it is seldom employed. Mindful of Krauss, this unique study of PSBs in Ireland and Canada contributes a comparative investigation.



Furthermore, this study is undertaken in search of a measure of the degree, if any, to which the CBC and/or RTÉ have abdicated their independent ability as full-fledged international news gatherers, producers and disseminators by favouring the generic content offered for sale to them by the private sector. This question is important because international news is a high-status genre and a vital component of democracy (Fiske 2006). Echoing these sentiments is the 1995 'Irish Green Paper on Broadcasting', which states,

In the tradition of Western European democratic theory and practice, modes of public communications are situated at the heart of the democratic process. The public interest is to broaden and deepen democracy by providing each citizen with opportunities for equal and affordable access to mediated public debate and to the fully diverse sources of information needed for participation in social life (Seanad Éireann – Volume 143-16 May 1995 p144).

With democratic principles and processes being violently challenged around the world, the setting is “ripe for studies that incorporate more than one country in a single analysis” (Preston 2006 p6). A reconsideration of international newsflow dynamics of PSBs in the public spheres of Ireland and Canada necessitates the reconsideration of the Americanization of culture inherent in dependency on the hegemony-inducing (Gramsci 1971) news wholesalers and wire services of the US (Lee 1980). Hegemony, as defined by Gramsci (1971 2007), is the antithesis of pluralism. However, for Levy and Egan (2003), hegemony manifests itself in culture, more through broad public consensus than through an agenda engineered by anonymous social policy elites. Despite the assertions of Levy and Egan, Paterson (2003) warns that commercial dependence by PSBs upon the international news wholesalers undermines the public’s interest.

Heavy public dependence on the limited news diet of the (essentially two) major agencies not only results in limiting public discourse on agency covered topics, but also limits the range of topics available for public consideration (p8).

Ironically, that omission is itself a form of censorship. The limited menu upon which Paterson (2003) metaphorically feasts is itself the product of elite gatekeepers (Chang 1992) who are empowered with setting the international news agenda, which Levy and Egan (2003) sought to vest with only negligible influence.

Established global trends in broadcasting decentralization and continued deregulation serve to enable a new cultural geography that transcends borders. In turn, the alleged hegemonic qualities of capitalist-inspired western socio-political values inherent in the international newsflow are accelerated. In addressing the consequences of the global movement towards market-based media for informed citizenship, Curran et al. (2008), in their landmark study, conducted a comparison of four nations with different mass media systems. These included the public service models of Denmark and Finland, the commercial market-based model of the US and the 'dual' model of the United Kingdom. The findings reveal that public service television "devotes more attention to public affairs and international news, and fosters greater knowledge in these areas, than the market model" (Curran 2009 p1). Even after considering the structural differences, the provision of information by the mass media is important. Curran argues, "Continued deregulation of the broadcast media is likely, on balance, to lead to lower levels of civic knowledge" (p15).

Despite widespread recognition of the ability of hegemony to commercialize and even Americanize cultures, both Ireland and Canada implicitly act on the ideal that universal access to free-flowing information is both a human right and a democratizing force of trade and geo-politics. This commitment is reflected in Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR).

Everyone has the right to freedom of expression and opinion: this right includes the freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (UN 1948).

While not explicitly required to do so, civil corporations of the state are generally beholden to be seen to uphold the international treaties to which their

sponsoring nations are signatory. For example, if RTÉ or the CBC were seen to disregard the conventions and articles of the UNDHR, the governments of Ireland and Canada would correspondingly be seen as disregarding their signatory obligations. Moreover, this right to exchange information established by the UNDHR as it pertains to our commonly experienced world (Pomorski 2002) is further understood to be essential to the exercise of responsible journalism in the public interest (Fiske 2006) and to the exercise of democracy. Kelly (1992) emphasizes the consequence of this exercise in the cultural geography of Ireland. She conveys that RTÉ has traditionally sought to mediate the demands of national social commitments with those of a commercial nature (Kelly 1992 p82). Preston and Horgan (2006) argue that despite the loss of control over the supply of international news, PSBs possibly remain the last bastion of credible international news in national discourse.

Public service broadcasting may yet still offer one of the best and in some countries, perhaps the only locale of media diversity in a world in which all-commercial media are increasingly serving up the same product (Preston and Horgan 2006 p67).

## Purpose of the Study

This comparative content analysis ran from 09/10/06 – 20/10/06 and generated new data on the quantity, duration and national origin of the international news broadcast by RTÉ and the CBC. The study further establishes the frequency with which these broadcasters employ and deploy their own foreign correspondents.

To date, the scholarship of mass media has progressed from early theories of propaganda to those of modernity and critical theory, free-flow doctrine, dependency theory, cultural imperialism and world system theory, culminating in theories of globalization and transnationalization (Chalaby, 2005). Griffin (2002) also identifies this shift from cultural imperialism to transnational commercialization.

Hafez (2007) suggests that scholars have increasingly come full circle back to the study of propaganda. Also known as ‘public diplomacy’ (Gullion 1965),

propaganda has the ability to influence the opinions and actions of people by premeditated design (Lasswell 1926/7). Arguably, when such messages are disseminated repeatedly in the credible media, those messages will ultimately be accepted as fact (Lee and Lee 1939).

In Canada and Ireland, the state is denied undue influence over the newsflow of the CBC and RTÉ. Reciprocally, news professionals of RTÉ and the CBC resist attempts at intervention by special interests out of concern that the news agenda, and subsequently the public sphere, will be hijacked for propaganda purposes.

In contemporary consideration of the newly propagated supra-national broadcasting corporations, Wallerstein (1974, 1979 and 2004) sets the stage for transborder newsflow analysis in the renewed context of the world system approach. In light of his extant revelations, the goal of this thesis is not to reinvent his work but to assess the contemporary and independent function of PSBs in Canada and Ireland in the gathering, production and distribution of the international news.

Unlike the natural sciences, media studies do not have one dominant paradigm but rather a collage of competing and frequently contradictory methodologies and theories. These theories can be seen to rise and fall in influence over time. Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) go so far as to suggest that the field lacks

...continuity as it flows from trend to trend, while paying inadequate attention to the cumulative construction of the discipline as a whole (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen p157).

In contrast, Volkmer (1999, 2003 and 2007) asserts that media studies are constantly evolving and therefore are formative of cumulative constructive processes of development. Establishing critical social theory as the big bang in the evolution of newsflow theory, the Frankfurt School of neo-Marxist interdisciplinary social theory founders Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse and alumnus Habermas saw culture in a capitalist society as a pure commodity. With all its assumed impact, international news is essentially a communicably conveyable product with real monetary market

value and therefore a culturally based commodity of trade and commerce (Maherzi 1997).

As a cultural commodity, the news is also then the “cultural capital” of PSBs as envisioned by Bourdieu (1983). While truly free-flowing information is both desirable and invaluable to democratic society, it also stands as the antithesis of commercial corporate values. These are corporate values, which necessarily commodify international news products in monetary terms. If the news were genuinely free and free flowing, in a mercantile sense, there could be no profit, or the increased supply would devalue its monetary value as a cultural commodity. Subsequently, it is contrary to the interests of commercial news corporations to oversupply the market with international news. Beholden to limited public interest requirements, commercial news corporations and their news assets are categorically the property of the shareholders. Their individual interests rest in the risks and rewards of capitalism and are not necessarily linked to concerns of democratic citizenship.

Garnham (2004) also establishes an unassailable benchmark defence for the preservation of PSBs by concluding that market failures of commercial systems demonstrate the permanent need for a PSB-based presence in national communication systems. The perpetual need for public service broadcasting is exacerbated by the ongoing free market failures that were spurred on by the financial crisis of free-market-based western states in 2007 and in the subsequent recession across Europe. If journalists, both public and private, accept the duty to provide investigative reportage and then fail to warn the public of an impending crisis, they have certainly breached that duty. In this instance, journalism failed for lack of the self-knowledge that should have been provided by investigative insight. Had investigative international journalism been working in the public service, a proactive response could have slowed if not prevented the crisis. Shaw (2003) cautions that if history is our true teacher, it teaches that just because an endeavour is capitalist, it is not necessarily democratic.

In an era when, through technological advances, we can finally realize the concept of universal information we need to recognize that an ultra-capitalist marketplace does not ensure that right to information any more than a totalitarian regime (Shaw p77).

Corporate values are governed by their boards of directors with stakes in their corporations that may reasonably incline them to conceal their corporate weaknesses. Graham (2004), however, stresses that the perpetual presence of public service broadcasting is essential to our non-negotiable civil and political rights. Of this, Shaw (2003) speaks with absolute clarity in asserting that the international news supports not the corporate bottom line, but a citizen's right to participate in democracy.

As a cultural commodity, international news is packaged and coded for the medium of transmission (Theodorson and Theodorson 1969) to facilitate societal interaction through messages that Gerbner et al. (1973, 1993) define for us as the essence of communication. McQuail (2005) argues that not just the study of newsflow, but also all communication studies are based on the presupposition "that media have significant effects" (p456). This remains important because McQuail is speaking not only to the effects of the news upon culture, but also to the need for research into the PSB-based dynamics of international newsflow.

While communication theory has only just begun the critical debate about how the Internet and PSBs will coexist, "It is of equal importance to address new emerging issues of cultural sovereignty within a trans-national public space" (Volkmer 2007 p56). This study, however, does not undertake to measure the now-limited rights of the nation-state to be culturally sovereign over the flow of information. Instead, this study considers RTÉ and the CBC as semi-autonomous civil institutions of the sovereign state in their presumed – and, in Canada, legislated – obligations to be cornerstones of 'cultural sovereignty'. In Canada, the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1991) mandates the CBC to "provide through its programming, a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty" (Broadcasting Act 1991, article 3(b)).

In the face of unbridled global competition for audiences and market share and amidst culturally porous territorial borders, the maintenance of cultural sovereignty in the public spheres of national broadcasting systems is no longer solely a fiduciary function of government. It is increasingly a self-governing duty of semi-sovereign public service broadcasting.

In considering the realization of a truly global public sphere, Nieminen (2006) identifies the sphere theories of Garnham (1990, 1992, 2004) as being moved neither by the seminal ideal developed by Habermas (1962), wherein global communication is freely accessible to everyone, nor by the political economy of the public sphere considered by Curran (1991, 2009). Instead, Nieminen (ibid) sees the central challenge present before the realization of the global public sphere in the contemporary capacity of PSBs to reform their practices from within.

According to Sreberny-Mohammadi (1999), media imperialism remains a popular idiom of international newsflow discourse. Despite this attractiveness, Sreberny-Mohammadi (1999 p49) also argues that the concept of “media imperialism” itself is ill defined and too broadly applied. He insists that western cultural imperialism spreads capitalism and that from capitalism all the concrete benefits of democracy flow. Warren (1980) of the University of Chicago makes no apologies for the high-profile role that the US plays across the international newsflow.

International news is a form of ‘mediated reality’ (Van Ginneken 1998). By broadcasting the international news, the CBC and RTÉ mediate that reality for us every day. Therefore, the practices of their practitioners in the construction of the international news influence our perceptions of that reality.

This introductory chapter introduces us to the purpose of the study in the context of the research questions posed and provides insight into cultural, corporate and state sovereignty as it looks to the internal and regulatory structures of Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) and The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). This chapter then looks to the impact of deregulation and the global crisis in public service

broadcasting and the role of the Associated Press and the Thomson Reuters News Service.

In turning to address the modest research questions in this broad framework, it's noteworthy that even the objectivity to which this quantitative study aspires is similarly subject to the inseparable precognitions and contemporary interpretations acquired in the context of one's own experience within the world (Van Ginneken 2005).

## The Research Questions

- A. What is the total measurement of international news reported by RTÉ and the CBC by quantity and duration of reports?
- B. What is the ratio of international reports by number of reports compared to the number of domestic reports at the CBC and RTÉ?
- C. What is the average length of an international report at RTÉ and the CBC?
- D. What percentages of the international reports are demonstrably sourced from the foreign correspondents of the PSBs?
- E. What is the national origin of the international reports broadcast at the CBC and RTÉ?

## Cultural, Corporate & State Sovereignty

A founder of western political philosophy from the perspective of social contract theory, Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) wrote that sovereignty was at the “...very soul of the state” (Hobbes 1651 p1). It was on October 24, 1648 that the contemporary political constructs of the nation state were internationally recognized with the signing of the Peace of Westphalia. This revolutionary treaty established a new international understanding of sovereignty established through a mutual recognition of autonomous jurisdictions and the acknowledgment of exclusive territorial rights of authority (*Treaty of Westphalia* 1648) and thereby nationalizing the public sphere.



In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the dominant authorities mediating the newsflow were the Sovereign and his royal court and the Pope and his Holy Church. Today, multiplicities of authorities, both public and private, have generated heated newsflow debates over matters such as cultural sovereignty and the impact of cultural imperialism. As a result, it has been common in the lexicon of newsflow to speak of a post-modern or post-Westphalian international communications order (Linklater 1998). Concisely, this information order represents the incompatibility of two competing principles in international law, freedom of information and state sovereignty.

In contemporary international law, post-Westphalian (Falk 1998) concepts hold that sovereignty (Krasner 2001) can be pooled amongst nations. This pooling of sovereignty is evidenced in the creation of the EU and in the founding of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). The open skies policy of the EU, through its BWFD, recognizes the primacy of international law in the partial abdication of state-based territorial jurisdiction over the cultural sovereignty and national broadcasting systems of its signatories.

The arrival of post-Westphalian communication concepts attracted those who assert, “less powerful states fear intervention by stronger states on the pretext of upholding post-Westphalian ideas” (Walker 2001 p322). Walker concludes that the traditional, “exclusively state-centric system is in its final death throes” (Walker 2001 p322). As a result, the increasingly contentious legitimacy of state-owned not-for-profit corporations of public service such as the CBC and RTÉ is under attack as the validity of the public service broadcasting model is questioned worldwide.

Sovereignty is defined in the legal context as the ability to rule wielded by an entity possessing rightful jurisdictional autonomy and territorial exclusivity (Oxford Dictionary of Law 2009). Traditional political concepts of sovereignty are measured as being *de jure*, meaning possessing the legal right to be sovereign, and/or *de facto*, meaning having the practical ability to be sovereign.

The existence of public corporations such as RTÉ and the CBC can be seen to be at the heart of the duality inherent in the great liberal public/private divide. For PSBs, the root of the conflict is in corporate models, which require them to work simultaneously in the public interest and in the often-incompatible interests of corporate commerce.

Embarking upon the imperialist trade of goods marked by the European colonization of North America, the crowns of Europe franchised entirely new geopolitical actors. Commonly understood as fully sovereign corporations, many would later morph into the private multinational corporations of today. The first of these noble corporations was the Dutch East India Company, which was sovereign by royal assent in its ability to sign international treaties and even wage wars. In Canada, it was Prince Rupert, then cousin of King Charles II, who acquired the Royal Charter with which, in May of 1670, the King granted all the lands of the Hudson Bay watershed to “the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay” (HBC 2010). Having long ago sold its holdings back to the Crown, today, the Hudson Bay Company is a major department store retailer across Canada.

Over time, the primacy of the near-sovereign rights of commercial corporations has come to transcend even the rights of citizens, in deference to the rights of shareholders. Various trickle-down theories of economics suggest that as corporations prosper, governments also prosper, and by extension, so do the people they represent. It follows, then, that corporations that prosper are always in the public interest.

In 2006, RTÉ began issuing an annual ‘Corporate Responsibility Report’. That RTÉ does not instead issue a ‘Civic Responsibility Report’ conveys a commercial rather than civic imperative at the broadcaster. In Canada during the 2006 federal election, the Conservative party, which at the time had a majority government, sent an email to its political aspirants advising them concerning how to respond to inquiries about the future of the CBC and its news divisions. Candidates were instructed to portray the CBC primarily as a business that must compete commercially in

increasingly competitive markets (Morrison 2009b). This widely held opinion of public service broadcasting is a source of denunciation from private and public broadcasting sectors alike (Morrison 2009a). Notably, insofar as capitalism is in our collective interest, all broadcasters, public or private, may be seen to be working in the public interest. Nevertheless, RTÉ and the CBC must additionally work in the public service.

Today, even rights of privacy over personal communication normally guaranteed by the state can be superseded by a corporation's right to observe its employees, and citizen-based rights to freedom of information are often restricted by the corporate body as being proprietary. Freedom itself is often defined in corporate terms in that we are free to move insofar as our purse, filled by corporate coffers, can support us. This separation of the corporation from the state in its semi-sovereign right to self-regulate and impose its will upon its members does in many ways mean that corporations possess greater sovereignty than does the state itself (Greenwood 2005).

This way of thinking – the corporation as a mini-state, either delegated from the supreme sovereign or coexisting with it in a semi-feudal or Federal balance of powers – has disappeared from the academic discussion of corporations and almost as completely from the cases. Modern metaphors overwhelmingly emphasize the private nature of the corporation: it is governed not by legislation but agency-fiat tempered by the right to quit.

Its purposes and actions are private, not public. When it regulates its employees, the regulation is pursuant to contract and protected from, not by, the Constitution. The ideological function of this shift in metaphor is clear: it solves, or at least elides, a major problem in the democratic legitimacy of the corporation (Greenwood 2005 p10).

By extension, the extension of the state into public service broadcasting has served to limit the trend towards the entrenchment of the omnipotent corporation that Greenwood characterizes. In demonstration of the dynamics that Greenwood asserts, it is increasingly difficult to determine the nationality of the world's supra-national

media corporations that are in obvious competition with PSBs for audience and domestic market share.

Neo-liberal global deregulation of the telecommunications industry inspired by the free trade market doctrine of the last thirty years has liberated the movement of goods and services, including newsflow. However, corporate products such as the news or even a can of Coca-Cola are empowered with greater freedom to transit international borders transparently than are most world citizens.

The founding of RTÉ and the CBC sought not to ennoble them as purely commercial entities, but to limit those corporate rights so that as civil corporations, they are permanently harnessed in the service of the public interest. As a result, PSBs are not independent, as are commercial broadcasters, but are instead tethered to the state and its national interests. In Canada and Ireland, both the CBC and RTÉ uniquely share in the symbolic and real authority of the state. As statutory and Crown Corporations, RTÉ and the CBC have no citizen shareholders but rather executive boards appointed by the government.

Today, there is a widening gap between the corporate sovereignty that the private media sector has come to enjoy and the decline of state sovereignty in the latter's reduced ability to regulate the cultural geography of its own national broadcast territories (Krasner 2001).

In this work, as in that of Habermas (1962 and 1987), the concept of sovereignty is an appropriate determinant in considering the measure of independence wielded by PSBs over the flow of international news. As such, the political definitions of sovereignty as being *de jure* or *de facto* remain, albeit metaphorically, well-suited markers to measure the ability of the civil corporations of PSBs in Ireland and Canada to wield legitimate independent control over the start-to-finish production processes of the international news they broadcast.

In 2003, participants at the Tokyo Conference of the Declaration of the World Summit on the Information Society called for a globally “safe and secure information

society that must respect the sovereignty of nations” (Bullen and Koven 2003 p8). Historically, in the case of PSBs, the influence of government upon public service news values has been of greater popular and professional concern than has been the power of the private corporations to influence those same values. Commercial global broadcasters and their aerospace partners have already forced a re-conceptualization of the legal concepts of the rightful authority that the state possesses over its own jurisdiction in terms of domestic broadcasting.

The latest assault on the cultural sovereignty of nations comes not from antiquated geo-political trends but from new global broadcasting systems (Waisbord and Morris 2001). There now is a new strategic high ground in the ownership of information. In orbit, satellite-based broadcasting has made moot the borders of nations. These were Westphalian borders that in the past served as fixed gateways through which information needed to pass before reaching national audiences. In recognition of a culturally porous Canadian border, mandatory Canadian content regulation remains at the heart of the Canadian broadcasting system (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2006a). Presently, content quotas require all licensed television broadcasters in Canada to conform to their requirements. Designed to protect Canadian cultural sovereignty, these content quotas were set at 60% in 1970 for prime time and dramatic productions. However, no content quotas apply to the news products of any private or public broadcaster (2006b). Nonetheless, according to CRTC statistics from 2003 to 2006, Canadian content in the news on the CBC peaked at 11.4% and bottomed out from September to November 2005 at 7.6% (CRTC 2006).

As of 2010, the CRTC presents the statistics above to represent the most current data available. In that content regulation is a unique hallmark of the Canadian broadcasting system, no comparable data are available pertaining to Irish content.

While content regulation may be seen as the antithesis to concepts of free-flowing information, both Canada and Ireland are committed to the free-flow doctrine

as signatory members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). In reflecting this position in the public interest across Europe, the BWFD affirms these free-flow principles as it aspires to establish a common European market wherein

the conditions of fair competition without prejudice to the public interest role [are] to be discharged by the television broadcasting services (Commission of the European Communities 1989a ch6).

Despite fair competition requirements, the news as a genre is not specifically referenced by the international directive pertaining to the free flow of information.

Arguably, no signatory state may reasonably evoke the principles of cultural sovereignty to isolate itself from free-flowing information in the form of global newsflow. Calls for total cultural sovereignty over information advocated by governments seeking omnipotence over their media systems such as those of China and North Korea function as the antithesis of democracy (Kalathil and Boas 2001) and in a manner contrary to global freedom (Bullen and Koven 2003).

In Canada as in Ireland, there are concerns about the reassertion of culturally nationalist rights designed to re-regulate all media. Nevertheless, these calls are being offered by eminent sources in Canada in public sector lobbyists such as The Friends of Canadian Broadcasting (FCB) and the Department of Canadian Heritage (DCH), responsible for the CBC. All of these entities are advocating renewed cultural sovereignty by the CBC. Nonetheless, there is valid apprehension that content quotas designed to measure Canadian involvement in the production processes of the newsflow risk turning the CBC into little more than a puppet of the state.

Journalists have long been accustomed to perceiving the power of the state, rather than that of large corporations, as the source of any potential threat to their freedom of expression (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage 2007).

Since both the CBC and RTÉ receive funding from the state, these concerns will persist whether content regulation is imposed or not. However, in demonstration of the importance of Canadian content regulation for Canadians, the Standing

Committee on Canadian Heritage (SCCH 2003) held that the CBC is an essential refuge in the Canadian cultural geography and that “once Canadians give up control over what amounts to our cultural sovereignty, we can never get it back” (p1).

In Ireland, many of the civil institutions of the state tasked with public service such as RTÉ are incorporated by the Oireachtas as statutory and not as Crown Corporations, as is the CBC. Espousing transparency through greater commercial freedom is the ‘limited company’ approach to the constituting of civil institutions such as RTÉ. Under the new Broadcasting Bill of 2009, RTÉ is limited by guarantee in the reincorporation of the PSB as a Public Limited Corporation.

Under the Irish Broadcasting Authority Acts of 1960 – 2009, RTÉ has been required to maintain a broadcasting service charter. The current charter (June 2004) sets forth the minimum return of services and standards that the citizenry of Ireland agrees to receive in return for the significant public funds and rights granted to RTÉ. Serving the social contract, RTÉ obligates itself under the charter to reflect the democratic, social and cultural values of Irish society. According to the charter, RTÉ shall provide the key genre of objective international news of high quality and impartiality as a cornerstone of its schedule, undertaken from a variety of perspectives (RTÉ 2004c), providing significant original content as it maintains and cherishes its freedom from political control and/or influence from all other vested interests, whether commercial, religious, social or cultural (Department of Communications Marine and Natural Resources 2005).

As the Canadian and Irish governments incrementally divest themselves of their civil corporations in preference for increasing privatisation, they absolve themselves of many of their obligations to govern the activities of those corporations in the public interest. Anthony Giddens (2000) characterizes this shift as a doctrine of ‘structural pluralism’ (p55) wherein public sector restructuring has altered existing forms of institutional public organisation in their role as the instruments for the delivery of public services.

In preparation for a deeper look into the global crisis facing public service broadcasting (Syvertsen 1991), there is a recognition even by RTÉ that

Sovereignty issues need to be recognised and addressed in the policies being devised for Ireland. While the future broadcasting landscape is likely to encompass a myriad of different delivery platforms for content to Irish citizens, an independent, national, terrestrial delivery network is part of the nation's infrastructure and is of strategic importance (RTÉ 2005b).

In Canada, the Broadcasting Act (1991) requires that the CBC independently provide “through its programming, a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty” (Broadcasting Act 1991 sec3b). This critical function of democracy is not a legislated requirement of commercial news broadcasters.

In direct pursuit of answers to the research questions, the following sections of this introduction provide information about the widely accepted crisis facing PSBs in both Ireland and Canada. The following also sets out to examine the historical and contemporary influence of the foreign correspondent and provides background material pertaining to the development of RTÉ, the CBC, the Associated Press and Thomson Reuters.

## Raidió Teilifís Éireann

Set clearly in the public sector, Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) is Ireland's national PSB and is “a non-profit making organisation owned by the Irish people” (RTÉ 2009) commonly referred to as a ‘State-Sponsored Body’. Leon O’Broin, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, was early to take up the cause of broadcasting in Ireland and was tasked with exploring the likelihood of an Irish broadcasting service espousing republican ideals. As a result, The Wireless Telegraphy Act established RTÉ as a statutory corporation in 1926.



The influence upon the cultural and national development of the Republic of Ireland produced by transnational television broadcasting is not a new phenomenon. It was early in 1955 that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) set up a television station in Belfast able to broadcast into Dublin. The subsequent Television Committee Report (Department of Posts and Telegraphs of 1956) submitted to the Doil decried the English-centric content then being broadcast by the BBC and expressed trepidation for the nation's ability to preserve its cultural sovereignty in the face of the cultural imperialism propagated by England (Savage 1996).

As the new Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, on November 6, 1957, Neil Blaney first announced that Ireland should have an Irish television service. For those whose views of civil society held communication from the pulpit and not the anchor desk as the source of moral authority, plans for television rallied a measure of resistance from the Catholic Church (Sheehan 2001). Uniquely informed as the head of religious programming at RTÉ for over forty years, Fr. Dermot McCarthy understands the relationship between the contemporary Catholic Church and the media from a spatial perspective.

The Churches and the media by and large inhabit different spaces, are mutually suspicious of each other and have contrasting perceptions of the world around them (McCarthy 2002).

Inaugurated in 1958, Ulster Television Limited (UTV) broadcast from Northern Ireland across much of the Irish Republic. For the Republic the challenges posed by the new media were too great to be ignored (McLoone 2000). The following year in 1959, Michael Hilliard declared that a new national public broadcasting service would derive funding primarily from the sale of advertising and the collection of mandatory licence fees from viewers (Savage 1996). In Ireland, the state's public interest has always been served by the ability of RTÉ to be both competitive and commercial (Barrett, 2000).

RTÉ Television was brought into being by legislation on April 6, 1960. It was then that the Dáil Éireann (House of Representatives) passed the Broadcasting Authority Act (1960) granting a measure of autonomy from state control in the realization of RTÉ in its right to broadcast in the public service as a statutory corporation.

Succumbing to vestigial pressure from the Catholic Church, the planned Christmas Day launch of RTÉ was postponed until January 1, 1961 (McCarthy 2002). For the 7pm broadcast debut, the first to appear on Irish TV was Éamon de Valera, who formally inaugurated the new PSB before an expectant national audience. In addressing the nation, he cautioned that while television could be a tool of nationhood, it could also be a dangerous one.

Never before was there in the hands of men an instrument so powerful to influence the thoughts and actions of the multitude (Éamon de Valera 1961 cited in Savage 1996 pxi).

Opening night for RTÉ was broadcast live from the ballroom of Dublin's fashionable Gresham Hotel. The agenda contained a cautionary address from the then-Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Seán Lemass and from the then-Minister for Posts and Telegraphs Michael Hilliard. Archbishop of Dublin Fr. John Charles McQuaid led the national congregation in the Blessed Sacrament. His benediction was followed by a reportedly fire-and-brimstone sermon delivered by the Primate of the Catholic Church in Ireland, His Eminence John Francis d'Alton Cardinal-Priest of S. Agata de'Goti (1882 – 1963). He warned of the evils that television could pose to Christian values (Francis d'Alton 1961 cited in Savage 1996 pxi). Nevertheless, he also saw the potential television possessed for propagating the Holy Word (McCarthy 2002).

At RTÉ, the push and pull that private versus public imperatives imposed upon the founding and contemporary structures of the corporation remain at the heart of old conflicts continually renewed within the corporation.

Because of increased commercialization and the serious imbalance between the income from advertising (70%) and the relatively low income (30%) from the

license fee, there is added pressure on the public service channel, which gets in the way of in-depth treatment of any serious subject (McCarthy 2002).

Revealing that proceeds from advertising make up two-thirds of the overall budget, the 2008 Annual Report of RTÉ conveys its near-total reliance upon commercial revenues. On the books as being more of a commercial service broadcaster than a public one, it was a wholly public service that was first envisioned by the Taoiseach Éamon de Valera and Minister Michael Hilliard during the early development of RTÉ. Nonetheless, the realization of this wholly public service objective was a fiscal impossibility for the nation at the time (Savage 1996).

A by-product of the public/private funding model, RTÉ is both a distinctively commercial corporation and a statutory property of the State. Despite the inherent conflicts this situation instils, RTÉ has developed a successful televised news and information strategy with which to serve all the people of Ireland. Structured upon six divisions inclusive of News and Current Affairs (NCAD), RTÉ is staffed by 2287 employees. As of December 31, 2005, approximately three hundred of these employees were assigned to the NCAD (RTÉ 2006b Marconi). Today at RTÉ, no commercial income is attributed to the NCAD. Instead, the NCAD receives a licence fee allocation from the parent RTÉ Group in return for providing services to the other RTÉ divisions such as TV, Radio and Publishing (RTÉ.ie, Aertel).

Audience fragmentation has reduced the size of the market for the news products of PSB, but audience shares for that output have remained high.

At the very least, this suggests there is a need for some fundamental research in this area to examine the scope and potential of maintaining a future role for public service broadcasting as a distinct feature and domain of journalistic culture in European countries (Preston 2006 p157).

Investigation of the political economy of media-based communications worldwide (Boyd-Barrett 2006) identifies the conflict between globalization and its associations with neo-imperialism as a significant deterrent to the free flow of

information. Mirroring much of the political economy of public service broadcasting worldwide, this conflict is paralleled in the shared experiences of RTÉ and the CBC.

## The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

For over seventy years, the CBC has been Canada's national PSB. Broadcasting across six time zones to over 99% of Canada in English, French and eight aboriginal languages, the CBC is the nation's largest cultural institution. Constituted as a Crown Corporation, the CBC operates independently from government in its day-to-day operations and in its newsrooms. Governed by the Broadcasting Act of 1991, the CBC is directly responsible to Parliament, reporting annually through the Minister of Canadian Heritage.

Canada's vision and ability to realize a national PSB are alleged to have evolved in 1876 from another Crown Corporation, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). Where once the rail systems were the conduits of the newsflow (Burton 1970), it was the operators of the trackside telegraph-wire, once telephonically enabled, who turned to carrying music in their off time. In this way, the idea for a national broadcasting system was born.

As in Ireland, the founding of public service broadcasting in Canada was in part rooted in a response to the cultural imperialism of powerful neighbouring nations. The early tendency of Canadians to listen to American rather than Canadian radio stations, and the interference with Canadian broadcast transmission patterns by those in the US, led to the first Royal Commission on broadcasting in 1928. Chaired by the President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Sir John Aird, the Commission concluded in 1929 that a national broadcaster had to be created. The rationale was based in the belief that the Canadian broadcasting system was succumbing to the forces of American manifest destiny and "was fast becoming a mere satellite of American broadcasting" (Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting 1929). In reference to the need for a distinctively state-run public broadcaster, its reputed

founder, Sir Graham Spry, famously decried in Parliament, “let it be the State or the United States” (Attallah 2000 p1). Seventy years later, Collins (1989) argued, “Canada has never enjoyed true communications sovereignty, being ever permeable to US media interests” (p151). However, he maintained that Canadian commitments to the free flow of information require a porous border to facilitate that flow. By his view, Collins (1989) saw the assertion of cultural sovereignty as an unrealistic policy objective that seeks to isolate Canada from US media interests. In this, Collins failed to recognize that the assertion of cultural sovereignty springs wholly from within and is unmitigated by the cultural imperialism of external forces. So it was that in endorsing Aird’s conclusions and the nationalist sentiments of Sir Graham Spry, the Government of 1932 created the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) as Canada’s first national broadcasting utility and combined regulator.

In 1936, the Liberal Government of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King passed the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act (CRBA), founding the new CBC as a public utility incorporated by the Crown. At the same time, the government repatriated regulatory authority over the broadcasting system, re-assigning it to a new federal Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), the predecessors of the present-day CRTC.

Originally, in 1936, radio licence fees were levied upon Canadians in order to finance the CBC. With the introduction of television, the fee system would no longer wholly support the CBC’s public service mission even when supplemented with advertising revenues.

In fact, from the beginning the high cost of television led to the creation of the affiliate system whereby private corporations were allowed to own and operate stations [in Canada] dedicated to distributing the CBC system (Attallah 2000 p72).

The Canadian licence fee approach to the funding of the public broadcaster and its news divisions was abolished in the 1950s and replaced by annual grants from Parliament, a system that remains in place to this day. From 1936 through 1957, the

CBC was able to develop and operate its services independently from the contributions of the BBG (Attallah 2000 p63). Despite the push and pull of being both a corporation and a body politic, CBC-television premiered in French in Quebec on September 7, 1952, and in English the next day in Ontario. For its English-language debut, the CBC led the broadcast by breaking the sensational news of a Toronto City Jail breakout by the then-notorious bank-robbing Boyd Gang.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the now-classical view of Canada's national broadcaster as a direct public utility of the state gave way to the notion that national broadcasting was to be conducted at arm's length as a public service corporation of the Crown. This public policy approach finds early expression in the Massey Commission Report (1951) and later came to be associated with the soft paternalism of the BBC's first Director General, Lord Reith (Attallah 2000 p63). The adoption of the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1968) upheld these Reithinian ideals (BBC 2009) in establishing the CBC as the national PSB, mandated to inform, enlighten and entertain. For Ferguson (2007), the Canadian founders of the CBC gave special emphasis to its "democratic and nationalist merits". However, he also points out that of these twin foundations, only hints of nationalism remain, as the CBC's corporate values have subsumed its democratic ones (ibid).

Unlike RTÉ, the CBC no longer collects a licence fee but for the bulk of its revenue depends on large annual direct appropriations from government. These funds are in small part collected and disbursed via the Canadian Television Fund (CTF; CRTC 2009), which is actually a public/private partnership with an annual budget of around \$C250 million. For the shortfall, the CBC relies primarily on the proceeds of advertising and specialty subscription revenues.

Pursuant to the Broadcasting Act (1991), the CBC is subject to special investigation by the Canadian Auditor General every five years. On November 30, 2005, the Special Examination Report conducted by the Hon. Sheila Fraser was presented to the CBC Board of Directors. Her audit revealed that as of March 2005,

the CBC had 9700 full-time employees and was holding \$1.6 billion in assets and \$1.5 billion in liabilities. For the 2004 fiscal year, the total operating expenditures were just over \$1.5 billion, of which \$939 million were secured by parliamentary appropriations. Of these, English television received \$554 million or 36%. The CBC's total revenues were approximately \$547 million, including \$322 million in advertising revenue and \$225 million from sources such as cable subscription fees (RAGC 2005). Supportive of the later Nordicity findings of 2006, the Auditor General determined that the cost of underwriting the CBC for the government is approximately \$30 per year per Canadian (*Report of the Auditor General 2005*).

In May of 2007, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper appointed businessperson Timothy Casgrain as CBC Chairman. In his first interview on the CBC's official in-house blog, Casgrain informed the CBC that having no broadcasting experience whatsoever would not present an impediment to his ability to be Chairman, stating, "I don't think there is a need for broadcasting experience, as you got all that excellence in the organization" (Casgrain 2007). Two weeks later, in June of 2007, Tony Burman, then-Editor in Chief of CBC News, Current Affairs and Newsworld, CBC Radio and cbc.ca, announced his resignation to accept the position of Managing Director for Aljazeera English. A top rival to the CNN service, Aljazeera English operates 70 foreign news bureaus, broadcasting to 130 million homes in more than 100 countries.

## The Associated Press (AP)

Both the CBC and RTÉ rely upon the international content provided by the Associated Press (AP). In juxtaposition to the news values of public service broadcasting in Canada and Ireland, the Associated Press (AP) is a propagator of its own news values. The AP finds its roots during the era of the Penny Press of the 1820's with the organization of the Association of Morning Newspapers of New York. The Association's purpose was to intercept the international newsflow coming

by ship from Europe to the US via Nova Scotia and thereby secure a monopoly over the newsflow. With the invention of the telegraph (1844), the AP was quick to embrace the new technology. Reportedly, the high cost of this new time-sensitive equipment prompted the AP to enforce brevity upon normally verbose reporters. This led to their development of the inverted pyramid format for the news. This format requires reporters to lead with the most important facts first and to follow with lesser information in descending order of importance. This news value came about because of the political economy of commercialization. As such, “the packaging and selling of news and arguably the nature of news reported” (Harrison 2006 p15) have influenced the evolution of all news today, whether public or commercial.

In 1914, wire service dominance over the international newsflow compelled the US courts to forbid the AP from the practice of restricting its subscribing members’ use of other news services (Blevins 1997). Thirty years later in 1944, Prof. Robert Hutchins chaired the US Commission on Freedom of the Press. His task was to “investigate the freedom and function of the AP in the face of convergence, collusion and hegemony arising from the monopolistic concentration of media power in fewer and fewer hands, [and] the failure of those few to provide adequate service” (Merrill, Gade and Blevens 2001 p94).

In the 1945 verdict of *US vs. the Associated Press*, the Supreme Court ruled that forced market exclusivity on the part of the AP constituted an illegal restraint of trade and was in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. In his ruling, Justice Black referenced the First Amendment to the American Constitution, which rests

On the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential for the welfare of the public (*Associated Press et al. v. United States* 1945).

In 1975, AP influence over the international newsflow was challenged again. However, this confrontation came not from the American courts but from member states of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization



(UNESCO) while working under the auspices of the New World Information Communications Order (NWICO) framework, explored later in this work. Contemporary criticisms by Bagdikian (2004), Chomsky (2003), Curran (2009) and Fiske (2006), among others, again question the alleged stranglehold on global discourse the wire service wields.

All international newsflow content analysis is necessarily, at least in part, also a study of the norms, values and practices of the AP (Kirat and Weaver 1985). Governed by thirty executive members, the AP is the world's largest wholesale provider of international news, supplying both the CBC and the ABC. To achieve this pre-eminence, the AP employs less than four hundred journalists and senior editors and no more than 2700 people worldwide (Associated Press 2009). In response to the rhetorical question of how so few can serve so many, AP Chairman Tom Curley stated that cutbacks in global reporting by both public and private broadcasters have prompted the AP to "have more reporters, photographers and senior editors driving that coverage" (The New Associated Press 2006).

However, a contrary position argues that due to the solidifying presence of the AP, PSBs have been able to reciprocally reduce their own international newsgathering efforts. While the AP is the world's leading wholesale provider of televised international news, the Canadian-owned Thomson Reuters wire service is the world leader in business and financial coverage.

## The Thomson Reuters News Service

Although this study does not consider global market reports and/or regular financial news, an awareness of the breadth and scope of the Canadian wire service Thomson Reuters is illuminating. In October of 1851, Paul Julius Reuter began Reuters Financial Services Inc. to transmit market news via the Dover – Calais telegraph cable from England to Europe. As communication technologies developed, Reuters expanded its services with subscribers in Asia and in North and South

America. By 1941, Reuters's new owners, the British National and Provincial Press, had codified their news values in what they referred to as the 'Reuters Trust'. Its principles were strengthened when Reuters became a publicly traded company in 1984. Central to those principles was the following tenet: "Reuters shall at no time pass into the hands of any one interest, group or faction" (Reuters 2007).

For the first time since becoming a publicly traded company, Reuters recorded a pre-tax loss in 2002 (Reuters 2003). Early in 2003, the company announced a three-year restructuring programme (Mooney, 2003), and in 2004, Sir Christopher Hogg retired after nineteen years as Chairman (Reuters 2007).

In May of 2007, the Canadian firm Thomson Inc. acquired the Reuters Group of companies, creating the world's largest financial news agency in a deal worth £8.7 billion (Reuters 2007). Bowing to the business realities of corporate survival, Reuters waived single-ownership prohibition of the Reuters Trust for the Thomson family to pave the way for their current 53% position. The independence of Reuters, once guaranteed by the Reuters Trust, vanished. This new ownership by a single individual raises long-held concerns that too much power vested in too few undermines the credibility of the news.

Listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSX) and the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE), Thomson Reuters International (TRI) has 200 bureaus and 2700 full-time journalists worldwide. Today, the company offers a range of media and financial services. The Reuters World News Service includes both a linear feed for live coverage and Reuters World News Express, which delivers each report as a digital file along with the associated metadata for use online. Aside from other digital and graphic syndication services, Thomson Reuters's services generate the International Financing Review (IFR) and Project Finance International (PFI), which provides real-time financial news updates used by more than half a million elite subscribers worldwide.

Alleyne and Wagner (1993) argued that the content of the wire services accounted for almost 80% of the global newsflow, and Bagdikian (2004) concludes that this dominance remains.

This condition prompts Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) and Paterson (2006) to ask the now-rhetorical question of by what rightful authority these private companies wield this global influence. Authority constitutes the legitimate right to act independently. In the case of public service broadcasting, in return for the authority to broadcast, the CBC and RTÉ accept the obligations of their public service mandates.

Importantly, beyond the requirements of their incorporation, the wire services have neither a special remit nor a public service obligation.

## A Global Crisis in Public Service Broadcasting

As a condition of their broadcast licences, all commercial broadcasters in the Canadian broadcasting system must adhere to programme content quotas and contribute to the Canadian Television Fund (CTF). Administered by the CRTC, the fund underwrites Canadian cultural products through partial funding for independent productions with committed distribution in the genres of drama, documentary, variety, performing arts and children's programming. However, the 2009 – 2010 fund guidelines specifically excluded all news programming from eligibility (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2009).

In response to the content requirements of the Broadcasting Authority Amendment Act of 1993, RTÉ established the Independent Production Unit (IPU) broadcasting-funding scheme under the framework provided by the Broadcasting Funding Act of 2003. "The fund is open to radio and television broadcasters and to independent production companies" (Broadcasting Commission of Ireland [BCI] 2007). However, section 43 (d) of the Act stipulates that the fund "may not provide funding for programmes, which are produced primarily for news or current affairs"

(Broadcasting Funding Act 2003). The argument can be made that excluding public news from these cultural funding schemes protects the integrity of the news products from undue government influence. Despite being recognized as a cultural commodity by researchers and as a capital asset by public service broadcasters in practice, the news as a genre is legislatively impoverished in its ability to secure funding as a culturally based product.

A feature of the broadcasting acts of both Ireland and Canada is the obligation to propagate our respective linguistic dualities, cultural diversity, social values and norms. Multicultural diversity presents a challenge for PSBs in fulfilling their universal obligations to reflect society and promote culture (Fukuda-Parr 2004). Preston (2006) asserts that as public service news attempts to be everything for everyone, the role of multiculturalism should not be overlooked in its research agenda.

The issues of multiculturalism and their implications for research on editorial culture and practices comprise one of the significant changes in the research agenda (Preston 2008 p138).

This significant understanding is of unique importance in Ireland, where immigration replacing emigration has been a new phenomenon. In Dublin, the Central Statistics Office (2002) of Ireland reports that between 1995 and 2000, over a quarter of a million people immigrated to Ireland. This shift in the nation's demographics represents new challenges for RTÉ in serving international news of national interest to a growing multicultural audience.

Some of the particular challenges with comparative newsflow studies arise from the preconception that the "Anglo-American model of journalistic values and practices has become a universal or 'meta' model for the remainder of the world" (Lloyd 2003 cited in Preston and Horgan 2006 p7). As a result, cross-cultural research such as that of Hanitzsch (2006 and 2009) may reasonably be seen as

Indispensable for establishing the generality of findings and the validity of interpretations and forces us to test our interpretations against cross-national

differences and inconsistencies (Hanitzsch 2005 cited in Preston and Horgan 2006 p9).

Canadian nationalism is pluralist and exists solely in the context of multiculturalism, which is enshrined in the law of the land (Canadian Charter of Rights & Freedoms 1982). Regional, cultural and ethnic identities are representative of this pluralism, which is the essence of Canadian multicultural nationalism. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Canadian cities of Vancouver and Toronto have the fourth- and second-largest numbers of foreign-born residents among world cities (UNDP Ch5). Under the Broadcasting Act of 1991, the CBC must provide

services which integrate a wide range of multicultural programming that informs, enlightens and entertains and which contribute equally to a shared national consciousness and identity reflecting the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada (§3).

Multiculturalism is a readily available model for RTÉ to explore when deciding how to deploy international news to an increasingly mobile transnational audience. In Ireland, the Broadcasting Authority Amendment Act (1976) and its successors do not regulate the volume or origin of international news. However, the Act does require that RTÉ have in its programming “regard to the need for the formation of public awareness and understanding of the values and traditions of countries other than the State” (§13). While national in character, PSBs are intended to promote and reflect the cultural values inherent in the public spheres from within which they broadcast – public spheres that, in Ireland and Canada, are increasingly multicultural in scope.

Both the CBC and RTÉ rely heavily upon their respective states for money. Both governments are, however, now beginning to show the strain (Burman 2005). A gradual erosion of the general principles of public service broadcasting has left a system that is increasingly susceptible to economic and political interests in the neo-liberal marketplace (Grummell 2009 p267).

Recently, in Canada, financial supports for the CBC from government and from advertising revenue have both been in decline. Between 1997 and 2004, there was a 43% increase in advertising revenue across the entire Canadian broadcasting system (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2006b p68). However, “The advertising revenues of CBC’s English-language conventional television stations decreased by \$90 million or 40% in 2005 compared to 2004” (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2006b p69). According to Hubert T. Lacroix, President and CEO of the CBC for the financial year ending 2010, the CBC was faced with a \$171 million budget shortfall (CBC 2009b).

Meanwhile, audiences in Canada are calling for new accountability and complaining that the international news is repetitive and increasingly indistinguishable from that of the commercial broadcasters (CBC 2004). The question of how PSBs in Canada and Ireland can attempt to be competitive when offering much of the same international news products as their commercial competitors is both troublesome and unanswered.

Licensed by the CRTC in 2010 to broadcast across Canada, the Aljazeera English language service is headed by its Managing Director, Tony Burman. In April of 2005, while he was Chief of the CBC News Division, Mr. Burman sent a lengthy email to his senior staff addressing the crisis facing the CBC in the credible dissemination of its international news products.

Canadians want more international news, not less, and believe more than ever that what happens beyond our borders matters a lot. ...Audiences want the media – particularly the CBC – to focus more on it (Burman 2005).

Over the past fifteen years, in both Ireland and Canada, the question has been raised of whether the commercial corporations that generate most of the international news content have negatively influenced public service-inspired news values. An assessment of the CBC by the Department of Canadian Heritage (DCH)

unequivocally found that commercial values do influence public news values and the quality of programming.

The CBC's pursuit of its commercial imperative has now assumed such influence over its programming and scheduling decisions that the CBC's public service role has been fundamentally compromised (DCH 1996 p12).

Even so, the private sector routinely accuses PSBs of being commercial competitors for audience share and revenues in the open market. As a result, they maintain that public service broadcasting is undeserving of special status and/or subsidy from the government (DCH 1996). This conflict between public and private interests was clearly demonstrated in Ireland when the major shareholders of TV3, owned by the Canadian TV company CanWest Global and the British TV Company Granada, challenged RTÉ before the European courts. The commercial broadcaster argued that RTÉ is the recipient of public funds and that such funding constituted an unfair commercial subsidy, contrary to EU rules. Citing a protocol attached to the Amsterdam Treaty, the challenge to the very foundation of RTÉ was narrowly defeated.

The provisions of the Treaty establishing the European Community shall be without prejudice to the competence of Member States to provide for the funding of public service broadcasting insofar as such funding is granted to broadcasting organisations for the fulfillment of the public service remit as conferred, defined and organised by each Member State, and insofar as such funding does not affect trading conditions and competition in the Community to an extent which would be contrary to the common interest, while the realisation of the remit of that public service shall be taken into account (EU 2005 p46).

Supportive of the public service broadcasting model, both Curran and Seaton (2003) argue that the existence of PSBs has not drawn from the coffers of the marketplace but has contributed to their very foundation and continued maintenance.

Public service broadcasting has secured the survival of a successful broadcasting industry, one which has become more significant economically and which has become an exporter of programmes while continuing to discuss and mould national interests (Curran and Seaton 2003 p363).

Despite the current political economy of PSBs, Boyd-Barrett (2006) affirms that the economic crisis they are facing is real. In Ireland, it's a crisis that has been apparent since 1995 and was very clear in 2005, when RTÉ posted a 71-million Euro deficit (RTÉ 2006a). In 2007, losses were reported at 1.88 billion (RTÉ 2006c and Hancock 2007). Even with breaking even in 2008 (RTÉ 2009), these deficits, according to the Chair of RTÉ (2008), still threaten the future viability of RTÉ in its ability to provide any kind of service.

Veteran CBC anchor Knowlton Nash observes that aspects of the crisis challenging the fiscal viability and cultural legitimacy of public service broadcasting internationally are readily apparent in Canada.

The CBC is confronting the biggest crisis it has faced in its more than seventy-years of existence..., (and) will collapse not with a bang but rather with a painful whimper, as it is dismembered, piece-by-piece, with target number one being English language television news (Nash 2007).

On March 25, 2009, the CBC announced that it would cut \$171 million from its operating costs in 2009 – 2010 and that eight hundred jobs would be eliminated. The CBC news division has been dramatically downsized by merging its radio, television and online news desks. The new 'Hub News Desk' has in effect divested the CBC of a proud legacy of maintaining an independent radio news desk in the public service of Canada.

## Deregulation and Public Service Broadcasting

Progressively deregulated and increasingly commercialized, public service broadcasting in Ireland and Canada is now conducted primarily in the interests of its citizen consumers. According to UNESCO,

Public broadcasting is defined as a meeting place where all citizens are welcome and considered equals. Public broadcasting must also appeal to the imagination, and entertain. But it does so with a concern for quality that



distinguishes it from commercial broadcasting (Banerjee and Seneviratne 2005 p13).

However, in the inherent co-dependency of the public and private interests of PSB, there is a special requirement that a clear demarcation between these interests be maintained. Otherwise, there is the risk that the processes of consultation and cooperation between the two have crossed over into collusion.

Neither commercial nor State-controlled, public broadcasting's only *raison d'être* is public service. It is the public's broadcasting organization; it speaks to everyone as a citizen (Banerjee and Seneviratne 2005 p13).

It would appear contrary to fairness that the contemporary corporate media elite possess unique lobbying access to government and have the tools necessary to manufacture public opinion in their favour (Barnett 2002). As a result, the future of communications is almost certain to be a commercially corporate-led approach. However, Fiske (2006) cautions that what is in the interests of free markets and their shareholders neglects the real ability of new media to change the world.

Borre and Scarbrough (1998) clarify the view that on matters pertaining to broadcasting regulation, the approaches to the issue taken by government can be seen as interventionist or neo-liberal. Ironically, the neo-liberal processes of decentralizing deregulation are unto themselves processes of re-regulation (Borre and Scarbrough 1998) that constitute a neo-liberal form of intervention into broadcasting. This re-regulating has redefined Irish and Canadian broadcasting systems by providing greater opportunities for private capital both inside public service broadcasting institutions and across national broadcast systems.

Media scholar and lobbyist Ian Morrison (2009b) for Friends of Canadian Broadcasting (FCB) believes that by embracing the free market-based neo-liberalization processes of decentralization, "Canada has abdicated its authority to regulate: therein limiting public service broadcasting in its ability to serve the public" (FCB 2009). In step with the privatising trends of governments, the Irish language-based PSB, TG4, is reconstituted under the new Broadcasting Act (2009). However,

what could critically wound and eventually kill public service broadcasting in Ireland and Canada is not the increased commercial independence of subsidiary stations such as TG4 (Dempsey 2006) or its Canadian equivalents, or even new corporate governance models, but instead a government moving to cease funding for public service broadcasting altogether. For more than eighty years, Sir John Reith's conceptual realization of public service broadcasting has set forth the nearly universally accepted and threefold criterion to inform, educate and entertain (BBC 2009).

Reflected in the broadcasting acts of Ireland and Canada, these fundamental tenets remain essential to informed discourse about quality public service broadcasting in Ireland and Canada. It may be argued that even though PSBs work from within a legislative framework, if any one of these fundamental component parts is missing or disproportionately deficient, a PSB cannot reasonably be seen as serving wholly in the public interest. For Attallah (2000), the abundance of foreign and specialty channels has made it clear to viewers that not all of commercial broadcasting is devoid of public interest characteristics. Attallah adds, "Not all public broadcasting is unimpeachably lofty" (pp62–64).

In Ireland, the abundance to which Attallah (2000) refers defines the nation as one of the most competitive media environments in Europe (Barrett 2000). Despite intense competition for audiences, prime-time viewership of the news on RTÉ retains a prime-time market share of 36.55% (RTÉ 2009). Meanwhile, "seventy-seven percent of the Irish public regards RTÉ Television News as its primary source of both Irish and international news" (RTÉ 2006b). This ability to meet the needs of audiences affirms the relevance of RTÉ and its influence on civic knowledge. This type of affirmation by audiences both in Canada and in Ireland necessitates continued exploration into the international news values of public service broadcasting.

There is a need for some fundamental research in this area to examine the scope and potential of maintaining a future role for (PSB) as a distinct feature and

domain of journalistic culture in European countries (Preston and Horgan 2006 p66).

Audience research indicates high levels of public support for PSBs both in Canada and in Ireland. In an Ipsos-Reid survey, 94% of Canadians want “to see the CBC survive and prosper” (Ipsos Reid 2004 cited in Morrison 2009a). In a survey of 1200 Canadians in September of 2008, 63% of respondents thought the government’s investment in CBC was a good use of taxpayers’ dollars (Morrison 2009b). In 2009, the FCB commissioned Pollara Research Inc. to survey a random sample of 3361 Canadians considered accurate to +/-1.69% nineteen times out of twenty. The resulting data sets were weighted by age, gender and region to ensure that the results were representative of the public. The survey, conducted in the field from April 20 to 24, 2009, revealed that “Eighty-three percent believe the CBC is important in protecting Canadian identity and culture” (Morrison 2009b p23), “eighty-one percent believe CBC is one of the things that helps distinguish Canada from the U.S.” (p25) and “seventy-eight percent tune in to some form of CBC programming” (Morrison 2009b p19).

Canada is geographically the second-largest country in the world. Due to its size and demographics, the nation has greater barriers to the diffusion of PSB-based news products than does Ireland. The CBC broadcasts across sixteen regions and serves a sparsely distributed and multicultural population (Statistics Canada 2009). Continental in proportion, these dynamics present unique challenges for the CBC. Despite these limitations, in Canada, audiences of the CBC remain clearly in favour of the continued maintenance of the PSB.

In the face of decentralizing deregulation, the rapidity of technological developments, supranational commercial broadcasters and ongoing free market failures, scholarly debate needs to address the future role of PSBs in the exercise of their statutory duties. It is a debate that also needs to consider the influence of the existing and emergent transnational corporate players upon the ability of public

service broadcasting to perform an equitable value for money service in the broadcast of international news. To this end, this study explores the contemporary role of PSBs in the broadcast of international news in the following review of literature and the chapters Methodology, Findings and Conclusion.

## CHAPTER II

### Review of Literature

This chapter reviews the literature pertaining to the critical media ecology of the public sphere and its re-feudalization in light of the gatekeeping dynamics of international newsflow in the public service. The chapter moves to consider the role of the framing and domestication of the global newsflow before it turns to review a selection of related international newsflow studies. These are inclusive of studies of cultural imperialism and newsflow as seen by the New World Information Communications Order (NWICO) and the subsequent globalization and post-modern pluralism and deregulation studies of the 21st Century Communications Order. The Canadian newsflow studies are also addressed in the context of the contributions of the Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology (SCIST), the Standing Committee on Transportation and Communications (SSCTC) and the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage. The chapter then turns to review the literature as it pertains to the commercialization of international news values in the face of compassion fatigue, declining demand, tabloidization and infotainment-based news values. Next, we examine the function of ‘the Non-aligned News Agencies’ and the Inter Press Service (IPS), the Canadian Press (CP) and the European Broadcasting Union (EBU). In turn, we look to satellite broadcasting and public interest and news value trends such as crisis-news and parachute journalism and the role of the elite foreign correspondent and the international bureaus of the CBC and RTÉ.

### The Public Sphere and Critical Media Ecology

Habermas (1962) developed the seminal concept of the public sphere in “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere – An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,” which explored French society of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

France was a stratified social structure in which the Church and the State were the fountains of all official communication. Habermas argued that the emergence of bourgeois capitalist markets, where private individuals came together in public spaces to share the news of the day, constituted a new, communicative space of interaction, resulting in the creation of an incorporeal yet spatially delineated media environment (Habermas 1987 p7). More recently, questions about how national media systems contribute to the media ecology of the public sphere have been pre-eminent in the works of Dahlgren (1995) and Strate (1999). These scholars saw media ecology as the study of media environments in which technology and techniques, modes of information and codes of communication play leading roles in human affairs (Strate 1999 p1).

For communication to achieve the leading role in human affairs that the Enlightenment envisioned, semi-sovereign civil institutions of mass media such as PSBs are central to balanced media environments in the public sphere (Curran 1991, Hallin and Mancini 1991, Calhoun 1992a, Verstraeten 1996, Castells 1997, Garnham 2004). Hjarvard (2001) characterizes the media ecology of the globalized news systems of the public sphere as one in which branded transnational news services have extensive reach. However, he also points out that contemporary media ecology remains a system wherein “national media continue to play the most important role in public political discourse” (Hjarvard 2001 p22).

According to Manning (2001 p5), “The interface between private experience and public power is structured through the public sphere.” Later, Curran (1991) introduced a political economy model of a global public sphere based upon the earlier model developed by Habermas (1987), which Curran redefined as being “a network for communicating information and points of view” (Curran 2002 p234). In this more encompassing model, Curran (2002) holds that democratic society needs a central institution of media in the public service as a place “where people come together to engage in reciprocal debate about the management of society” (pp239 – 245). C.

Taylor (2004 pp83 – 99) argues that the contemporary public sphere is fixed in form by a pre-established convention; this convention is composed of meta-topical spaces, as demonstrated by its extra-political and secular nature.

Calhoun (2003 p242) concludes that the concept of a public sphere is certainly a corporeal metaphor for an incorporeal reality. Freed from the influence of both the Church and the State, this incorporeal communicative space exists as a space where public discourse is unrestricted, rational and accessible to all (Mörä 2006). In considering the national public sphere and the influence of international newsflow upon it, Fraser (1992) suggests that “the significant actors in the development of the public sphere have not been journalists but social movements” (p64). She concludes that the full potential of the Habermas concept was never realized, even by Habermas. This is in part because the public sphere of Habermas was exclusive because it excluded the role of women despite their public importance in civil society (Fraser 1992 p64).

The contribution made by international news in the maintenance and promulgation of the national public sphere is infrequently addressed although it is of concern to PSB. Garnham (1990) underscores this concern, concluding that perpetuating a healthy global sphere requires civil institutions of broadcasting to serve as national focal points for society and noting that “Public service broadcasting offers the most appropriate place for this function” (p113). He argues that to promulgate the public sphere requires a re-structuring of the PSB’s contribution upon a “nationalist core” to defend against growing threats to its continued existence (Garnham 1996a pp245 – 251).

## The Re-feudalizing of the Public Sphere

For Habermas, the re-feudalizing of the public sphere is inextricably linked to the triumph of instrumental rationality. In his *Theory of Communicative Action*, he argues that the means now take precedence over the ends (Habermas 1984, 1987).

Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan came to a similar conclusion in that the “medium is the message” (1962, 1964, 1989). Other researchers concur, finding that the quality of international newsflow is diminished by the feudalizing tendencies of the private sector in the creation of a commercial sphere (Rosenstiel, Forster and Chinni 1998). This serves to weaken the ability of the public sphere to be the unimpeded communicative space for information that Habermas envisioned. For Manning (2001), the re-feudalization is manifest in decentralizing deregulation as capitalism displaces the pre-eminent status of the rights of the individual. Sparks (1998) and Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) all maintain that globalization is an imperfect theoretical device and that the euphemism of a global public sphere misrepresents the reality of an imperialist commercial sphere. Manning (2001) argues that the selection of news “and representation of information placed in the public domain is undertaken for commercial or political interests rather than pure reason and rationality” (p5). Keane (2005) also argues that transnationalization of the news is undermining the public sphere. It can be argued that when PSBs abdicate their control over the processes of newsgathering, they limit their role to that of a commercial carrier of publicity. This form of publicity is one through which social elites such as politicians, advertising agents and public relations experts seek to manufacture consent (Herman and Chomsky 1988, 1994) through premeditated design. Citing the philosopher John E. Buschman, Mattlage (2005) argues that we live today under the influence of a “new public philosophy, which understands our public, cultural institutions in capitalist, market-oriented terms” (p1). This philosophy finds expression in the increasing privatisation of information and for-profit corporate management models imposed upon PSBs. For Mattlage, the consequence of this contemporary philosophy upon cultures “is nothing less than the destruction of the public sphere” (ibid p275). Despite the dire predictions of Mattlage and the onslaught of market liberalism, for Corcoran, Preston and Horgan, there is still space left for public service discourse in the public sphere.



The current debate questions whether a global, pan-European and/or North American public sphere exists or even can exist (Golding et al. 2007). In Europe, Risse (2003) points to a regionally shared awareness and motivation as prerequisites. Despite the lack of a common European language, Risse argues that a community of communication already exists in the common understanding of English and images to facilitate the promulgations of the European public sphere. There is, however, a contrary view in Europe that this community of communication is woefully inadequate in setting the stage for a genuine European public sphere.

Common communicative systems of mass media facilitating real public debates conducive to collective will-formation are to a large degree lacking at the European level (Eriksen 2004 p17).

New research conducted by the Dutch-Flemish Association for Investigative Journalists and compiled from more than two hundred interviews with journalists from twenty European countries found that there is no “distinct European culture of journalism and those journalistic practices vary enormously between countries” (Vereniging van Onderzoeksjournalisten [VVOJ] 2008). The study revealed that 90% of journalists in the UK thought it important or very important to be a watchdog of government. This watchdog role is also espoused by both the CBC and RTÉ. By comparison, in Germany, only 30% of journalists thought the same (Preston and Horgan 2006).

Research conducted by DCU into the shared news culture of nine European nations supports Eriksen’s sceptical view that there is little to suggest that a European media sphere or even a common editorial culture exists in Europe.

Generally news and current affairs genres remain strongly orientated around national frames or epistemic communities (Preston and Horgan 2006 p1).

The CBC and RTÉ are national civil institutions of the contemporary public spheres of both Canada and Ireland. Without these enabling institutions, the global expansion of the Habermas concept is improbable.

In the context of the alleged decline of the state and the influence of its civil institutions, the potential for the re-feudalization of the public sphere takes on special significance (Price 2002). When the CBC and RTÉ gather, produce and broadcast international news that informs, educates and entertains without succumbing to re-feudalizing commercialization, they counteract a devolutionary trend in the public sphere. This commercializing trend sees the public sphere as contracting rather than becoming more encompassing. Helen Shaw, former Director of Radio at RTÉ, takes issue with the commercial imperative driving RTÉ and its news division. In her opinion, RTÉ should put a public ethos before commerce, transcending the reductionist age of 'McMedia' (Shaw 2003) by acknowledging that

The human right to knowledge, information and understanding and how we enshrine, define and protect that right, needs to be at the top of both our national and international agenda if humanity is to realize its full potential and move beyond the reductionist age of McMedia (Shaw 2003 p78).

As a prerequisite for a genuinely informed society, the broadcast of credible international news in the public service necessitates that powerful external commercial and political forces are bereft of the ability to unduly influence its agenda.

However, in a neo-liberal climate of global broadcasting deregulation, successive governments in Canada have reduced funding for PSBs (CBC 2008). In 2006, the CBC commissioned a study from the Nordicity Research Consortium, which revealed that in 2004, Canada had the third-lowest level of PSB funding out of eighteen western countries. In 2004, Canadian appropriations totalled \$1,066 billion or \$33 per person, ahead of only New Zealand and the US and well below the \$80 per person average across the sample (Nordicity 2006). Based on the same per capita comparison, the cost to Ireland was more than double the cost to Canada, at \$67 (CDN) per person, per annum (Nordicity 2006).

Appropriations and tax breaks from government aside, non-public revenue is essential to the viability of PSBs and ultimately of their international news divisions.

In Canada, commercial advertising is a prominent feature of the news schedule and a primary source of revenue for the CBC. This again raises the question of the potential influence of private capital on the supply of public information, as does the reliance of PSBs on profit-driven global news providers. The 2006 report of the Standing Senate Committee on Broadcasting (CSSCB) called for a complete ban on all advertising across all platforms of the CBC and for the Crown Corporation to be wholly funded by the government. The CSSCB concluded that the commercialization of the CBC undermines the public trust and aids in the demise of the Canadian public sphere by facilitating the rise of a new corporate sphere inspired by commercial values. Rantanen (2005) is of the opinion that the term ‘global public sphere’ should be replaced by the term “imperialist, private sphere” (p112). In attestation to the importance of public service broadcasting to the public sphere, Bob Giles of the Niemen Foundation concludes that the ability of western PSBs to serve the public trust is being subverted by commercially imperialist interests.

Media conglomerates and intense market competition are creating new organizational priorities in which profit growth is replacing public service as the principal mission (In Defence of Journalism 2006).

These findings are especially poignant in the fragile national public spheres of Ireland and Canada, wherein PSBs rest their journalistic legitimacy in the trust bestowed upon them by the public. This public is largely unconcerned with the limitations placed upon the news by the contemporary political economy of public service broadcasting and is instead ultimately concerned only with the end product.

## The Gatekeeping Dynamics of International Newsflow

Today’s methodological approach to newsflow studies evolved in part from the market-based gatekeeping theory of Kurt Lewin (1947). White (1950) and Kayser (1953) later applied Lewin’s method to the study of news as a commodity of trade. Soon after, McNelly (1959) introduced us to his gatekeeping model of newsflow, in

which he notes that different determinants are exerted on different types of gatekeepers in the news cycle:

the news (is forced to) run an obstacle course of reportorial error or bias, editorial selection and processing, translation, transmission difficulties and possible suppression or censorship (McNelly 1959 p22).

Since the early inception of newsflow research, the news has been regarded as a commodity, a marketable product, like the fruits and vegetables of Lewin's (1947) first gatekeeping model. Modernization theory of the 1950s and 1960s, with its emphasis on the gatekeeper as a determinant of newsflow, inspired studies such as those conducted by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Schramm (1964). These studies argued that the geography of global newsflow was internationally unbalanced in that it flowed primarily from North to South. However, for Schramm, this was due to a distortion of reality resulting more from the fragmentary presentation of the news than from any ulterior design. Based on a meta-analysis of previous global newsflow studies, Chang, Shoemaker and Brendlinger (1987) identified seven determinants driving international news selection in the US media. These determinants included the potential for social change, normative deviance, relevance to American interests, geographic proximity to the US, language affinity, press freedom, and the type of economic systems considered.

To their detriment, these early newsflow studies were primarily focused on the role of the individual as gatekeeper in the selection process of the news. Moreover, few early studies were comparative or qualitative and fewer still studied the transborder newsflow of PSBs. Nonetheless, gatekeeping dynamics are still important because they constitute the filtering processes through which international news is rejected or selected by a PSB as being newsworthy.

Shoemaker et al. (1991) categorized gatekeeping models for newsflow analysis according to five key determinants.

- A. The Individual: Gatekeeping is a dynamic in which elite individuals, by virtue of their position in the production process, are responsible for the selection of news.
- B. The News Routines: The normative practices involved in news selection.
- C. The Organisational: The routines of an organisation are internal, and group structures influence news selection and decision- making (Bantz 1990).
- D. The Institutional: The internal political economy of a news organisation interfaces with external forces to influence news selection.
- E. The Social System: The social system involves the role of markets in the gatekeeping process and the impact of ideology on the construction of the news.

The universal public access provided by public service broadcasting is a key cultural force contributing to the composition of the public sphere (Fiske 2006). Despite the role of PSBs in facilitating information flows, the gatekeeping mechanisms of international newsflow engineered by outside forces impose limitations upon the PSB in its ability to broadcast credible international news.

The gatekeeping mechanisms of regulating information flows to the news arenas of the public sphere remain stratified (Manning 2001 p11). This stratified framework, in which the top layer is occupied by privilege- bearing political, corporate and social elites, has the ability to deny public access to publicly produced international news. This framework provides preferential access to the elite to promote their own interests. Accordingly, Hall (1971, 1980), later supported by Curran and Gurevitch (2005), found early on that the interests of these elites, and not the needs of the public, have come to be the primary definers of international news. According to Curran (2002),

One key theme of populist history was that broadcasting was rescued from elite cultural control (p22).

The fact is that every decision made by a gatekeeper to include an international report is simultaneously a choice to preclude other available content. While this may be seen as facilitating the newsflow, Hall (2007) claims gatekeeping dynamics are demonstrative of an

elite who rule as the thinkers and producers of ideas by regulating the production and distribution of those ideas; its ideas, therefore, are the ruling ideas of the period (p67).

Bass (1969) developed his Double Action Model on international newsflow to theorize the nature of the media's relationship with public and policy agendas by separating news operations into two essential phases: newsgathering and the processing of the gathered content. This expansion of the earlier gatekeeping theory recognized multiple gatekeepers as defining the issues not only for the public, but also for decision-makers. Fisher (1988) argues that international news influences our understanding and contributes to setting a societal agenda. In fact, what we know about world issues and events "is often a function of the way news is gathered and processed," as it is "the gatekeeper (that) determines what the central issues will be" (Fisher 1988 p120).

## Framing and Domesticating the Global Newsflow

Credited with founding framing theory, Gregory Bateson (1972) defined a frame as being a "spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages" (p191). Erving Goffman (1974) expanded upon this concept by defining a frame as a schema of interpretation that provides a context for understanding, thereby enabling individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label information" (p21). Tuchman (1978) concluded that news-workers use frames to construct social reality for audiences, thus giving meaning to words and images.

Medias have significant effects. In his extensive interviews with media professionals and through a qualitative content analysis of RTÉ's news, current affairs, serialized drama and telethon programmes, Devereux (1997) argued that the

portrayal of poverty in the serialized drama '*Glenroe*' conveyed that inequality as an accepted and acceptable standard and was therefore ideological in its construction of a deserving or undeserving impoverished class. In turn, this portrayal across genres accrued to the reception by audiences of an unchallenged distortion of reality wherein the state of poverty is regarded as the norm. The framing processes of domestication (Clausen 2001, 2003, 2004) force the international news into national political or cultural constructs, which are readily identifiable to local audiences (Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh 1991).

Newsflow studies of the 1980s increasingly explored the processes through which international news is domesticated for local broadcast (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 1998). Once it is deemed to be newsworthy, an international report needs to be anchored "in a narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognisable by reporters as well as by audiences" (Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh 1991 p207).

Seeking to anchor the foreign in the familiar, international news is framed through "a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages" (Bateson 1972 p191). Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh (1991) conclude that there is no truly international news, only domesticated news. By way of demonstration, deVreese (2001) revealed that while coverage of the introduction of the Euro across Europe used similar generic frames, there were considerable national spins in the reportage. Further, in their global analyses of the 24-hour news broadcaster CNN, Natarajan and Xiaoming (2003) found that CNN-Asia (CAN) differed only slightly from the frames presented by CNN-World.

Other studies (Van Dijk 1988, Hallin and Mancini 1991) revealed that national media provide similar orientations or framing of an international event. These similarities are often attributed to a professional culture of market-driven journalism (McManus 1994) that applies across national boundaries and involves objectivity, ideals, norms and constraints. Such constraints include a heavy reliance on the same sources (Shudson 2000). In consideration of still other comparative studies of public

service broadcasting and the domesticating dynamics of international news, Clausen (2004) concludes that in spite of “aggressive market-based competition, public service broadcasting sustain their competitive edge through their domestication competencies” (p25).

In domesticating the international, Gartner (2004) notes that a hometown fatality abroad is likely to raise an international report to a primary placement on the news agenda. However, this process of domesticating the international can lead to its distortion. In the US, past President George W. Bush censored coverage of returning coffins of military personnel from the US-led ‘War on Terror’ and subsequent occupation of Iraq. This policy has since been revisited. Framing, then, as Bateson (1972) sees it, is interconnected, comprising both the exclusion and the inclusion of information (Shaw 2005).

## The International Newsflow Studies

Media-based research of the 1920s introduced and explored the social science of ‘Public Opinion’. These early investigations remain influential in facilitating our ability to comprehend the power of the news to influence our understanding of the world (Curran 2009). This developing body of knowledge (Lippmann 1922) introduced the concept of ‘news values’ to the discourse. The research of Lippmann saw that news should lead populations to predetermined conclusions for their collective good (ibid). Springing from this understanding were numerous newsflow studies utilizing the content analysis later pioneered by H. Lasswell in 1926. Today, the study of newsflow continues to be informed by his working definition of media studies as being the exploration of “who says what to whom, through which channel and with what effect” (Lasswell 1948b).

The first major newsflow study from nine countries, entitled “How Nations See Each Other, A Study of Public Opinion,” was authored by William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril (1953). In this work, they sought a measure through which people



perceive their nationality and that of others through the media. Soon afterward, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1956) landmark work "The Four Theories of the Press" emerged to challenge and redefine perceptions of the global news system.

Within this system, Rosenberg (1970) identified the news values that journalists depend upon in selecting international news as being "timeliness, proximity, novelty, impact, human interest, and unusualness" (p96). Supportive of core-periphery theories, a study by Kariel and Rosenvall (1984) concluded that the eliteness of a nation was the most important factor in influencing global newsflow. Larson (1984) identified anew these variables that influence the flow of news to include the presence of foreign news bureaus, major wire services, proximity to Intelsat earth stations, size of population, national product per capita and the ranking of the nation in the international hierarchy. From an examination of a dozen local sources of international news across the US, Wu (2000) found that, with the exception of a major crisis such as a war, the leading predictor of foreign news coverage is geographic proximity to the home desk. Later, Beaudoin and Thorson (2001) also revealed that the closer a news event is to home, the more likely it is to be covered.

In extended consideration of international newsflow dynamics, determinants such as geo-political relations and national cultural and economic development were considered and applied (Hester 1971, 1973, 1976, Nnaemeka and Richstad 1979). Notably, the World Systems Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 2004) and Chang (1998, 2000 and 2003) emerged as an extension of dependency theory, and the newsflow studies of Sreberny-Mohammadi and Nordenstreng (1984) came to the forefront. However, Al Hester (1976) had long been arguing that at any given time, nations have designated places in the global hierarchy, which, in part, determine the flow, direction and volume of the news. His World Systems approach identifies the inequality of the global distribution of the news by separating the world into three distinct spheres of influence consisting of core, semi-periphery and periphery. The ranking in this hierarchy is determined by a nation's relative measure of economic,

political and military influence and cultural relations, as interconnected through historical ties or current military, economic and political practices. Reflecting the news dominance of northern nations, Mowlana (1986 pp24 – 26) found the newsflow to reinforce the notion of the elite imperialism of core nations by demonstrating that news largely flows from the developed north to the southern poor.

Meyer (1989) argued that news dependency is neo-colonial and that information flows along linear channels from north to south. In light of Canadian dependency upon international news products from America to the south, the current of the newsflow is reversed. This dependency-based, core – periphery dynamic of media imperialism has been similarly expressed in the east – west conceptualization of the Canadian space-economy composed of a heartland and a hinterland (McCann 1987, Green 1990). This dynamic sees original British colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, now Ontario and Quebec, as the central core and the most distant provinces such as British Columbia and Newfoundland as a political, economic and cultural periphery. In Ireland, the south, epitomized by the city of Dublin, is generally recognized as the economic hub of the nation, while all of the counties of Ireland, unique in many ways, are within a few hours' drive from the ancient city.

According to Wu's (1998) early meta-analysis of existing international newsflow studies, the majority of the research to that date was focused on the impact of the gatekeeper and the logistical determinants of newsflow. Wu argues that while news of the world's economic national powers is regularly reported, news of peripheral countries remains largely invisible while core nations are highlighted. More recently, Wu, in seeking to provide a new meta-analysis of previous studies, measured the influence of nine key determinants of newsflow in over two hundred nations. His analysis also considered population, territorial size, degree of economic advancement, language, degree of press freedom, presence of international news agencies, geographic distance from source to destination, total trade volume of the nations sampled and historic colonial geo-political relationships. In conclusion, Wu

(2000 pp111 – 124) revealed that trade volumes between countries were the dominant determinant of news coverage, followed by access to the international news agencies.

In exploring the relationship between news and trade across thirty- three nations, Pietilainen (2006), based on the benchmark data acquired from the 1995 newsflow study, revealed that the correlation between news and trade was higher in smaller industrialized nations dependent on foreign trade. Newsflow is not constant but dynamic; it ebbs and flows as trade balances swing from high to low (Pietilainen 2006).

## Cultural Imperialism and the Newsflow

Contemporary concepts of newsflow imperialism are enriched by the early studies of north-to-south concentrations of power, identified by modernization theorist Schramm (1964) and exemplified through the concept of the hierarchy of nations (Galtung and Ruge 1965, 1973, Ostagaard 1965). In the late 1960s, Schiller concluded that the culturally imperialist transnational media had “reached the point where they pose a distinct threat to the sovereignty of the weaker nation-states” (Schiller 1969 p137). Arguing shortly thereafter in his benchmark paper “A Structural Theory of Imperialism,” Galtung (1971) identified structural imperialism as being inherent in global newsflow. His theory views the world as an integrated system made up of “centres and peripheries” and proposes five types of imperialism – economic, political, military, communicative and cultural. The combination of the last two constitutes structural news imperialism. It was from this early research that those such as Wu (1998) mentioned earlier conceptually based the world system theory.

Concurrent with the intensification of the Cold War of the 1970s and 1980s was a strengthening of public service broadcasting and funding regimes in Canada and Ireland. Simultaneously, there was a renewed interest in the application of politically motivated international newsflow studies. Thus informed by the concepts of neo-

colonial dependency theory, the neo-Marxist Schiller (1969, 1976 and 1993) pioneered theories of cultural imperialism. As the scholarly discourse progressed, the concept of structural imperialism (Galtung 1971) explored earlier was expounded upon by Boyd-Barrett (1977). The culturalist studies associated with Hall (1971, 1980) and (Tomlinson 1991) expanded upon the dynamics of imperialism even further.

Theories of imperialism persisted as a central theme in the analytical works of Boyd-Barrett (1980) and Lee (1980). Meanwhile, Madec (1981) also re-examined imperialism. Their shared view is that the news values, which influence the news wholesalers, are openly based on the goals of increasing market share and maximizing profits. Arguably, this is both a competitive strength and a journalistic weakness.

The Cold War era brought a new academic energy to the equation, aimed at quantifying the organisational paradigms of international news hierarchies, routines, norms and sources (Tuchman 1978, Van Dijk 1988). During this period, the original theories of imperialist transborder hegemony introduced by Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937) were reapplied to the study of newsflow. Key to the lexicon of the newsflow discourse is ‘hegemony’ and its close association with Gramsci (1971) and the translation of his first book, “Selections from the Prison Notebooks.” The work reinforced the concept that the dominant social elite have the capacity to seek moral and intellectual control over society in the creation of a system of social alliances to support their aims. Gramsci’s notions of ‘hegemony’ and his use of the term “hegemony” in this context (Gramsci 1971 p266) remain widely used today to conceptualize the political functions of the media in propagating the distribution of ideology and in shaping the production of news with the aim of legitimizing the status quo. Indeed, Gramsci (1971) argued that the best way for the social elite to retain power is not to force consent but to create consent through the ideological control of all cultural production and distribution via institutional control of the civil institutions of the mass media.

In the benchmark Galtung and Ruge (1965) newsflow study of conflict coverage from the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus, it was revealed that international news originated from a limited number of sources. These sources needed to be timely; the scale of a story had to be significant, unambiguous and meaningful in the context of its cultural proximity to audiences to make it relevant. The consonance of cultural familiarity was also identified, as was the need for a story to be unexpected. Further, the continuity or shelf life of a story also played a significant role over time, because a report lessens in newsworthiness over time when it is juxtaposed with breaking news. They also recognized the available time and space allocated further influenced news volumes and worthiness. Moreover, they discovered that elite status and personification similarly influenced the newsflow. Lastly, they identified negativity in the content as attractive for viewers (Galtung and Ruge 1965). Additionally, the more surprising the event in emotive terms, the more probable it was that it would become news. Extrapolating upon these determinant forces in 1973, Galtung and Ruge realized a synthesis of their earlier work by redefining the four primary culture-bound dynamics that influence the evolution of a local event into an item on the international news agenda. The more recent a negative event involving elite nations and elite people, the more likely it was to become a news item (Galtung and Ruge 1973).

In the context of the nation state, Robinson and Sparkes (1976) suggest that periphery nations naturally take a greater collective interest in what influential core nations are doing. However, most research, such of that of Richstad (1976), on newsflow in the 1970s and into the 1980s tended to focus upon forms of imperialism manifest in framing, agenda setting and continued gatekeeping theory.

Stevenson and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995b) demonstrated that the international cultural geography of newsflow before the collapse of the old Soviet Union showed a pattern structured on Cold War rivalry in which western and eastern news agencies embodied the political voices of the conflict. However, as the post-

Cold War political topography evolved, the international news agenda and media players remained largely unchanged. As Stevenson and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1995b) point out,

The new forces of nationalism, new struggles for development and democracy, new concerns about human rights and the environment all clamour for news media attention (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Stevenson 1995b p4).

In addition, cultural affinity and the sharing of a common language also serve to smooth the transborder flow of international news between the US and Canada (Fridriksson 2000). The large francophone market in Canada is underserved by American interests, as is the Irish-speaking community of Ireland. Despite limitations, the proximity of the US to Canada and, similarly, the UK to Ireland remain especially relevant. The relationships between international news coverage and a country's economic and physical proximity to another are explored by Hester (1971) and Golan (2006), who assert that the two elements are co-dependent.

## The New World Information Communications Order

Throughout the 1980s, newsflow studies generally sought to explore the dynamics that influenced the flow of news globally. One such study produced by Merrill (1981) argued that it was unrealistic to expect a balanced global newsflow.

Unevenness of flow is a basic characteristic of news – and not only of news flow, but of water flow, oil flow, money flow, population flow, and food flow (Merrill 1981 p156).

While the unevenness of flow to which Merrill (1981) refers may or may not be a basic characteristic of news, the NWICO proceedings revealed that the international newsflow is unbalanced. The NWICO controversies of the late 1970s to mid-1980s circled around this inequity. The core of the debate focused upon two conflicting and competing concepts: the rights of access to free flowing information and the right of the state to cultural sovereignty. Developing countries identified this disparity as a form of media imperialism behind which lay a hegemonic

(Gramsci 1971) attempt to impose western cultural and economic values, which they perceived as a threat to their cultural sovereignty.

A source of conflict between the developed and developing world was exacerbated during the Cold War, wherein battles were fought with geo-political ideological rhetoric. Studies that highlighted imperialism and geographic imbalance in international newsflow (Schiller 1969) served to support the notion that cultural imperialism is actually the invasion of ideas. Indeed, the UNESCO debate was, in many ways, a manifestation of the Cold War fought on the cultural battlefield that was NWICO (Kaplan 1979, McBride 1980, Masmoudi 1979 and 1981, Sreberny-Mohammadi 1985, McPhail 1987).

Epitomizing the periphery world's claims of core northern cultural dominance over the newsflow, the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) published the Foreign Images Study of twenty-nine countries and the four major global news agencies (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1985). This contentious study became a rallying call for the developing nations then referred to as the Non-Aligned Movement. Addressing the imbalance inherent in international newsflow with an increasingly unified voice, NAL demanded a global treaty recognizing the cultural sovereignty of nations over information.

To investigate the claims of periphery nations under the 1977 UNESCO-enabled framework of NWICO, the sixteen-member "International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems" was struck and chaired by Irish Nobel Laureate Sean MacBride. Media respondents to the Commission's pivotal survey argued that the right to communicate was based entirely on the right to access the sources of information (Cocca 1976). Adopted as resolution 4/19 of the 1980 UNESCO General Conference, the Commission's report entitled "Many Voices – One World" contained eighty-two non-binding resolutions.

In opposition to the McBride Report (1980), England, Singapore and the US responded to accusations of cultural imperialism and the calls of periphery nations for

total cultural sovereignty by withdrawing from UNESCO in 1985. For those who abandoned the talks, the arguments made by periphery nations under the NWICO framework were undermined by a lack of credible empirical data (Nordenstreng and Schiller 1993). Boyd-Barrett notes that at the heart of UNESCO policy was the presumption that there exists “a correlation between pluralism of sources of information and the exercise of citizenship and democracy” (UNESCO 2001 p2).

Gerbner, Mowlana and Nordenstreng (1993) remain critical of global newsflow, which largely ignores the developing world. Yet there are still those such as Potter (1987) who insist that coverage of peripheral developing nations has been rising. A contemporary understanding of the flaws in the Cold War-era NWICO debates still points to an east – west propaganda battle waged between an opposing capitalist and communist political and social elite.

In serving as co-directors of the Newsflow Project, Sreberny-Mohammadi and Stevenson (1995) sought to update the contentious 1985 newsflow study prepared by the IAMCR that arguably led to both the rise and the fall of NWICO. Broadened to include fifty communication scholars from fifty nations, the 1995 project set out to remap the news geography following the Cold War by constructing new baseline data for future research. The quantitative project concluded that hard news centred upon politics, the military and economics accounted for the majority of international stories. During their analysis, they discovered that few soft international stories were generated or reported (Stevenson and Sreberny-Mohammadi 1995a).

Unchanged in the post-NWICO era, the newsflow of the global geography and news agenda of the major players remains fundamentally stratified. Far from leading the world to a unified policy on the cultural sovereignty of nations and a globally balanced newsflow, the rise and fall of NWICO typified the conflict rather than resolved it. Despite high calls for globally free-flowing information, the global discourse is still concentrated in the hands of the very few.



## Globalization and the Newsflow

Verbalizing his concept of emergent globalization, McLuhan (1962) coined the phrase “Global Village.” McLuhan (1989) interpreted international newsflow as the central enabler of his theories of globalization. Criticised for his often-paradoxical ideas (Alimonos 2005), McLuhan promoted a fundamental tenet of his theory – free markets will self-regulate in their collective interest (Barry 2004).

A result of globalizing deregulation, the global economic crisis that began in 2007 in the US continues to reveal that unregulated transnational corporations can grow too powerful too quickly. When they fail, the fallout can be immense and transcend borders. Since commercial transnational media corporations producing and distributing the majority of the international news assert that they too perform in the public interest when they fail, the public’s interest is damaged. Free expression embodied by journalistic expression in the public service is central to democracy and therefore central to the public interest. Therefore, PSBs have been placed as perpetual providers of media in this public service and cannot be allowed to fail. Even so, the current global economic crisis speaks to another failure – the failure of international journalism, public and private, to warn the people that their interests were at risk.

Today’s theoretical approaches applied to transborder newsflow analysis are still influenced by Marshall McLuhan’s (1962) concepts of globalizing media ecology. He argued that media exert social, cultural and political authority by collapsing the amount of time that information takes to travel from sender to receiver. With the arrival of the Internet, the time – space convergence (Janelle 1969, Giddens 1990) of the newsflow is now nearly instantaneous. Obviously, despite these technological advances, the world is hardly the utopian ideal of a Global Village as espoused by the Canadian pop icon and technological determinist Herbert Marshall McLuhan (July 21, 1911 – December 31, 1980).

Nonetheless, Giddens (1984, 1987) holds that information is a globalizing force. Raboy (1990, 2004) concurs by concluding that the contemporary media

environment is defined by two essential trends, advances in technology and increasing globalization. However, Corcoran (2004) reveals that studies of cultural globalization have generally neglected the news.

It's ironical that a great deal of analysis of cultural globalization tends to ignore news as an essential contemporary cultural product with enormous power to shape government agendas (p198).

In revisiting the processes of cultural globalization upon newsflow, Brown (2004) argues that there is still a place for the public discourse in civil society, adding that because of the commercial imperatives driving broadcasters as identified by Hamelick (2002) and Cogburn (2004), the need to counter the power of neo-liberal thinking has never been greater.

Acting as a powerful force of national identity and unity (Riegert 2004a), the dynamics of international newsflow demonstrate cultural globalization in action. In terms of the ownership of the news, trends of cultural globalization (Barry 2004) have created mega-companies that know no cultural bounds. The international news products of these transnational corporations endeavour to appeal to the widest possible global audience as they transcend sovereign borders. As a direct result, the news culture of the supra-national media oligopolies has “increasingly come to dominate the international news agenda” (Kirby 2000 p408).

As a 24-hour global provider and broadcaster of news, CNN is often examined by researchers seeking to identify the dynamics of cultural globalization. However, others, such as Natarajan (2003), see CNN not as an enabler of globalization but rather as an agent of the Americanization of culture. Consequently, in a study of CNN, Natarajan and Xiaoming (2003) concluded “that despite its objective of presenting an Asian perspective in its newscasts, CNA (Asia) is not that different from CNN” (p306).

Notwithstanding local news domestication processes, when international news is imported from commercial sources, commercial news values are also imported (Jin

2007 p30). Through a series of interviews with journalists and media professionals in Tokyo, Clausen (2004) affirmed the importation of these news values and the resulting domestication processes of Japan's major newsrooms. Her work revealed that these processes in both regional and national settings focus on the transference of commercial western news values across Japan.

Patricia Riley and members of the Annenberg Research Network on Globalization & Communication (ARNGC 2007), through a meta-analysis of previously published research, conclude that globalization studies (Castells 1997, Held et al. 1999) are fundamental in the understanding of international newsflow determinants. Annenberg researchers warn that newsflow studies can be better served through a more inclusive meta-analysis that more accurately demonstrates how international newsflow reflects globalization over time (ARNGC 2007).

Hafez (2007) concludes, "globalization is itself a myth" because the political economy of global media demonstrates that economic structures have never been as stratified and secularized as they are today. In defence of the creation of a geopolitically relevant global-sphere, Volkmer (1999, 2003 and 2007) concludes that global newsflow processes are increasingly autonomous from nation-state contexts. This realization addresses the limited influence of civil institutions such as PSBs as the architects of a global village.

## Post-Modern Pluralism and Deregulating Newsflow

Commissioned by the Conservative government at the pinnacle of the Thatcherite revolution in Europe, the Peacock Report affirmed the post-modern pluralist approach to the global landscape of public service broadcasting by standing in favour of the neo-liberal deregulation of public service broadcasting and increased opportunities for private enterprise.

The result has been a cultural climate of "consumer not cultural sovereignty" (Peacock 1986). This system, with its mercantile priorities, set the stage for twenty-

four years of heated public – private debate over the function of public service broadcasting.

Accompanying the “Foreign Images Study” of Stevenson and Shaw (1984), referenced earlier, “The World of the News Study” of Sreberny-Mohammadi et al. (1985) came to support periphery nations of the developing world in their claims of international newsflow imbalance. Thussu (2006) concludes that the controversy remains unresolved.

In 2006, Kenya called upon the UK for reciprocity in public service broadcasting and balance in the newsflow, declaring that if the BBC can broadcast in Kenya, then the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) must also be allowed to broadcast in Britain (BBC 2006). In response to the silence emanating from London, Kenya brought to law a new media bill (Government of Kenya 2009) giving the government total sovereignty over the issuance or cancellation of broadcast licences, including that of the BBC.

In 2005, UNESCO turned again to the contentious question of cultural sovereignty in the context of the new challenges faced by PSBs. In turn, UNESCO adopted “The Convention of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression.” This treaty seeks to harmonize UNESCO resolutions with other binding international bodies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) by requiring cultural rather than trade priorities to take precedence. In part, the convention’s stated aims are to protect the domestic regulatory authority of signatory nations in regard to “content quotas, financial subsidies and public institutions such as public broadcasters” (Corcoran 2007 p24).

With broad implications for the international newsflow concurrently, sessions before the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO 2006) seek harmonization of intellectual property law. Nonetheless, progress has been met with resistance at the level of concrete action (WIPO 2007). Borre and Scarbrough (1998) believe debates concerning whether or not to regulate national broadcasting systems

have been predominately cloistered within national boundaries. Citing this nation centric agenda as a deterrent to informed analysis, their research was early to identify the need for global concordance in transnational regulatory policy.

The harmonization of regulation can be seen as contradicting free market demands for unimpeded cultural flows; however, there is a growing sense that cross-national policy is required in this area (Borre and Scarbrough 1998 p283).

Securing access to the source and supply of international news is a function of the newsroom, not of government. Given the largely acknowledged role that the international news products of PSBs play nationally, this genre is sparsely regulated. The setting of quality professional standards (CBC 2010a) and ethical codes of conduct is largely voluntarily upheld by PSBs and by their professional associations such as the National Union of Journalists and Canadian Media Guild. Unlike purely commercial stakeholders in the broadcasting systems of Canada and Ireland, both the CBC and RTÉ are uniquely subject to the direct legislation of the State.

## The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Communications Order

Much of the research from the 1990's highlighted hegemony in international newsflow. As a result, hegemony increasingly came to be seen as the pre-eminent social engineering tool of the gatekeeping neo- imperialist social policy elite (Tomlinson 1991). The scholastic endeavours of the neo-imperialist 1990s sought to leave behind the more linear study of newsflow (Galtung and Vincent 1992, Hjarvard 1995). As Sreberny-Mohammadi and Stevenson (1995) made clear, in today's fragmented markets, all promulgators of information must fight for placement on the PSBs' news agenda.

Nordenstreng and Schiller (1993) and James Lull (1995) assert that audiences are far more resilient to the forces and influence of hegemony than previously assumed. However, this does not intrinsically serve to negate the rationale for fears about the loss of cultural sovereignty that neo-imperialism arguably conceals.

Since 1985 and the demise of NWICO, researchers have increasingly turned to examining the differences between national public broadcasting systems (DCH 1986). Blumler (1992) argued that public service broadcasting is the embodiment of anti-commercial news values and deserves isolation from commercial influence. McQuail (1992) concluded that a renaissance of a classic public service model was necessary for the continued survival of the PSBs. Despite such studies, the literature pertaining to public service broadcasting culture and international newsflow is noticeably impoverished. As referenced earlier, many of the extant newsflow studies are nation-based rather than international or comparative (Weaver and Wilhoit 1996, Löfgren Nilsson 1999, Clausen 2004, Harrison 2006, Thussu 2006).

Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) concentrated upon the gatekeeping influence of the commercial news agencies as they determined how local events become international news. Nevertheless, the majority of the assumptions made from the study spoke to core rather than periphery media environments within the OECD, such as Canada and Ireland. The public service broadcasting funding models of Ireland and Canada share little similarity to those found in the UK or to US media environments.

There are a few funding models for public service broadcasting around the world. There is the full funding approach, as at the BBC. There is also the hybrid approach of Ireland, where commercial revenue, state support and a licensing fee on TV sets fund RTÉ. Finally, there is the Canadian hybrid approach, which is based on commercial revenue and an annual appropriation from the government.

In Canada and Ireland, the news products of PSBs are vested with the credibility earned from the CBC's and RTÉ's legislated autonomy and their extensive coverage of national, regional and community news. Asserting that the international news influences the public and foreign policy agendas (Livingston 1997) regularly sparks heated debate in Canada and Ireland. Central to that debate is the question of whether international news influences national foreign policy or whether national

foreign policy influences the news. Daily 24-hour news coverage certainly seems to influence and accelerate the making of foreign policy decisions in a crisis. This is the much-analysed CNN Effect (Livingston 1997, Hess 2002). It has been argued for a long time that the news agenda does influence politics.

In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality (McCombs and Shaw 1972 p2).

Associated with framing, studies of agenda setting similarly seek to explore the transfer of salience (Patterson 1996 and 2000) from the media to the public (McCombs 2004). The architects of the agenda setting theory, McCombs and Shaw (1972, 1993), point out that the impact of these processes varies greatly from obtrusive to unobtrusive determinants, meaning those things we are familiar with and those we are not. As a result, international issues, which are beyond our immediate proximity, are considered by researchers such as McCombs as unobtrusive and accordingly as having significant influence upon the public. The degree of this impact is an area that McCombs refers to as the fifth phase of research and one that he and his colleagues argue is deserving of extended critical evaluation (McCombs 2004).

## The Canadian Newsflow Studies

Foremost of the Canadian studies is that of Hart (1963), as its early influence helped set the stage for future international newsflow studies. Especially relevant to this study of RTÉ and the CBC are the collective works of Richard Collins, Director and co-founder of the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR). Of special interest is his familiarity with both the Canadian and European broadcasting environments in which the PSBs of this study operate. In terms of public service broadcasting in Canada, Collins (1989) suggests that cultural sovereignty and political sovereignty are mutually dependent principles and form the core premise upon which broadcasting policy in Canada has been based. In later considering public service broadcasting, Collins stresses (1995) that it is one of the central mistaken precepts of nationalism to

argue that “polity and culture must be congruent” (Collins 1995). In defence of this position, Collins points to the failures caused by the linking of polity and culture by Canadian cultural nationalists. Since Canada as a political unit persists despite discord, Collins insists that consequently, polity and culture need not be congruent.

In Collins’s (1989) decoupling hypothesis, Canadian content is not representative of Canadian culture but of elite class interests and is based on consumption; “American content is likely more representative of Canadian tastes” (p13). Collins further argues that nationalist public broadcasting policies and content regulation are deficient because they fail to connect Canadian audiences with a Canadian viewing pattern. By this viewpoint, cultural nationalists such as Peers (1979) and Edwardson (2008) who argue in favour of a congruent polity and culture as a justification for advocating public service broadcasting are deemed “reactionary, dangerous, and contrary to tolerance” in favour of historically elite expressions of culture (Collins 1990 p13). Importantly, Collins is of the opinion that the Canadian cultural geography has never been the recipient of the levels of Royal patronage that the cultural landscape of Europe has historically enjoyed or the scale of cultural philanthropy that exists in the US (Meisel 1987). As a result, in Canada and Ireland, it is the government that must undertake these functions in the public service.

The belief that cultural sovereignty and political sovereignty are mutually dependent is the core assumption on which Canadian broadcasting policy has been based. It is an assumption widely held outside Canada and restates one of the central stipulative precepts of nationalism – that polity and culture must be congruent. It is, I believe, a mistaken assumption, as careful examination of the Canadian case will demonstrate (Collins 1990 p13).

Lorimer (1991) fundamentally disagrees, arguing that Collins’s outdated knowledge of Canada undermined his decoupling hypothesis and, moreover, that his flawed understanding of the political development of the country caused him to misdiagnose the meaning of Canadian nationalism and its attendant discourses. Conversely, the Canadian acceptance of the US cultural products to which he points as evidence in



support of his hypotheses may in fact be the very achievement of the imperialist American media successes to which Chalaby (2006) later refers.

More recently, the works of Collins have come to recognize that new technologies as well as governments eager to privatise public-sector institutions threaten the future of public service broadcasting (Collins and Purnell 1995). The funding arrangements that support public service broadcasting are menaced by long-term technical and market changes, including the proliferation of 24-hour news channels (Collins 1998) such as Aljazeera and CNN, the rise of the Internet, and with it, the collapse of the time – space convergence. These changes mark the shift away from mass access to niche audiences, services and alternative platforms for traditional broadcast delivery.

Demonstrative of audience fragmentation induced in part by the advent of new media technologies, the viewership of US network television news has declined markedly across the Big Three network affiliates (ABC, CBS and NBC). In November of 2003, the typical audience for the networks was about “...twenty-nine million combined, this represents a decline of 34% from 1993 when roughly forty-one million people were watching the same newscasts” (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2006 p15).

In the face of declining audiences everywhere, Collins (2003) queries how much public intervention is enough. He asserts that a new understanding necessitates a new definition of public service broadcasting based on quality, universality, independence and diversity. Collins (2009) now, however, argues that public service broadcasting must become more accountable through regulation so that it can compete and survive in the new global broadcasting landscape. Aware of the influence of new technologies on public service broadcasting and in consultation with the independent regulator and competition authority, the Office of Communications (OFCOM) for the UK, Collins now strongly supports considerations in Europe for the establishment of a Public Service Publisher (PSP) to address the new communicative realities of

international newsflow (Collins 1998, 2007, 2009). In Collins' view, it has become increasingly common to speak of public service broadcasting as being synonymous with the new, more encompassing term of public service media (PSM). This new model calls for a convergence of the Digital Divide in increasingly integrating public service broadcasting news systems. Desbarats (2002) observed that traditional public broadcasting in Canada has

seen the development of an extensive public broadcasting sector, which, in terms of number of broadcasters and diversity of audiences, is probably without rival in any other country (p13).

While the CBC is Canada's national PSB, other not-for-profit PSBs exist to compete for market share within the Canadian broadcasting system. These include provincial educational broadcasters such as Télé-Québec, TV Ontario and The Knowledge Network in British Columbia. Other international cooperatives such as the inter-faith broadcaster Vision TV, the Public Affairs Channel (CPAC) and the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) are all also considered by the CRTC as being PSBs. In Canada, all licensed broadcasting is officially conducted in the public interest (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2009).

It is in this wider understanding of public service broadcasting that Osler (1993) reminds us that the CBC has a unique responsibility to provide "a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning" (p13). The news, he insists, must serve as "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism" (p8). He further points out that for PSBs to perform effectively, they must have "full access to the day's intelligence" (p8).

J.A. Hart (1963) suggested that Canadian newspapers were more apt than US newspapers to devote space to the other. Hart's (1966) comparative newsflow study confirmed that an incongruity exists between Canadian coverage of the US and American coverage of Canada. His study also revealed that 49% of foreign news in

Canada was from the US, while less than 2% of foreign news in America was from Canada.

Influencing the reception of the international news by local audiences is the news worker. In his case study of CBC Newsworld, Hogarth (1992) argues that a theory of journalism as "cultural agency" is evidenced in the agency and structures of the news-workers' routines, thereby generating culture in a recursive sense. In their content analysis of US and Canadian television news from 2004 to 2006, Farnsworth, Soroka and Young (2010) revealed comparable trends in the quantity of international coverage of the Iraq War on both sides of the border. The authors suggest that in Canada, as elsewhere, an 'international two-step newsflow' exists. Their findings revealed that "a rise (or decline) in NBC's focus led to a subsequent rise (or decline) in the level of attention to events taking place in Iraq as reported by major Canadian networks." According to earlier research (Scanlon 1991) into Canadian media dependence on the US, he argues, "International news still reaches Canadians mainly through foreign sources" and that "When TV reporters are in the field they share coverage with others. As such the CBC would use its sharing agreement to work with NBC, BBC and Visnews. The result is all foreign news reflects a shared viewpoint." The promulgation of a shared viewpoint is not uniquely Canadian in its interests or values, and as a result, any "examination of how foreign news reaches Canadians is a study of cultural imperialism" (ibid).

The Robinson and Sparkes (1976) study of international news in the Canadian and American press similarly revealed a propensity for Canadian broadcasters to consider international news to be American news. In a more recent comparative analysis between the Canadian newspaper *The Globe and Mail* and *The New York Times* based on stories relating to the genocide in the Sudan, Kim (2002) concludes that the American media still hold significant influence over their Canadian counterparts. In Ireland, American cultural primacy present since the turn of the century (Stead 1902) is today facilitated in part by the news media.

Americanizing trends in the media of Canada and Ireland indicate the presence of cultural neo-imperialism originating from the US. However, these dynamics are also demonstrative of a periphery nation's interest in the foreign affairs of the world's last superpower. From 1980 – 1985, Canadian Robert A. Hackett undertook an extensive international content analysis of Canadian national television. In his comparison of the CBC's and CTV's national English-language newscasts, he concluded that the geographic distribution of foreign news is highly concentrated, focusing on the West and regions of violence involving Western interests and that the differences in coverage between the networks were negligible.

In Canada, the conspicuous lack of extensive scholarly literature on contemporary newsflow dynamics in public service broadcasting culture is contrasted by a prodigious wealth of private and publicly commissioned studies. New government reports, commissions, inquiries and forums regularly add to this body of knowledge. Statistics released in 2006 for 2005 by Statistics Canada clearly show an audience preference for news products produced by Canadians for Canadians (Statistics Canada 2006). Nevertheless, the scholarly literature has seemingly been unable to keep pace with the rapidity of technological change in the industry. Reports of the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland (2002, 2005 and 2007) certainly fall into this category, as does the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) submission to the forum on broadcasting (2002) and/or the report on public service broadcasting before the EU Parliamentary Assembly Committee on Culture, Science and Education (2004), all of which call for a strengthening of public service broadcasting.

In Canada, the following key studies commissioned by the government are included to fill a noticeable void in the academic literature pertaining to the newsflow of the CBC.

*Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology (SCIST)*

In 2003, the Canadian Parliamentary Committee recommended that all telecommunication and broadcast distribution regulation be eliminated, arguing that there was no reason that PSBs should be treated differently from commercial broadcasters.

The committee believes that full liberalization of foreign ownership rules is the best way to realize the objectives of the Broadcasting Act (Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology 2003).

This extreme view, if anything, illustrates the fullness of the discourse within Government-generated explorations of the Canadian broadcasting system.

*Standing Committee on Transportation and Communications (SSCTC)*

Mandated by the Canadian Senate, the standing committee was tasked in 2002 with investigating the Canadian broadcasting system with regard to the “media’s role, rights, and responsibilities in Canadian society” (SSCTC 2006 pii). Recently, Schultz (2005) prepared a history of the CRTC’s approach to the treatment of newsgathering organisations for submission to the standing committee. He concluded that the CRTC, as regulator of the Canadian Broadcast system, had “largely set aside its concerns about news and information focusing instead on cultural issues” such as the policing of Canadian content in dramatic productions (Schultz 2005). This view of culture that Shultz exposes fails to see that culture is what we are living, not just what we lived. It fails to understand that the news sees culture as it happens.

In protection of the fragmented Canadian broadcasting system and lost cultural sovereignty, President and CEO of the private Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) Glenn O’Farrell argued before the SSCTC in 2005 that market fragmentation and erosion of borders “are systemic aspects of the Canadian broadcasting landscape” (O’Farrell 2005 p9). Ironically, his sentiments are reminiscent of the founders’ rationale in creating the CBC to maintain Canadian cultural sovereignty.

In its Final Report on the Canadian News Media, the SSCTC (Schultz 2005) recommended that Section 3(d) of the Broadcasting Act be amended to give “a clear priority to news and information programming” (p35). The report went even further, recommending that Section 5(2) of the Broadcasting Act (1991) dealing with the powers of the CRTC clearly state “that the Canadian broadcasting system give a high priority to news and information programming” (ibid.). The Committee concluded that the CBC should complement, not compete with, private broadcasters:

It is vital to be realistic about budget constraints and to focus effort on the most important elements of the CBC mandate, such as covering the news (SSCTC 2006 p42).

### *The Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage*

In 2001, the Standing Committee of the Ministry of Heritage (2003), responsible for the CBC, began gathering data for its first report entitled “Our Cultural Sovereignty – The Second Century of Canadian Broadcasting.” Recommending key policy changes, the study provided recommendations for the CBC mandate and the future role of the Crown Corporation. These recommendations included increasing the overall funding of the CBC news divisions. Additionally, the Committee expressed concerns about the impact of media concentration and foreign cross-ownership on democracy, editorial independence and diversity in the newsflow. The Committee recommended that no changes be made to the existing Canadian content or ownership laws.

During the 39<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Canada, the Committee (2006) presented its final report, asserting that regulatory safeguards pertaining to content and ownership are in place to promulgate the development of a healthy media industry in Canada. With special reference to the CBC, the Committee recommended that the CBC provide programming that informs and enlightens and that is distinctively and almost totally Canadian. The Ministry in its committee report recommended to Parliament that

The CBC should be a high-quality clear and intelligent alternative to commercial television in the areas of: news and current affairs journalism....CBC television should phase out its commercial advertising activities (DCH 2006).

## The Commercialization of International News Values

The PSBs of Ireland and Canada are not designed to compete commercially on the same profit-and-loss basis as privately owned systems. They were designed instead to guarantee universal access (Broadcasting Act 1991) through competitively engaging and maintaining audience share. Today, “the CBC is increasingly redefined by a commercial standard – Canadian news and programs are generally able to cover their costs of production through the sale of advertising in those programs” (CBC 2002b p22). This acknowledgement by the CBC sees the news in fiscal, not cultural terms, affirming the assertion of Fiske (2006 p281) that news is a commodity. In Ireland, at RTÉ the broadcaster finds itself in a different situation wherein the broadcaster is increasingly seen as a state-supported commercial broadcaster more than as a traditional public service one. As such, all of its products are commensurately commercial.

Since the inception, newsflow research scholars have sought to identify the international news values, rationales and organisational norms governing news selection, production, distribution and influence. However, since the characteristics of global newsflow are fluid, systematic global trends remain elusive.

Certainly, the debate pertaining to the influence of neo-imperialism has infused investigations into the news determinants undertaken in the “International Newsworthiness Model” developed by Shoemaker et al. (1991 pp781 – 795). This work stressed that good international news is less newsworthy than bad news and identified an editorial bias in favour of foreign news selection that deviates from and/or is responsive to US national security and/or business interests. This US-centric criterion for news selection is also identified as influencing gatekeepers in their

decisions regarding the use of international wire stories (Chang 1998). It is reasonable that American networks would favour a news agenda relevant to US interests. However, in Canada and Ireland, it is questionable why the CBC and RTÉ, as the national broadcasters of Ireland and Canada, would favour a similar agenda.

### *Compassion Fatigue and Declining Demand*

Research undertaken by Moisy (1996) confirmed that

It is one of the paradoxes of our Information Age that in a time of unprecedented abundance of news about the world around them that Americans want it less (p13).

Today, the need for PSBs to broadcast international news that exceeds fatigued viewers' diminished expectations is critical in alleviating the crisis of confidence faced by the news. Compassion fatigue in fragmented audiences "is a result of inaction and itself causes inaction" (Moeller 1999 p52), therein undermining the influence of international news. Moeller contends, "Most Americans fundamentally doubt the relevance of international events to their own lives" (p310). Moreover, Moeller believes strongly that sensationalist entertainment, through formulaic journalism, is not the solution to compassion fatigue in public service broadcasting.

The solution is to invest in the coverage of international affairs and to give talented reporters, camera people, editors and producers the freedom to define their own stories (Moeller 1999 p53).

Chomsky (2001) argues that the American media's neglect of world affairs and the Middle East in part contributed to the attack on New York in 2001, as the media had failed to inform the American people of the severity of the radicalizing disenfranchisement of parts of the more extremist Muslim world. Indeed, a similar argument could be made for the financial crisis of free markets in 2007. Moisy (1996) confirms the declines in international coverage over a twenty-five-year analysis.



Larson (1982), in his content analysis of more than one thousand television news stories broadcast on America's three major networks from 1972 to 1981, revealed a 40% decline in content that deals with international news (Larson 1982). Despite this, Canadian studies show an increasing demand for credible international news (Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage 2003). However, these demands are necessarily subject to a plethora of economic, political, societal, technological and other third-party forces, which are constantly in flux and reside beyond the ability of PSBs to control.

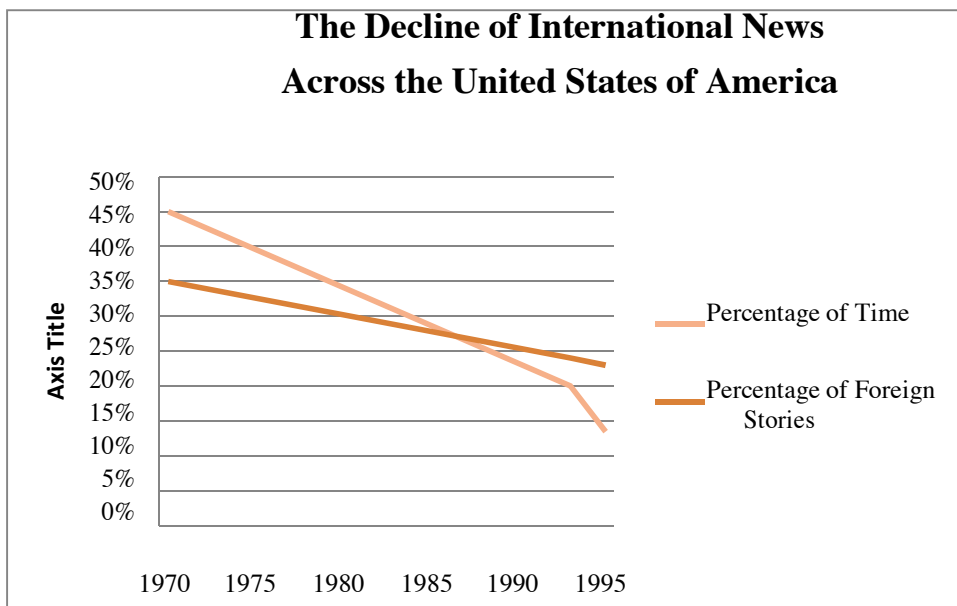


Fig. 1 ~ The decline of US televised international news (Moisy 1996).

### *Tabloidization and Infotainment*

Tabloidization of the news seemingly reveals a gap between what is in the public interest and what interests the public. Moreover, maintaining editorial autonomy from the state while still providing credible international news is a perpetual challenge for PSBs. Importantly, both the CBC and RTÉ are expected to provide universal access to the political processes conveyed by the news in a manner that is truthful, relevant and engaging. However, in doing so, the international news of PSBs must also appeal to the widest possible national demographics consisting of audiences influenced by emotion as much as by reason (Hirschman and Thompson 1997).

The literature indicates a rise in infotainment and a move away from 'hard' news and information content in favour of an increasing emphasis on entertainment and sports related content and/or a certain tabloidization or dumbing-down in news and current affairs issues (Preston and Horgan 2006 p32).

Today, infotainment, as defined by Demers (2005), is inextricably linked with the news values inherent in the operations of PSBs. Infotainment secures and maintains fatigued audiences because it allows viewers to vicariously experience the victories and tragedies of others through the induced suspension of disbelief that the television medium provides. Arguably, this dynamic also offers an engaging point of access for uninformed audiences and can be a useful tool in aiding them to better identify with an ever-changing world. In that entertaining acceptance, the real ability to more deeply comprehend the complexity of world events is voluntarily suppressed.

Shorenstein Fellow William Fox (1997) argues that the CBC has failed its charter and mandate in succumbing to commercial pressures from the private sector to rebroadcast commercial content. Moreover, Fox asserts that public service broadcasting is of "little value if the state expects it to operate to the profit seeking dictates of the marketplace" (1997 p13). For example, Fox points to the recent French/English constitutional crisis in Canada, as epitomized by the failed Meech

Lake Constitutional Accord, in demonstrating that coverage of prolonged political debates does not lend itself to the mass-appeal-based, profit-driven, infotainment news values of the commercial broadcasters.

## Consolidation, Convergence, Conglomeration

Convergence, consolidation and conglomeration are key features of the globalized media landscape (Collins 2002). A key trend in the architecture of international newsflow has been the flurry of consolidating mega-mergers amongst increasingly giant largely American media corporations (McChesney 1998, Bagdikian 2001, Corcoran 1990). Rod Carveth (1992) brings additional scope and scale, finding that “Cultural products now make up the second largest United States export behind aircraft” (p707). This condition endures as a result of market liberalization, privatisation and deregulation inherent in a Westphalian world in terminal decline (Held 2004). Meanwhile, Schiller (1991) argues that the unprecedented spates of mass-media corporate mergers that we are witnessing are indicative of a neo-imperialist trend.

Other researchers such as Chalaby (2006) argue that we are witnessing the free-market-based, capitalist-inspired cultural successes of corporate America. These successes, Chalaby contends, result from America’s ability to better adapt to decentralized global media environments and local market conditions. By this view, weaker national news systems have rightly become subordinate to the winning competitive power and the influence of the dominant newsflow providers. Chalaby concludes that American media successes in securing foreign markets and audiences are demonstrative of neither structural nor cultural “neo- imperialism, but of the flexibility of American media interests to integrate local audience expectations and to conform the content accordingly” (Chalaby 2006 pp33 – 51).

However, a protracted war in Iraq and the recent and nearly total collapse of the American investment-banking sector evoke the necessity of re-evaluating the

successes to which Chalaby refers. Thussu (2002) concludes that an “alternative to corporatized global communication is a moral imperative and a necessary democratic requirement” (p252). Arguably, the international news of public service broadcasting represents just such an alternative.

According to Bagdikian (1983, 1992 and 2004), fifty corporations controlled the majority of all US news media in the 1980s, and by 1992, less than two dozen of these companies owned and operated 90% of the industry. Bagdikian (2004) reported that “six mega-corporations emerged to dominate the global media landscape and now control the majority stakes across the media industry in the United States” (p14). In addition to the Bertelsmann Group of Germany, they included Disney, Murdoch’s News Corporation, Time Warner, Viacom and General Electric.

The traditional concern is that concentration of media ownership plays a major role in shaping the content and direction of international newsflow as well as the role that news distribution plays in society (Golding and Murdock 1997). Rampal (2002) argues that placing contemporary control over the international newsflow in the hands of so few results in a “stereotypical portrayal of developing countries” (p111).

Emphasizing the global reach and influence of media conglomerates, Corcoran (2004) adds that

the new global conglomerates have enormous borrowing power and the ability to minimize financial risk by managing their media products across world markets both inside and outside their geo linguistic areas of influence (p199).

In 2010, these transnational trends in convergence and consolidation in the public sphere continued unabated, as larger media giants and fewer players occupied the global broadcasting landscape. Evidence for the continued trend is revealed by the bankruptcy of Bertelsmann and Viacom, the buyout of Turner Broadcasting and the near-insolvency of Reuters leading to its acquisition by the Canadian communications giant Thomson Media Inc., as well as Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation’s plan to

create a new global multi-media news service composed of its network of more than 30 TV and cable networks, including Sky News, Fox News and Star TV.

The Global Media Map developed by Bagdikian provides a detailed account of the mega-mergers up to the year 2004. The graph that follows highlights the unprecedented decline in the number of corporations generating the international newsflow.

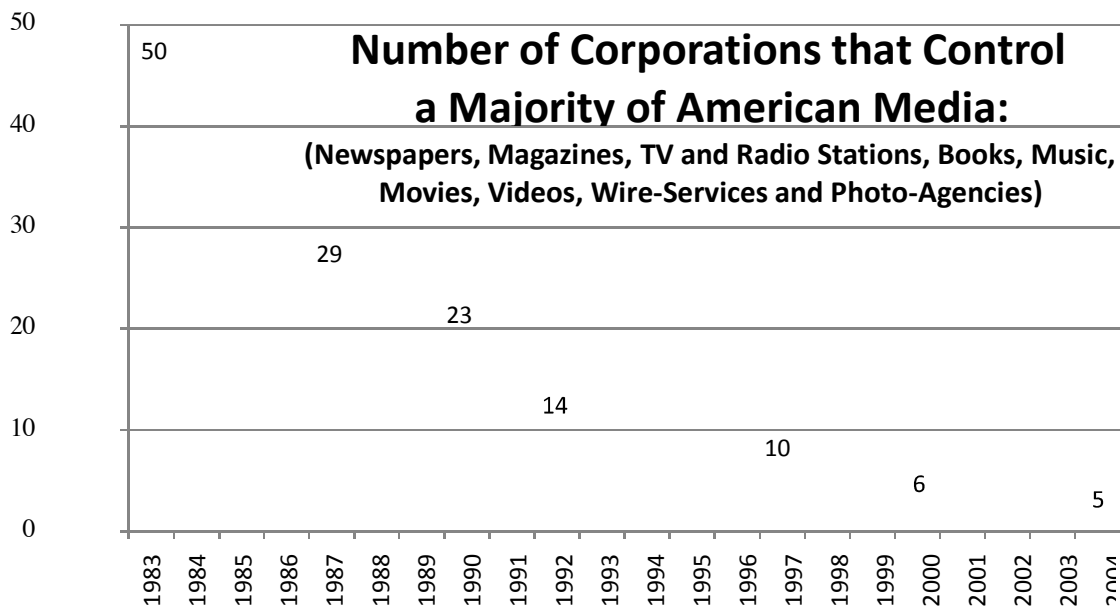


Fig. 2 ~ The corporations controlling the newsflow (Bagdikian 2004).

## Dominating the International Agenda

Dividing the world between themselves into exclusive territories, Western communication frameworks of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were characterized by the wire service monopolies. Moisy (1996) reminds us of their contemporary legacy.

The only news organizations approaching a global dimension are still the largest of the traditional international news agencies. Little known to the public, they have been (and remain) the main purveyors of foreign news to the world (p13).

Around-the-clock global news broadcasters have emerged only recently amidst a climate of global decentralization and deregulation, aerospace privatisation, decreasing development and deployment costs and the advent of satellites. By 1990, Reuters, AP and the AFP had “completed their respective global networks of satellite distribution” (Moisy 1996 p6), thereby entrenching their control over the international newsflow. Despite the wealth of alternative news sources now available, Patterson observes that

The most conservative (with a small c) old media sources [news agencies] remain the privileged tellers of most of the stories about the world (Paterson 2006a).

With notable exceptions, such as the work of Bagdikian (1983, 2004), Boyd-Barrett (1980), Corcoran (2004), Paterson (2003, 2006), Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998, 2004), Rantanen (2005) and Thussu (2006), in-depth scholarship pertaining directly to the role and influence of the international news agencies is scarce. Paterson (2003) notes that the typical television news-agency story remains focused on the United States or Europe, on politics or conflict and on men. This is a source of concern for Papathanassopoulos (1999), because even the EuroNews Exchange “depends on the agencies for a high percentage of their material.” In a more recent analysis, Paterson (2006) concludes that between 2001 and 2006, there was no decrease in news-agency dependency across Europe.

Enabled by worldwide networks of proprietary telecommunication systems and bureaus, the three global newswires collectively produce and distribute between four and five hundred news items daily (Moisy 1996). Given that an average news-spot is no more than three minutes, by an extrapolation of Moisy’s data, the wholesalers produce a constant feed of between twenty and twenty-five hours of original content every day.

## The Non-aligned News Agencies

Boyd-Barrett and Thussu (1992) found that most alternative global news agencies exist at the fiscal largesse of western aid agencies, NGOs and other UN organisations. These struggling wire services include many of the so-called ‘non-aligned agencies’ dating from the NWICO period, including the South East African News Agency Development (SEANAD), the West African News Agency Development (WANAD) and the Pan African News Agency (PANA). Ultimately, these non-aligned agencies have become more akin to lobbying groups for



southern geo-political interests than genuine journalistic services (Thussu 2004). Despite their fiscal dependency on the west, these global news wholesalers of the developing world are

shown to be more resistant to journalistic westernization, as their coverage is markedly different from that of the Western wire services (Meyer 1989 p248).

Editorially resistant to cultural imperialism, they are, however, commercially susceptible to globally corporate forces of westernization. Boyd-Barrett (2000) concludes that these agencies still contribute as much to globalization as do the 'Big Three' but are nonetheless faced with basic challenges to their fiscal viability.

#### *The Inter Press Service (IPS)*

In 1964, Roberto Savio, an Argentinean student, and financier Pablo Piacentini founded the non-profit Inter Press Service (IPS) news agency. Anthony Giffard (1983, 1992 and 1998) regards IPS as being the “world’s leading provider of information about global issues and the largest purveyor of news about the developing nations” (1998 p1). Today, IPS employs four hundred journalists reaching out to audiences of over 200 million in thirteen languages (IPS 2007). Noteworthy is that the AP operates with approximately the same number of journalists.

#### *The Canadian Press (CP)*

For ninety years, the CP has been Canada’s national and non-profit news agency. As the exclusive distributor of the AP news products in Canada, the newly privatized CP delivers 24-hour news to over five hundred radio and TV stations across Canada. At the world desk of the CP, gatekeeping “editors sift through the newsflow from the AP, looking for stories of particular interest to Canadians” (CP 2007). To cover the newsflow emanating from over 6.7 billion people (US Census Bureau 2009), the CP employs two hundred and fifty journalists reporting primarily in the medium of print. This includes one correspondent in Washington and another in London (CP 2007). Supplementing occasional newsgathering, the CP also maintains

a network of freelance contributors, including this researcher. “To foster the diversity of news voices in Canada is to have an economically viable and well-functioning Canadian wire service” (SSCTC 2006).

Arguably, despite its very Canadian name, without a contingent of its own foreign correspondents, the CP does not function internationally as a news service beyond its espoused role as gatekeeper of the AP newsflow into Canada. As such, it is questionable whether the CP can reasonably be considered a well-functioning Canadian wire service.

In Ireland, the void created by the absence of a national wire service for television news is partially filled by the presence of the print-based Irish News Service (INN). As a result, this vacant space is increasingly filled by news products of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU).

#### *The European Broadcasting Union (EBU)*

In 1950, a consortium of Western European PSBs founded the EBU. After the Cold War ended, the EBU merged with the East European International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT) in 1993. Managed out of Geneva, the amalgamated EBU is the world’s largest association of PSBs. It has seventy-four active members in fifty-five countries and forty-three associate members from twenty-five more. Also the world’s largest television contribution network, the EBU negotiates broadcasting rights for pooled coverage amongst a consortium of nineteen of its members via its Eurovision service and its news exchange operations (EBU [online]).

The *EuroNews Exchange* was launched by eleven PSBs from members of the EU on January 1, 1993. The service trades approximately thirty thousand news items annually across fifty digital channels on five different satellites (including Eutelsat). The service engages seventy traditional satellite gateways to reach audiences of over 350 million. Facilitating the satellite-based file delivery of the EBU is the subscriber-

based Eurovision Xtranet. This system uses standard Internet protocols to transfer content across the consortium's high-bandwidth network.

Eurovision Network participants contribute items to the EuroNews Exchange on a reciprocal basis. These EuroNews products are regularly seen on RTÉ, in return for which RTÉ submits daily bulletins for use by other EuroNews members.

EuroNews requires that these bulletins cover nationally newsworthy events over which RTÉ retains the copyright (EuroNews 2009). Set up to exchange local stories between nations, the international newsflow of the EBU is also uniquely domestic in its ability to make the local global.

According to RTÉ, membership in the EBU has had only advantages: "As a small country, we have only had to pay a small fee, and yet we have benefited hugely from its expertise" (Hamdy 2001). Summing up the RTÉ/EBU experience, RTÉ public affairs manager Jennifer Taaffe points out that the television news exchange enables

us to receive footage from a variety of international news events, which we may not have been able to cover otherwise due to lack of resources (Taaffe 2001 cited in Hamdy 2001).

## Satellite Broadcasting in the Public Interest

Space-based broadcasting has been with us since the first signal was relayed from Europe to the AT&T-owned Telstar satellite, which orbited over Canada in 1962. Before the satellites, international TV news was recorded on film or tape and had to be flown to the home desk of a PSB for broadcast. The resources required to make this happen were extraordinary. Rarely able to present a breaking story, the public service broadcasting news of the day was less timely but more analytical (Kotcheff and Margles 2005 p2). In response to the collapse of the time – space convergence (Giddens 1990) facilitated by the satellites, international television news values have changed. This shift began in 1972, when the Canadian firm Telesat Inc. launched Anik A1, the world's first domestic commercial telecommunications satellite

system. In 1978, using the Telesat platform, the CBC became the first PSB to use a satellite for its televised service. In turn, the international news in Canada began providing “less perspective and more episodic reporting or event coverage by Canadians for Canadians” (Kotcheff 2005).

Space-based broadcasting had been slow to develop, largely due to the high costs of research, development and deployment. However, by 2003, there were over one thousand digital television channels available across Europe (Norris et al. 2003). As of 2006, there were reportedly just over five hundred telecommunications satellites in orbit (SatNews 2007).

In Canada, the competition for news audiences and market share is fierce. According to the CRTC, revenues for cable companies reached \$6 billion in 2006, while the combined revenues for Direct-to-Home (DTH) satellite distribution and Multipoint Distribution System (MDS) companies came in at \$1.7 billion (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2006b). Today, the leading European satellite system for DTH is the Astra platform. Its signals are received by 99% of all cable and satellite-enabled households in Ireland. Owned by Eutelsat, second in dominance is the Sky Channel, which operates on the Hotbird platform. In 2003, Sky had 600,000 cable and MDS customers and was received in 300,000 out of every 1 million households across Ireland.

Foreshadowing much of today’s international newsflow debate, cultural imperialist theorist Sigler (1969) recognized the new transnational landscape in which the presence of satellites would force a re- conceptualization of the legal concepts of territorial sovereignty. “The technological revolution in communication does not respect the territorial boundaries recognized in international diplomatic processes” (Sigler 1969 p381).

Since as early as 1962, the UN has been at the forefront of pioneering space law as a new body of international jurisprudence. As a result, the galaxies of outer space belong equally to all mankind. This body of law is important because satellite-

based broadcasting has transcended terrestrial geography and therefore territorial jurisdiction. Central to this emergent body of law are core principles, the primary of which is the following:

States who use satellites for TV broadcasting should notify the states affected by the satellite and only establish the TV broadcasting through a satellite if the other states agree (UN 1962).

A precursor to the NWICO debates, the “Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education, and Greater Cultural Exchange” was passed by UNESCO in 1972. Forty years later, its rarely referenced articles are increasingly relevant (UNESCO 1972).

New satellite systems freed the wire services and emergent 24-hour news broadcasters from the terrestrial telecommunication monopolies of nations. Griffin (2002) argues that, since the 1980s, entrenched orbiting systems “have established global distribution networks for the programming and products of the entertainment media giants that sponsor them” (p1).

Today, multiple technologies exist for the global conveyance of the news. These include conventional over-the-air (OTA), cable distribution, Direct to Home (DTH) via satellite and Internet Protocol Television (IPTV). In the case of DTH, subscribers receive only digital signals, whereas cable subscribers can receive analogue or Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT) via Multiple Distribution Systems (MDS). For Corcoran (2002), the move away from DTT for the majority of Irish viewers who still want free-to-air television is positively alarming (p65). Certainly, the competitive dangers posed to conventional PSBs by the unregulated growth of DTH remain largely beyond the influence of PSBs or even nation states. This is not only because satellites transcend the porous territorial jurisdiction of the state, but also, as Bagdikian (1983, 1992 and 2004) points out, because their ownership and control remain the exclusive province of the commercial sector.

Private satellite systems now form the communicative backbone of public service broadcasting in Canada and Ireland. A primary task of RTÉ and the CBC is the maintenance of universal access to domestic audiences. Presently, subscribers in Ireland who do not renew their subscriptions to the Sky platform (which carries RTÉ) can keep their digital receivers, allowing them a plethora of free satellite broadcasts, including the broadcasts of RTÉ. In Ireland, the rollout of Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT) based on Digital Video Broadcasting (DVB) using satellite-enabled multiplex transmitters remains experimental and is slated for 2012 (Murphy, 2004). Meanwhile, free DTH already provides over three hundred television channels, of which more than one has an all- international news format. In Canada, over five hundred satellite-fed channels fragment the market. In such a multi-channel marketplace, all news products, private and public, compete for a finite audience share.

Launched in July of 1989 by CRTC licence, CBC Newsworld, now the CBC News Network, is the world's third-oldest 24-hour cable news service, following CNN in America and Sky-News in the UK. As a satellite, subscription-based, specialty news channel, Newsworld reaches millions beyond Canada's borders in the United States, Mexico and across Latin America. Originally, Newsworld was an American-only cable news outlet owned by the CBC and a private Canadian corporation. In 2000, Vivendi Universal bought a position in the network, which it resold in 2004 to new American majority owners. Because of a change in news values brought about by new American partner former US Vice President Al Gore and his political interests, the CBC ended the lucrative partnership on August 1, 2005 (DCH 2005). Once lauded for engaging the global sphere and securing new sources of revenue, the fifteen-year experiment in public service transnational broadcasting demonstrated that PSB-based international news services can profitably engage the global sphere. Nevertheless, in doing so, PSBs necessarily succumb to the market pressures of international commerce. This serves as a poignant warning for Ireland,

where the Broadcasting Act (2009) requires that RTÉ implement an international broadcasting service to serve the Irish diaspora.

In the push towards digital broadcasting systems, Banerjee and Seneviratne (2005) conclude that PSBs may still be able to operate their own low-cost niche news channels, but as the CBC Newsworld experiment warns,

They would also be competing in a multi-channel environment with commercial broadcasters who have deeper pockets to promote their services in the wider community (Banerjee and Seneviratne 2005 p129).

The CBC Newsworld service no longer reaches broadly into the global sphere but remains the most widely distributed English-language specialty news service in Canada, with nearly 10 million subscribers (SatNews 2007). The goal of CBC Newsworld is to reach all Canadian subscribers in both official languages, whether served by cable, by DTH services via the ExpressVu and/or Star Choice platforms or through regional multi-point distribution services (MDS; CBC 2006).

With PSBs of Ireland and Canada leaving analogue transmission behind, the economic health of the aerospace-based telecommunication industry and the basic ability of PSBs to broadcast are irrevocably linked. Certainly, the terrestrially based analogue transmission systems owned in Canada and Ireland by the state have been rendered largely obsolete.

In 1999, the \$5,000 per segment that it cost to buy satellite time reportedly reduced the number of journalists that public broadcasters could afford to send to cover an international story (Cook 1999). By 2000, Canada's dominant telecommunication provider, TELESAT Inc., had lost its monopoly, and the deregulated Canadian broadcasting system had become intensely competitive as the market opened to foreign direct investment. This competitive antagonism in broadcasting has reduced costs to the point that today, satellite time is widely available to any consumer. The rationale that it is too expensive for a PSB to

independently produce or even broadcast its own international news products cannot be credible in light of the proliferation of low-cost communicative technology.

Emergent technologies continue to markedly impact international newsgathering and reportage. By way of example, the introduction of satellite phones was instrumental in the successes of CNN during the 1991 invasion of Iraq (Burroughs 1999). Affordably enabling international newsgathering, satellite phones are now available at a fraction of their original cost. Airtime can now cost less than a dollar a minute. Meanwhile, the Luxembourg-based Skype.com service offers free digital video telephony online to anyone with an Internet connection. In 2005, Skype beta tested the world's first Internet TV station streaming in broadcast-quality resolution (CBC 2007c). Early to experiment with the software was the now-cancelled CBC programme "On the Map." Programme producer Christian Weller (Weller 2007) said the quality was "as good as satellite" when used over dedicated Internet channels. In September of 2009, the developers of Skype announced a deal with the American CNN and launched *Joust* as the first Internet-based television station.

The CBC reports that its Distribution Relay Optimization Project (DROP), which replaced proprietary terrestrial networks with satellite dependency, generated \$1 million in revenue by allocating old bandwidth to new private interests (CBC 2005a). However, the same report makes no mention of the costs incurred by engaging with the commercial telecommunications providers. The CBC and RTÉ are required to broadcast and traditionally have used terrestrial technologies to ensure universal access. However, strictly speaking, PSBs no longer broadcast solely in this traditional sense; they also upload data to their private aerospace associates, who then re-broadcast it on their behalf. As a result, in the absence of independent terrestrial systems or other proprietary space-based systems, both RTÉ and the CBC become vulnerable to the commercial imperatives of the aerospace telecommunication providers, for whom a PSB is just one among many customers.



In April of 2003, RTÉ's vulnerability from exposure to the commercial priorities of satellite-enabled broadcasting was revealed when it faced the choice of staying on the Rupert Murdoch-owned Sky platform or joining the BBC on the free Astra-2D satellite system. Joining the BBC, with its unencrypted digital channels and 55 million-person audience, would have precluded RTÉ from negotiating separate Irish broadcasting rights to international programming (MacCarthaigh 2003).

In 2004, the Irish presidency of the EU sought to amend the BWFD of 1989 aiming to regulate the activities of the transnational and increasingly supranational broadcasters. The concern was that foreign broadcasters disregard domestic broadcasting rules, standards of quality and fair advertising practices. However, the bold initiative met with only limited success. Concern remains about the inability of the BWFD to enforce obligations derived from the jurisdiction of the state on media based outside the state. Seeking a transnational regulatory authority, Ireland in its submission to the EU held that the nation "is strongly of the view that the matter of jurisdiction is a fundamental issue that needs to be addressed in the review of the Directive" (Department of Communications, Energy and Natural Resources 2004).

Today, the majority of Canada's national and regional television services, including the CBC and the CTVGlobe Media Inc.-owned Canadian Television Network (CTV), are carried via the Anik satellite systems, which are also owned by CTVGlobe Media Inc. Bell ExpressVu and Star Choice are the only licensed DTH service providers. A clear indicator of the degree of competition for news audiences brought about by the use of satellites is the Canadian Bell ExpressVu platform, which offers over three hundred and seventy channels to over 1.86 million subscribers (Park and McDowell 2005).

While the relationships between public service broadcasting and these aerospace entities is subscriber-based, consideration of a new de facto role in facilitating the public service remit of the CBC and RTÉ and of public service broadcasting in general remains largely undefined. Scholarly analysis of this

relationship between the commercial aerospace transmitters of the news and PSBs is, if extant, scarce. Contributing to this deficit is the rapidity of technological innovation in communications, which arguably can transcend the ability of critical analysis in communication studies to keep pace. However, as Horgan (2001) reminds us,

Control over the gateways, relay mechanisms through which these (digital) channels are distributed to the Irish population is already a matter of considerable concern, and political questions raised by these developments will become even more pressing in the years ahead (p188).

Recent developments in alternative low-cost micro-satellite systems present new and unexplored opportunities for PSBs and their independence (Ganley and Wegner 2002). Such crucial innovations, including those pertaining to new digital compression formats and increased network speeds, have found little expression in the discourse of PSBs.

## Crisis-News and the Elite Foreign Correspondent

Critical to the credible gathering of international news are foreign correspondents. They bring both familiarity and credibility to public service broadcasting in their investigative ability to tell both sides of a story directly from its source.

Internationally renowned photojournalist Kevin Carter won the Pulitzer Prize for Feature Photography on May 23, 1994, for his photo of a toddler dying of starvation and being stalked by a vulture taken during the Sudanese famine. The photograph ran in *The New York Times* on March 26, 1993, and the ethical dilemma it evokes has captured the attention of many who have seen it since. Was it his function as a journalist to capture the moment on film, or was it his moral job to rescue the child? He chose the former, and the child was left to an unknown but predictable fate. Three months after taking home his Pulitzer, a deeply troubled Kevin Carter (1960 – 1994) took his own life.

I am haunted by the vivid memories of killings and corpses and anger and pain of starving or wounded children, [and] of trigger-happy madmen (Carter 1994 cited in Scott McLeod 1994).

In the face of geo-political failures, the political policy elite have blamed the media and foreign correspondents in particular for those failures. Former British Foreign Secretary D. Hurd epitomized this sentiment, criticizing foreign correspondents who were advocating military intervention in their reportage from Bosnia. Sec. Hurd labelled them as the founding members of the “something must be done school” (Gilboa 2000 p10). During the Vietnam War, the concept of the “Vietnam Syndrome” encapsulated the argument that the correspondents of the humanist school contributed to the American defeat (Hallin 1989, P.M. Taylor 1997, Carruthers 2000). To avoid this criticism, all that any broadcaster had to do was to have few, if any, foreign correspondents.

With the apparent end of the Cold War (1947 – 1991), international news volumes declined as foreign correspondents were reportedly left without a story (Arnett 1998, Norris 1995, 1997). In a ten-year analysis of international news on America’s three major networks, Weaver, Porter and Evans (1984) demonstrated that between 1972 and 1981, the US networks focused 32% of their international coverage on the Middle East, 21% on Western Europe, 11% on Eastern Europe, 10% on Asia, 7% on Africa and 6% on Latin America (Weaver, Porter and Evans 1984).

The current practice of embedding biased correspondents within the story is not new (US Department of Defense 2003a and 2003b). Reportedly, the first contemporary mention of embedding was in a *Post-Dispatch* article recounting the experiences of journalists in Bosnia (Levins 1997).

Direct access by journalists to the Canadian Expeditionary Force Command (CEFCOM) and the UN-sanctioned North American Treaty Organization (NATO)-led invasion of Afghanistan is available to accredited and embedded correspondents only (Harnden 2002). Under Part III of the Canadian National Defence Act (R.S.

1985, c.N-5), the embedding contract with the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) requires that that embedded journalists are subject to all Military Codes of Service, discipline and all CEFCOM orders and policies. In Afghanistan, any contract violation by an embedded journalist can result in the termination of accreditations. Moreover, under Sc.36, the government may take legal action against any journalist who releases information exposing the state to liability (CAF 2007). With such restrictions upon journalists' independence, it is understandable that questions of journalistic credibility popularly arise concerning the conditions placed upon this type of international news output by RTÉ and/or the CBC.

*Time* magazine's London Bureau chief Jeff McAllister (2006) discusses several of his insights into the decline of the traditional unembedded foreign correspondent. In questioning why the networks turned inward, McAllister argues that “after the fall of the Soviet Union, the instinctive notion that survival depended upon knowing about foreign countries in a dangerous world faded,” adding that the networks were “all taken over by big conglomerates which started looking at their news division’s contribution to the bottom line” (McAllister 2006). McAllister concludes that the major news networks “essentially have no foreign correspondents anymore,” relying instead on packages produced by the wires, over which local reporters simply do voiceovers (ibid).

In a content analysis of 24,000 newspapers, wire services, news magazines and television stories with a foreign dateline, Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution (1996) combined these data sets with four hundred interviews with foreign correspondents. His research confirmed that as an industry norm, there are “more hot spots and fewer foreign correspondents” than ever before (Hess 1996 p61). In supporting the conclusion that foreign reporting has become “increasingly anecdotal” (ibid), the majority of the European correspondents he interviewed complained of a basic inability to independently access information and the sources of the news.

In a qualitative study undertaken by The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation of news directors in the US, researchers discovered that the majority of the interviewees believed that international coverage is too expensive and increasingly irrelevant to local audiences who demonstrate little desire for global news (Ebinger 2004). Wu and Hamilton (2004) suggest that this neglect of foreign news is likely to continue as the reductions are mirrored by a decline in the numbers of active foreign correspondents. Researching this trend for the Shorenstein Centre of Harvard University, Carroll (2006) of the *Christian Science Monitor* concludes that the number of foreign correspondents working abroad for US media decreased by over 25% between 2002 and 2006.

However, according to Wu and Hamilton (2004), past international newsflow studies have been overly focused on the role of foreign correspondents rather than on the role of the home desk in the selection of the news. Yet it is the home desks of PSBs that are in charge of securing the footage and determining the attention devoted to different regions of the world (Riegert 2004b p3).

For Maxwell, Hamilton and Jenner, the traditional elite image of the foreign correspondent is today “a yardstick that does not measure” (Hamilton and Jenner 2002 p23). Exploring a new role for the foreign correspondent, Hamilton and Jenner (2003) suggest that traditional stereotypical notions of the role of the foreign correspondent distract from the need to employ new, technologically driven forms of communication. Global connectivity enabled by cellular phones and the Internet is widely available, and the use of these technologies is no longer the exclusive province of the elite. The changes to the media landscape have had little effect on the popular perception of the elite status of the foreign correspondent (Sussman 2001).

While their numbers are lower than during the Cold War, foreign correspondents remain a valued source of real and perceived credibility for PSBs. Declines in the airtime allocated to them in broadcast schedules has raised the concern that the international news of PSBs is “progressively impoverished in

providing the public the wherewithal with which to judge foreign policy issues” (May 1998 p170). This is in no small part because the volume of news ebbs and flows based on the number of foreign correspondents available to report it (Ingram-Johnson 2005). Hamilton and Jenner (2003) also observed that, except during crises, post-Cold War journalism is increasingly impoverished by

Declines in the number of traditional correspondents based overseas and in the print space and broadcast time devoted to international news (p32).

On both sides of the geo-political divide, journalists of the Cold War were generally required to report in support of national objectives. As a result, many came to question whether they were journalists or propagandists. Thus, two theoretical schools of journalism arose. One saw journalistic humanism as a moral necessity requiring active intervention by journalists to change public opinions and policy (Dunning 2009). The other posited that the role of the foreign correspondent was to report as a non-participant observer (Knightley 1975). This ethical conundrum has been inherent in journalism since the time of early pioneer of human rights reporting Ms. Margaret Fuller (1810 – 1850), who is alleged to have written, “if you have knowledge: let others light their candles in it” (Fuller NP). Genre-pioneering war correspondent William Howard Russell (1831 – 1907) of the British Crimea expedition penned in his rallying rhetoric, “The ground flew beneath their horses’ feet; gathering speed at every stride, they dashed on towards that thin red line tipped with steel” (Russell 1877 p1).

Post-Cold War analysis showed significant declines in the numbers of active foreign correspondents abroad. Researchers Hamilton and Jenner (2003) regard the decline as less geo-political than associated with the high costs of modern newsgathering technologies and staffing, and they predict that the trend towards fewer and fewer foreign correspondents will persist. As communicative technology becomes more accessible, related costs decline. The opportunity this presents for digitally

enabled forms of inexpensive foreign correspondence for PSBs is yet to be fully realized.

## The International Bureaus and Parachute Journalism

A parachute journalist is a news personality dispatched abroad, usually to cover a prolonged and/or violent crisis. Critical of the practice, Hess (1996) concluded that international news was

too often reported by parachutists, to an increasingly ill-informed audience in America, where violent images mark fifty percent of television's foreign stories (p64).

Long-time foreign correspondent and Shorenstein fellow Jonathan Randal (2000) and Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) argue that while traditional foreign correspondents are today rarely utilized, the public need for their services has never been greater.

In Hun Shik Kim's (2002) survey of journalists, respondents conveyed that sufficient numbers of foreign bureaus and correspondents are critical determinants in assessing both the quality and quantity of international newsflow. Using locally hired staff in readiness to receive parachute journalists, as of 2006, the CBC operated satellite bureaus in Washington, D.C., London, Paris and Moscow. Africa was covered from the Ivory Coast. Bangkok and Beijing covered the Far East, while bureaus in Cairo, Amman, Dakar and Jerusalem covered the Middle East. The CBC also has bureaus in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro, respectively (CBC 2006). This newsgathering modus operandi is applauded from both a budgetary perspective and for its ability to access the source of the news. However, from a journalistic perspective, parachuting is also regularly criticised. Famed correspondent and Managing Editor of the Discovery Channel Ted Koppel is just one of its many critics.

I don't care how good you are, how experienced you are, if you've never been in a country before, and you are just parachuted in to cover a crisis, all you can do is skim the surface (Koppel 2006).

Early foreign correspondents of the CBC were usually anonymous freelance camera operators. Later, now-famous Canadian personalities such as Michael Maclear, Peter Reilly, Morley Safer and many others came to personify the ideal of



the CBC foreign correspondent as a public servant abroad. The Vietnam War saw a dramatic increase in the number of these correspondents. Of these, Joe Schlesinger, Michael Maclear, Henry Champ and Pierre Burton remain notable. Providing a Canadian perspective on international news, the CBC was the first Canadian network to have foreign correspondents in permanent overseas bureaus in the cities of London, Washington and Paris.

Competition arising from the new cultural geography of North America in the 1980s led the CBC to open more foreign bureaus in Hong Kong, Mexico City, New Delhi and Buenos Aires. However, by the 1990s, expansion had turned to retrenchment as the CBC began cutting bureaus, increasingly coming to depend upon the commercial wire services and, to a lesser degree, parachutists and freelancers from those faraway places [who] would tailor their reports, sometimes with only the sign-off to indicate they were reporting for the Canadian operation (Kotcheff and Margles 2005 p1).

Today in Ireland, as in 2000, RTÉ maintains three full-time foreign correspondents: one each in Brussels, London (since 1969) and Washington. In 2004, Paddy Smyth of *The Irish Times* newspaper interviewed RTÉ Senior Foreign Editor Margaret Ward. During the interview, Ward maintained that the international obligations of the news division were being met and that the RTÉ commitment is reflected in the increased “airtime that foreign news receives” (Ward 2004 p1 cited in Smyth).

Foreign news bureaus are not the most important thing; RTÉ is focused on developing the global competence of recognized RTÉ staff such as Richard Downes, Richard Crowley, and Charlie Bird (ibid).

Ireland’s 2002 Report on the ‘Forum on Broadcasting’ reaffirmed that the NCAD of RTÉ is “central to public trust.” The report argues that for RTÉ to maintain its mandate, it must broadcast a strong Irish perspective to compete with the increased penetration of the 24-hour all- news channels (BCI 2002).

The work of Tambini and Cowling (2003) and that of the other contributors to the Institute for Public Policy Research (ibid) reveals a lack of consensus on the way forward for public service broadcasting. However, Tambini and Cowling acknowledge that “The central challenge in public service communications remains its relationship with government and other centres of power in society” (p170).

In readiness for the following chapter, which sets forth the methodology of this study, and in closing this review of literature, it is important to remain mindful that

Technology-driven changes are reshaping international news flows by lowering the economic barriers of entry to publishing and broadcasting and encouraging the proliferation of non-traditional international news sources (Hamilton and Jenner 2003 p131).

## CHAPTER III

### Methodology

This chapter establishes the comparative methodology utilized in quantifying the research sample and data as specific units of analysis. The three variables were what constitutes an international report, the origin of the international news and the quantified contributions of the foreign correspondents. Finally, the chapter addresses the limitations discovered in the process.

Since all communication is coded meaning, the methods of decoding the meanings contained within the international newsflow are the focus of important research attention and inform this methodology. To date, scholarly attention has already been paid to subjective analyses of international newsflow determinants and dynamics of audience reception, most of which have tended to employ qualitative methodologies.

Appreciably, quantitative and comparative studies of international newsflow that also utilize the method of content analysis, such as this one, are uncommon. Nevertheless, quantitative content analysis remains the pre-eminent social scientific method for producing objective findings and systematic descriptions of newsflow research. This study differs from the Discourse Analysis of Potter (1996), wherein the content variables are fluid, the fixed 'Frame Analysis' of Snow et al. (1986) and conventional content analysis (Krippendorff 2004), associated with the word-based investigation of frequency referred to as "text mining" (Weber 1985).

Instead, this comparative case study of newsflow understands content analysis as it refers to the purely quantitative techniques of measurement employed in the "data mining" of the 'content'. Content, which is in this case the auidial and visual broadcast sample of RTÉ and the CBC. This sample datum is extrapolated upon further to facilitate the construction of the findings set forth in the next chapter. These

findings, once juxtaposed and compared, provide the necessary data sets for the reproducibility necessary for good scholarship. In the concluding chapter of this study, these findings also serve to support the qualitative recommendations of this research.

The foundations of quantitative methodologies for content analysis were laid out by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Harold Lasswell during the 1920s and into the 1930s. Expounding upon their work, Berelson (1952) further developed and codified the empirical methodologies of the emergent discipline. His work set the stage for this researcher's interpretation of content analysis and for future quantitative studies. A comprehensive introduction to contemporary content analysis can be found in the guiding research of Roberts (2001), which complements the staple textbook of Krippendorff (2004), "Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology," which explores the application of the approach in media studies.

Quantitative methodologies lend themselves to the study of the news in effectively separating the research from subjective interpretation. This study is quantitatively comparative, as it juxtaposes the quantity, duration and nation of origin of the televised international news broadcasts of RTÉ and the CBC over a measured term. This measure is undertaken so that valid inferences arising from the data collected from the CBC and RTÉ can be analysed, thus allowing for valid conclusions about the public service broadcast of international news in Ireland and Canada to be made.

One-on-one interviews lend themselves to the processes of qualitative research more than to those of quantitative explorations. This study set out to answer the quantitative research questions posed numerically. As such, the subjective contributions of interviewees lend nothing to the fixed numeric value sought by this research. For this reason, interviews with audiences and/or with professionals from the public broadcasters themselves were not conducted.

Krippendorff (2004) proposed that six fundamental questions should be asked by an effective quantitative analysis of content. What are the data sets to be analysed, and how are they defined? From what population are the data drawn? How is the content related to the data being measured? What are the boundaries of the analysis? Finally, what is the target of the inferences being made?

This study analyses and compares aspects of CBC and RTÉ daily news broadcasts. It first observes the populations from which they are drawn. The study further codifies the nature of the 'data' or news-reports so as to determine the quantity of international reports. Further, the design and term of this study measure the PSBs' use of foreign correspondents, the duration of the international reports, and the national origin of that international output. The findings arising from this content analysis were drawn solely from these quantitative considerations.

## Computer-based Assistance

At the time of acquiring the RTÉ sample, the RTÉ digital database required the recognition of an Irish Internet server provider (ISP) address to provide access. As a result, the sample was digitally captured while streaming from the archive located at [www.rte.ie/archive](http://www.rte.ie/archive) using the Dublin City University Internet server (ISP) as the host proxy-server. The remaining programmes were provided directly by the CBC News Division in Toronto. At this researcher's request, the Canadian sample was provided by the CBC News Division in Toronto and arrived on twenty-one DVDs for storage and analysis on a computer hard-drive running Windows Vista.

## The Research Sample and Data as Units of Analysis

The research design of this study follows replicable procedural steps of analysis in establishing the research logic as being both efficient and even-handed. This is

achieved by first systematically dividing the entire sample into fixed analytical units of data.

As mentioned earlier, these primary units of analysis consist of the regularly scheduled daily news programmes of RTÉ and the CBC. The total population of these units consists of an equal distribution of 56 news programmes acquired across the sample, representing a term that commenced on October 9 and ended on October 20. While the specific term was selected at random, the duration was chosen to mirror that of the sample employed during the influential newsflow study of Seberendy Mohammadi (1995). It was also selected to provide for secondary units of analysis consisting of a minimum of 1116 separate news reports, thereby providing a meaningful base for comparison.

In selecting the sample for analysis, a primary consideration was ensuring that at least three national news broadcasts were included from each broadcaster's daily schedule. Only the regularly scheduled Monday to Friday newscasts were collected for analysis because the weekend schedules used at RTÉ and CBC were completely different, thereby making a meaningful comparison impossible. At the CBC, the only coast-to-coast newscast broadcast on the weekend was the National. In lieu of the regular weekday morning and afternoon newscasts, the CBC instead broadcasts entertainment, sports and the occasional special report. During the weekend schedule at RTÉ, the News at Nine is not presented. Just as with the CBC, entertainment and sports dominated the RTÉ weekend schedule.

With the data having been collected from different time zones, i.e., Eastern Daylight Time (EDT) in Canada and Irish Summer Time (IST), coupled with operational reasons arising from relying on technicians in Toronto, the two sets of recordings are not identical. Importantly, however, the extensive data sets considered cover the same term, represent comparable daily news programming and are close enough in time to provide the basis for meaningful comparison.

**Research Sample I: Weekday Newscasts of RTÉ One.**

A. RTÉ One: One O'clock News, Monday – Friday, 13:00 - 13:25. B.

RTÉ One: Six One News, Monday – Friday, 18:00 - 19:00.

C. RTÉ One: The Nine News, Monday – Friday, 21:00 - 21:30.

**Research Sample II: Weekday Newscasts of CBC Television.**

A. CBC News: Morning, Monday – Friday, 06:00 – 07:00. B.

CBC News: Today, Monday – Friday, 12:00 – 13:00.

C. CBC News: National, Monday – Friday, 22:00 – 23:00.

## The Secondary Data as Analytical Units

In departing from traditional word-based content analysis, this study observes the content of the news reports or ‘text’ as being international or domestic. The secondary units of analysis are derived from the 46 hours, 58 minutes and 55 seconds of differentiated data excavated from the primary sample, which resulted in a time series of 1116 cases. The variables posed determine the quantity, duration, national origin and use of a foreign correspondent. These procedural variables are explored concurrently from within both the CBC and the RTÉ samples to provide the basis for meaningful comparison and legitimate findings.

The individual news reports, which make up the secondary units of the sample, were qualified because of the presence of a complete news report consisting of an observable beginning, middle and end. Further, qualified international reports were required to consist of a run time in excess of ten seconds. This allowed the analysis to differentiate between the actual international reports, breaking international headlines, updates and/or promotional segments. Only the real international reportage was considered, and as a result, international teasers performed by the local news readers were not included in the analysis. These actual reports were chronologically measured from the moment the report broke away from the home desk until the final shot. Reports found not to be international were subsequently defined as domestic and required no further analysis.

There is no longer a prohibition in Canada against the inclusion of commercial messages within the newscasts of the CBC. Therefore, the tabulation of the total run time of the CBC programmes as provided includes advertising and represents three full hours of scheduled news daily. In Ireland, there is a prohibition on commercials in the news. Consequently, the run time of the news broadcasts reflects the exclusion of commercial content placed at the top and at the bottom of newscasts. As such, the RTÉ data sets reflect the missing commercial content, which is not archived in the online database from which data for this study were acquired.



### *Variable (A) What Constitutes an International Report*

Studies of foreign newsflow have used a wide variety of definitions, both qualitatively and quantitatively defining international news. As such, it is significant to introduce a measure of 'domestication' when identifying an international report. However, this subjective distinction is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve quantitatively.

Larson (1984) defined international news as any mention of a foreign country in a US network news programme. He discovered that 43% of US news coverage in 1980 conformed to his definition. Nevertheless, Hess (1996) claimed that Larson's measure did not take the domestication of international news into consideration, noting that at "Half of American networks, international stories are about US citizens or US foreign policy" (p8) and that nearly half of foreign dateline stories also mention the United States. In an attempt to find middle ground in determining the necessary criterion to determine definitively that the news report being analysed is international, Wallis and Baran (1990) introduced a sliding scale to gauge how 'domestic' or how 'foreign' news items are (pp172 – 173).

For the purpose of this study, news reports are categorized as being international when the visual content of that broadcast footage is conveyed across an international border that is recognized by the United Nations. This definition excludes international studio-based telephone interviews with pundits overseas and/or interviews conducted at or from any of the studios of RTÉ or the CBC. This exclusion applies across the datum even if those studios of the public service broadcasting are actually located abroad. International reportage communicated using video-enabled digital telephony such as Skype in the broadcasting of the reports of foreign correspondents meets the definition of this study for international.

In attributing the nation of origin to the international output within the data, it is important to acknowledge that some nations such as North Korea/Democratic

People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) are closed to western journalism. In rating press freedom by world nations, the international non-government organisation 'Reporters without Borders' (RWB, 2008) scored the DPRK as 172<sup>nd</sup> out of 173 nations. In North Korea, all of the newsflow originates from the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), the official wire service and organ of the state. As such, the international reportage pertaining to the nuclear proliferation crisis caused by the DPRK originates from outside the country. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this study, these reports are considered to have originated from North Korea and are tabulated as such.

This study considers international news in a conventional sense as being international coverage of newsworthy events. While international in scope, this study did not consider the proclivity of the CBC and/or RTÉ to broadcast international sports and/or reports of a financial nature, such as regular global market and currency reports. Identifying these exclusions was achieved by viewing all the reports in their entirety. In addition, editorial reportage pertaining to international events that did not break away for actual content from the international location were all tabulated as domestic reports. Notably, local anchor lead-ins and follow-ups were not considered to constitute part of an international report because this content did not originate from international sources but instead from local studios. Nevertheless, international reportage with run times in excess of ten seconds where the visual content was entirely voiced over by a domestic anchor were all coded in their entirety.

#### *Variable (B) The Origin of the International News*

The primary geographical areas considered by this study are Ireland and Canada. The secondary geographical areas of consideration are those nations recognized by the UN as sovereign nation states. News reports dealing with an international conference of multiple nations were determined to originate from the host nation. Reportage pertaining to the international affairs of the UN was coded as being international in origin and ascribed to the US as the host nation for the UN

headquarters. Reportage pertaining to other multi-national organisations was also considered as originating from the nation of their headquarters. For example, for reportage pertaining to the political affairs of the European Union, Belgium was identified as the nation of origin. If information pertaining to one country dominated the time allocated for an international report, then that nation was selected as being the nation of origin. In the case of reportage pertaining to the invasion of Iraq, the newsflow of a given report might contain content from multiple nations. The invasion of Iraq was viewed as American led, and therefore the international story was coded as an American one. Only when the international reportage was clearly from a PSB-based foreign correspondent was Iraq coded as a separate nation of origin.

#### *Variable (C) Quantifying the Foreign Correspondents*

This variable analysed the proclivity of the PSBs at the core of this study to deploy foreign correspondents under total independent editorial control. The findings were achieved from the examination of the 382 international reports arising from the secondary units of analysis. Without question, broadcasters employ a diverse range of correspondents. These include full-time correspondents, stringers, freelancers and occasional contributors. This study tabulates any reporter seen on-screen exclusively engaged on behalf of and under the editorial control of a public broadcaster, regardless of the type of service contract, as a foreign correspondent. These reporters were further identified as they signed off their reports on behalf of the respective PSB.

As this chapter presents the results of this investigation, for purposes of clarity, it's noteworthy that the term of the study consisted of three newscasts daily from 09/10/2006 – 20/10/2006 and was selected to acquire a sufficiently random sampling of the broadcaster's international output for meaningful comparison.

For the purpose of this study, news reports are categorized as being international when the visual content of that broadcast footage was conveyed across an international border as recognized by the UN. Reportage pertaining directly to the

affairs of the US and/or of the UN headquarters was attributed to the US, and reports on the European Parliament and affairs of the EU were attributed to Belgium.

Within Ireland, there is a natural cultural propensity to consider both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland together and in parochial terms. While people from Northern Ireland are British citizens first, they are also entitled to Irish citizenship by birth (Belfast Agreement: 1998). Across Ireland, this local sense of Irish community transcends borders, and this sentiment was reflected across the output of RTÉ.

Due to this parochial propensity, this research quantified the newsflow from Northern Ireland as domestic. However, it is noteworthy that had this research considered reportage from Northern Ireland in an international context, the total international output of RTÉ would have been increased by 22.55% or twenty-two reports.

## Limitations

Consistent and lasting patterns in international newsflow research are difficult to sustain. The rapidity of technological innovation adds to the complexity of constructing lasting empirical representations of the multitude of influences inherent in global television markets both public and private. While this sample is representative of the international newsflow broadcast by RTÉ and the CBC, other programming services of the PSBs also provide access to the international newsflow. In Ireland, an open EuroNews feed is rebroadcast in the early hours of the morning. In Canada, CBC Newsworld, now the CBC News Network, still offers a subscription-only-based news service.

Barriers to newsflow research also lie in the variety of research methodologies employed and the accompanying difficulty in comparing data. Mowlana (1986) suggested that economic, political and cultural factors be integrated into the frameworks of future analyses. Of special relevance to this and future newsflow

studies are the five barriers to the coordination of newsflow studies that he identified. These are the motivations of sponsoring agents; the segmented types of data flow; the non-coordination of intra- and extra-media variables; the polarity of human and technological orientations and the lack of a clear and comprehensive definition of flow (Mowlana 1986).

In the process of acquiring data for this study, both the CBC and RTÉ provided extensive in-house studies about the future of their international news operations. Citing the competitive commercial broadcasting environment, the broadcasters conveyed this information with the understanding that all but the executive summaries would remain confidential. However, both documents can be requested via freedom of information legislation in Ireland and Canada. The RTÉ's (2006b) study is entitled "The Marconi Report," and in Canada, the CBC document is entitled "The 2003 News Survey."

Canada is an officially bilingual nation. Forty percent of the population speaks French as a first language. As of September 5, 2009, the Canadian population stood at 33,791,049 individuals (Statistics Canada 2009). The significant francophone demographic requires that a proportional amount of the CBC's resources allocated for international news is expended in serving the francophone market. Similarly, significant RTÉ resources are expended on serving the Irish-speaking demographic in Ireland. However, given the comparative nature of this study, it focused not on minority language broadcasting but on the comparable English language newsflow of the two broadcasters.

Both PSBs at the core of this study broadcast international news. Every news programme has a lead international story. The lead story is broadcast throughout the day's programming until bumped. As such, an amount of the daily reportage content is rebroadcast from earlier in the broadcast schedule. This study did not set out to measure the frequency of repetition of content across the sample or seek a ratio of original to rebroadcast content. Therefore, this study does not "double-count" its data

but does instead answer the research question posed pertaining to the volume of international news as broadcast in real time. However, a shot-by-shot analysis of the sample by future researchers could reveal the comparative frequency of rebroadcasting and repetition in the international newsflow. A frame-by-frame analysis rather than one coded upon a program-by-program basis, as is this research, might go one step further and identify whether the same commercial footage is being used by each broadcaster. A detailed investigation into the commercial sources of the international news will surely also yield significant findings. Indeed, such an exploration, while not part of this research, promises to discover new trends and maybe even reconsider others, such as those that Lee and Lee (1939) identified earlier in this dissertation. However, the degree to which this repetition seeks to ‘manufacture consent’ (Herman and Chomsky 1988, 1994) through the exercise of “soft power” (Nye 1990, 1992) in the public diplomacy (Lippmann 1922, Lasswell 1948a) of American foreign policy is a matter of consequence for future researchers to investigate.

At the necessary expense of pluralistic diversity, each rebroadcast of an international report becomes less timely and therefore less newsworthy as the day progresses (Galtung and Ruge 1965). Since the principal units of analysis resulted in 1059 reports as secondary units, the geo-political climate over the term from which the sample was obtained should be noted. Canadian reportage from Afghanistan on the CBC reflects Canada’s interest in the war zone where Canadian soldiers are serving, and reportage on the bilateral affairs of Ireland reflected the interest of the Irish people in the progress of those relations. Meanwhile, nuclear testing in North Korea dominated world attention. In the absence of a breaking global event or natural disaster, the data collected remain representative of an average broadcasting day in Canada on the CBC and in Ireland at RTÉ. Of note is that in Canada, October 13 during the term of this study was a statutory holiday. While the regularly scheduled

news was broadcast, it consisted solely of pre-packaged and domesticated international reports.

During the term of the RTÉ sample, a pivotal moment in Irish history took place. This turning of an age in relation to the devolution of power in Northern Ireland commenced with the ratification of the St. Andrews Agreement (Comhaontú Chill Rímhinn) between the British and Northern Governments inclusive of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and Sinn Féin. The historic agreement for the restoration of the Northern Ireland Assembly was a direct result of the multi-party talks held in St. Andrews, Scotland, from 11 – 13 October 2006, and consequent local coverage of this event persisted throughout the sample.

Given the special importance of this treaty to Ireland, a large quantity of coverage was dedicated to this important event. Much of this coverage was in the form of locally conducted interviews and studio-based analysis by anchors and pundits. However, much of this news coverage was also presented in an international context by RTÉ journalists in Scotland and England, respectively. As such, the international data remain representative of an average international news day at RTÉ and reflect an even-handed approach to the analysis.

While the methodology employed will allow other researchers to duplicate the findings contained in the next chapter, it is important to note that these same findings can only be replicated by analysing these specific data sets. This is because the international newsflow is fluid as it expands and contracts in volume dependent upon each day's globally newsworthy events. With a news agenda in constant flux, it is reasonable to consider the findings of this study to be drawn from a representative sample of an average news cycle at the CBC and RTÉ.

With a broad selection of relevant literature reviewed and the methodology established, the next chapter presents the findings arising from the analysis. In commencing this investigation and for the sake of brevity, the completed data sets constructed from this analysis are affixed as Appendix (A) for RTÉ and Appendix (B)

for the CBC. This chapter next turns to present the findings arising from the three daily news programmes of both the CBC and RTÉ and to the summaries of the same. Moving thereafter to explore the comparative findings, this work then addresses the implications of these juxtaposed results. Additionally, key trends are presented in tables and graphs at relevant points throughout the accompanying narrative.



## CHAPTER IV

### Findings

International news in the public service is in the public interest and of special interest to the public. As a result, this bilateral and comparative content analysis of international news output of both Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) and the CBC makes an important contribution to those shared interests. In that achievement, this chapter presents a tabular summary of the findings arising from the analysis of Raidió Teilifís Éireann RTÉ/Afternoon, RTÉ/Evening and The Nine O’Clock news programmes. The chapter then turns to do the same in presenting a summary of the findings arising from the analysis of the CBC news programmes CBC/Morning, CBC/Afternoon and CBC/Evening. The chapter then presents the juxtaposed and compared results of both RTÉ and the CBC in answer to each research question posed. Lastly, it presents a discussion of the findings in terms of the implications for news quality.

The findings in this chapter should be considered in the context of what was taking place in the world at the time the sample was acquired. During the term of the sample North Korea nuclear weapons testing explains why there is a preponderance of such reports in this dissertation. However, no matter when a sample is gathered, the finite schedules of the international news will always have a top story. The length of time that story stays on top depends upon the news values of those tasked with deciding when another breaking story is of greater news value.

This chapter directs the reader to the raw data sets from the analysis of each of the three daily news programmes of RTÉ and of the CBC as being located in Appendices A & B, respectively.

## Summary of the RTÉ Findings

The following tables present a summary of the results of the research questions posed of RTÉ; a detailed narrative follows.

Table 1 ~ RTÉ: Summary of All Results and Findings

RTÉ News	One o'clock	Six one	Nine o'clock	Total
Number of RTÉ Programmes	10	9	9	28
Quantity of All News Reports	85	143	111	339
Quantity of Domestic Reports	62	113	85	260
Quantity of International Reports	23	30	26	79
Duration of All Reportage	4hrs, 42 min , 2 sec	9 hrs, 43min , 4 sec	5hrs, 12min	19hrs, 37min , 55 sec
Duration of All Reportage	29min, 40sec	59min, 55sec	49min 48sec	2 hrs, 19min 23sec
All Foreign Correspondents	3	15	14	32
Average Duration of an International Report	1 min, 17 sec	2 min	1 min, 55 sec	1 min, 46 sec
Percentage of International Output by Quantity	27.06%	20.98%	23.42%	23.30%
Percentage of International Output by Duration	10.52%	10.28%	15.92%	11.83%

Table 2 ~ National Origin of the RTÉ Reportage by Ranking

1.	USA	24	30.4%	2.	Belgium	10	12.7%
3.	North Korea	10	12.7%	4.	England	7	8.9%
5.	Denmark	6	7.6%	6.	France	3	3.8%
7.	Russia	3	3.8%	8.	Iceland	2	2.5%
9.	Spain	2	2.5%	10.	Bangladesh	1	1.3%
11.	Cyprus	1	1.3%	12.	Finland	1	1.3%
13.	Germany	1	1.3%	14.	Greece	1	1.3%
15.	Iraq	1	1.3%	16.	Israel	1	1.3%
17.	Italy	1	1.3%	18.	Scotland	1	1.3%
19.	Sri Lanka	1	1.3%	20.	Thailand	1	1.3%
21.	Turkey	1	1.3%				

Total: 79 International Reports of 21 Nations

In the 79 international reports broadcast by RTÉ, 21 nations were represented. This reportage represented 10.94% of the 192 world nations as recognized by the UN (UNESCO 2010). Prevalent were the 24 reports originating from the US, representing 30.4% of the output. Secondly, there were 10 reports originating from Belgium pertaining to the affairs of the European Union, representing 12.7% of the overall output. Absent was any reportage from the southern hemisphere and/or from Canada. The figure below lends geographic scope to these findings.



Fig. 3 ~ RTÉ: National origin of the international output.

In undertaking an identical examination of the output at the CBC, this chapter turns to present the table of findings from each CBC news programme studied before presenting the final juxtaposed and compared results.

## The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Findings

The following table presents a summary of all the results and findings arising from the analysis imposed upon the CBC sample.

Table 3 ~ The CBC: Summary of All Results and Findings

CBC News	Morning	Today	National	Total
Quantity of All Programmes	9	10	9	28
Quantity of All Reports	284	291	202	777
Quantity of Domestic Reports	179	182	137	497
Quantity of International Reports	105	109	65	280
Duration of All Reportage	9 hrs	9 hrs, 21 min	9 hrs	27 hrs, 21 min
Duration of All International Reportage	2 hrs, 33 min, 37 sec	3 hrs, 5 min, 11 sec	2 hrs, 20 min, 44 sec	8 hrs, 32 sec
Foreign Correspondents	28	29	31	88
Average Duration of an International Report	1 min, 28 sec	1 min, 42 sec	2 min, 10 sec	1 min, 43 sec
Percentage of International Output by Quantity	36.97%	37.80%	32.18%	36.04%
Percentage of International Output by Duration	28.45%	33.19%	26.06%	29.28%

In quantifying the nation of origin of the international reportage, this analysis revealed that in the 280 international reports broadcast by the CBC, 34 UN member states were represented. The table below gives their ranking in the newsflow and as a percentage of the international output.

Table 4 ~ National Origin of the CBC Reportage by Ranking

1.	USA	98	35.1%	2.	Afghanistan	40	14.3%
3.	North Korea	34	12.2%	4.	England	25	9.0%
5.	Iraq	13	4.7%	6.	China	8	2.9%
7.	Israel	5	1.8%	8.	Sri Lanka	5	1.8%
9.	Italy	5	1.8%	10.	Malawi	4	1.4%
11.	Mexico	4	1.4%	12.	Russia	4	1.4%
13.	Sweden	4	1.4%	14.	France	3	1.1%
15.	Iran	3	1.1%	16.	Vatican	3	1.1%
17.	Bangladesh	2	0.7%	18.	Japan	2	0.7%
19.	Philippines	2	0.7%	20.	South Korea	2	0.7%
21.	Ireland	2	0.7%	22.	Argentina	1	0.4%
23.	Belgium	1	0.4%	24.	Brazil	1	0.4%
25.	Finland	1	0.4%	26.	Germany	1	0.4%
27.	Ghana	1	0.4%	28.	India	1	0.4%
29.	Indonesia	1	0.4%	30.	Palestine	1	0.4%
31.	Scotland	1	0.4%	32.	Spain	1	0.4%
33.	Sudan	1	0.4%	34.	Turkey	1	0.4%
Total: 280 International Reports of 34 Nations							

In total, 34 nations or 17.71% of world nations as defined by the UN are represented in the output of the CBC.

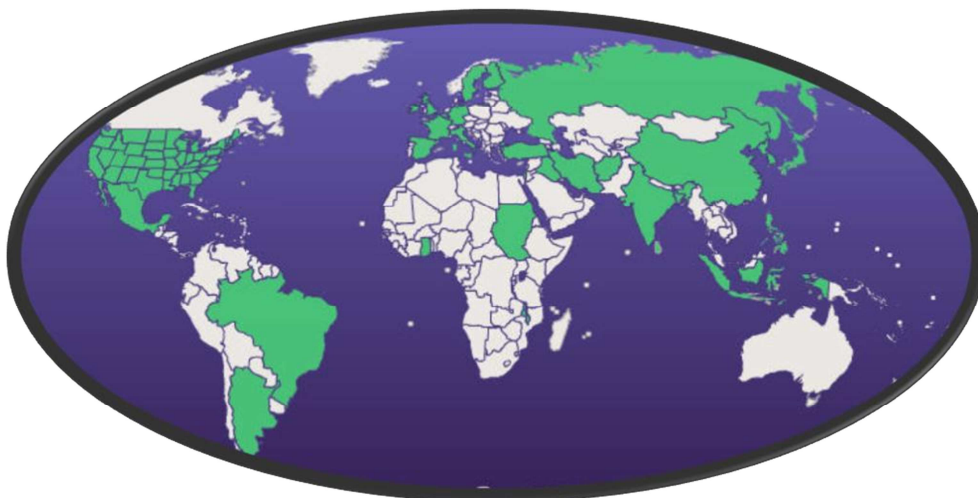


Fig. 4 ~ The CBC: National origin of the international output.

## RTÉ and the CBC: The Juxtaposed and Compared Results

The following section addresses the heart of this study by delivering the results of the comparison arising from the juxtaposed findings. An extended discussion of these findings follows. In exploring and comparing the quantity of international to domestic reportage, the 19 hours, 37 minutes and 55 seconds of news programming at RTÉ revealed 79 international reports. However, of this amount, only 2 hours, 19 minutes and 23 seconds or 11.83% of the RTÉ reportage was found to be international. Meanwhile, the data acquired from the CBC provided this study with 777 reports, consisting of 27 hours and 21 minutes of news output. Of this duration, 8 hours and 32 seconds or 29.28% of that reportage was revealed to be international.

Table 5 ~ The CBC and RTÉ: Summary of All Data Compared

RTÉ & CBC: All Data	RTÉ	CBC	Overall
Number of Programmes	28	28	56
Quantity of All Reports	339	777	1116
Quantity of Domestic Reports	260	497	757
Quantity of International Reports	79	280	359
Duration of All Reportage	19 hrs, 37 min, 55 sec	27 hrs, 21 mins, 00 sec	46 hrs, 58 mins, 55 sec
Duration of All International Reportage	2 hrs, 19 min, 23 sec	8 hrs, 00 mins, 32 sec	10 hrs, 19 mins, 55 sec
Instances of Foreign Correspondents	32	88	120
Mean Average Length of an International Report	1 min, 46 sec	1 min, 43 sec	1 min, 44 sec

Highlighting the table above, the figure below of RTÉ and the CBC reveals the findings compared by type, duration and number of reports.

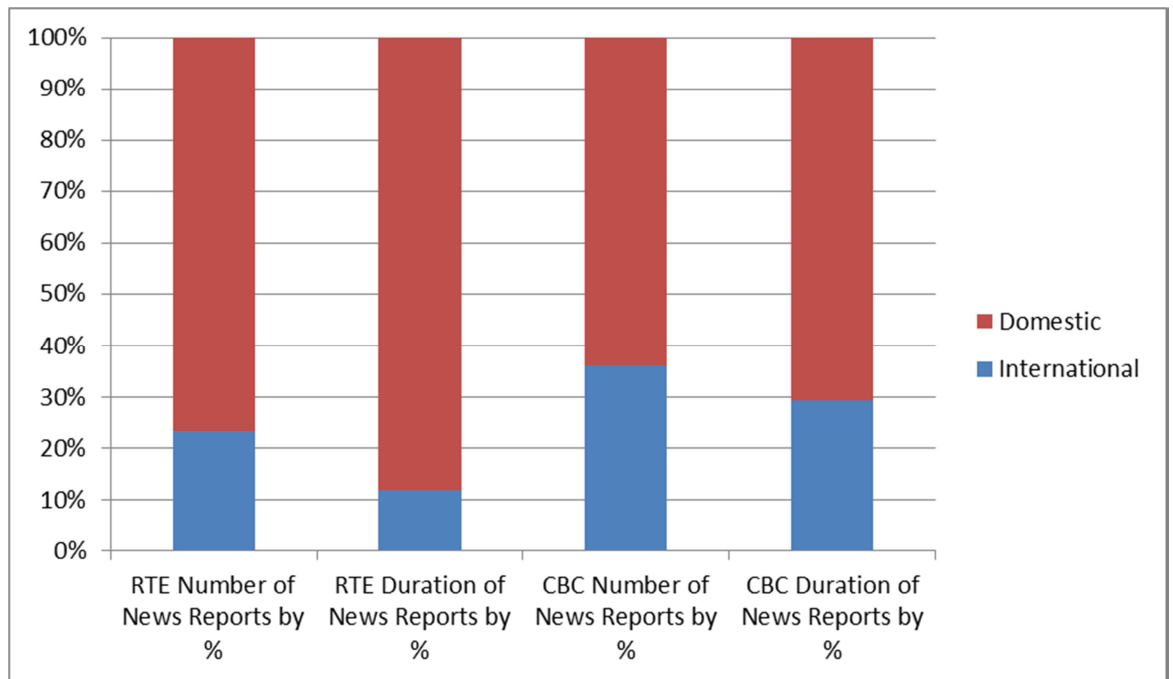


Fig. 5 ~ RTÉ and the CBC compared by type, duration and number of reports.

## Research Question (A)

Question A asks of the data, what is the total measurement of international news reported by RTÉ and the CBC by number and duration of reports? The entire sample consisted of 1116 separate news reports. Of these, 777 reports originated with the CBC, and 339 reports were from RTÉ. Clearly, the CBC broadcast considerably more news by number of reports than did RTÉ. Across the sample, there were 359 international reports combined. The study discovered that 36.04% of the CBC news output, or 280 of those reports, were international. Meanwhile, at RTÉ, 23.3% of the output, or 79 reports, were similarly coded as international.

## International to Domestic Reportage of the CBC and RTE Compared by Number of Reports & as a Percentage of the Output

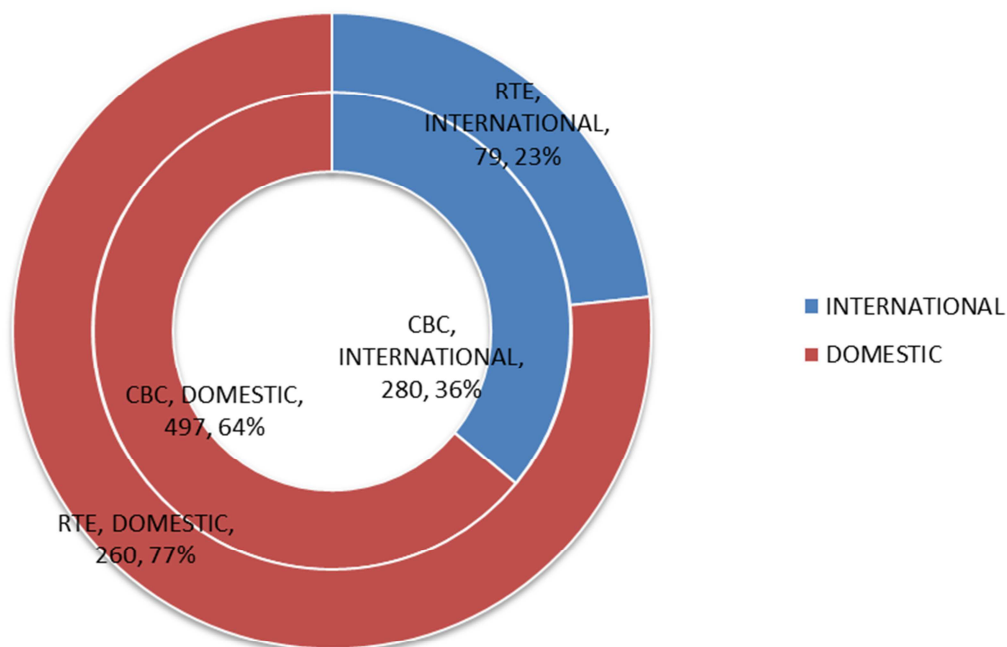


Fig. 6 ~ The CBC and RTE: International news volumes compared.

### Research Question (B)

Question B asks, what is the ratio of international reports by number of reports compared to the number of domestic reports at both the CBC and RTE? At the CBC, the ratio of international to domestic reports was 1/1.775, representative of 280 international reports or 36.04% of the output. At RTE, the ratio of international to domestic reports was 1/3.291, equal to 79 international reports or 23.3% of the output.

The difference in total output by quantity of reports and the ratios revealed affirm that the CBC and RTE embrace two different standards when it comes to the question of how much international news is enough.



## Research Question (C)

This research question asks, what is the average length of an international news report transmitted by RTÉ and at the CBC? At RTÉ, the average duration was 1 minute and 46 seconds, while at the CBC, the average run time was 1 minute and 43 seconds. The average length was 1 minute and 44 seconds at each broadcaster.

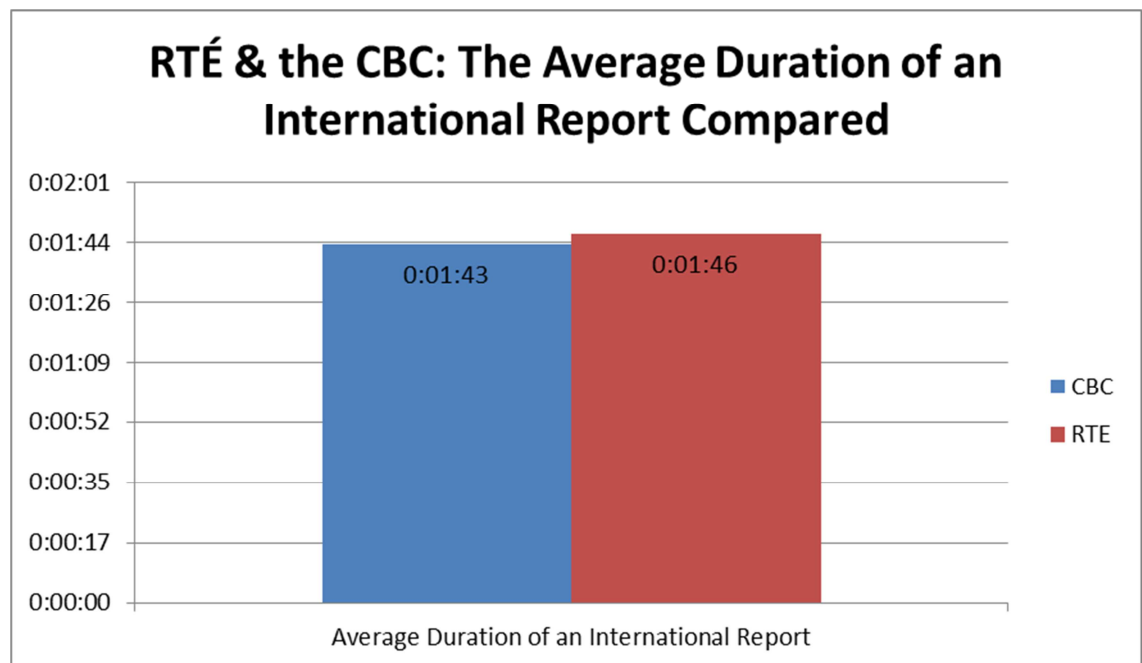


Fig. 7 ~ RTÉ and the CBC: Duration of the international news compared.

Implications arising from international news volumes speak to the first-level concepts of agenda setting (McCombs and Shaw 1972) in that any agenda must first be defined by the amount of time and attention dedicated to it. If there is one consistent aspect of any agenda, is that it confines consideration of a subject to the amount of time available for evaluative processes.

While some may question whether vast new amounts of information from other world regions will benefit audiences, it is certain that the absence of that information will not. Studies of news consumption and audience knowledge of world affairs (Curran et al. 2008) relate that in its news services, a PSB tends “to

minimize the knowledge gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged and therefore contributes to a more egalitarian pattern of citizenship” (p24).

Curran et al. (2008) seem to conclude that the best value from PSBs is realized in serving disadvantaged audiences through universal access to information. By extrapolation, then, since 77% of Irish audiences rely on RTÉ for information about the world (RTÉ 2006a), the majority of these viewers must be, by their measure, disadvantaged. Indeed, this assessment might come as a surprise to them. Nonetheless, this sobering thought is tempered by the fact that once they are engaged and attentive to the public service, the knowledge gap collapses, as their disadvantages are by measure alleviated through the informational advantages offered. By virtue of their engagement with PSB, the ‘disadvantaged’ are no longer so in their ability to access information.

However, this study presumes that audiences of public service broadcasting are not disadvantaged but actively acting upon pursuing their advantage in knowledge, as a result of consuming the newsworthy information offered by their national PSBs. Were public service broadcasting to disappear altogether, so would the benefits it offers and receives in engaging new audiences and in serving existing ones. As a result, the disadvantages of audiences would reappear.

## Research Question (D)

What percentages of the international reports are demonstrably sourced from the foreign correspondents of the PSBs? Foreign correspondents wholly under the control of the home news desks of the CBC and RTÉ are important. They are important because they are best able to reduce the number of gatekeepers in the newsflow by providing direct access to the source of an international story as it is happening. Foreign correspondents were identified by this study by how they signed off on their reportage. On several occasions, correspondents were identified as reporting for organisations other than RTÉ or CBC; those instances were not quantified.

Across the sample of 359 international reports, there were 120 instances of foreign correspondent participation. Of the 280 international reports originating from the CBC, there were 88 instances of a foreign correspondent. In the 79 reports from RTÉ, there were 32 instances of a foreign correspondent. Therefore, 40.51% of the international news of RTÉ involved a correspondent in the PSB’s regular employ, while at the CBC, the figure was 31.43%.

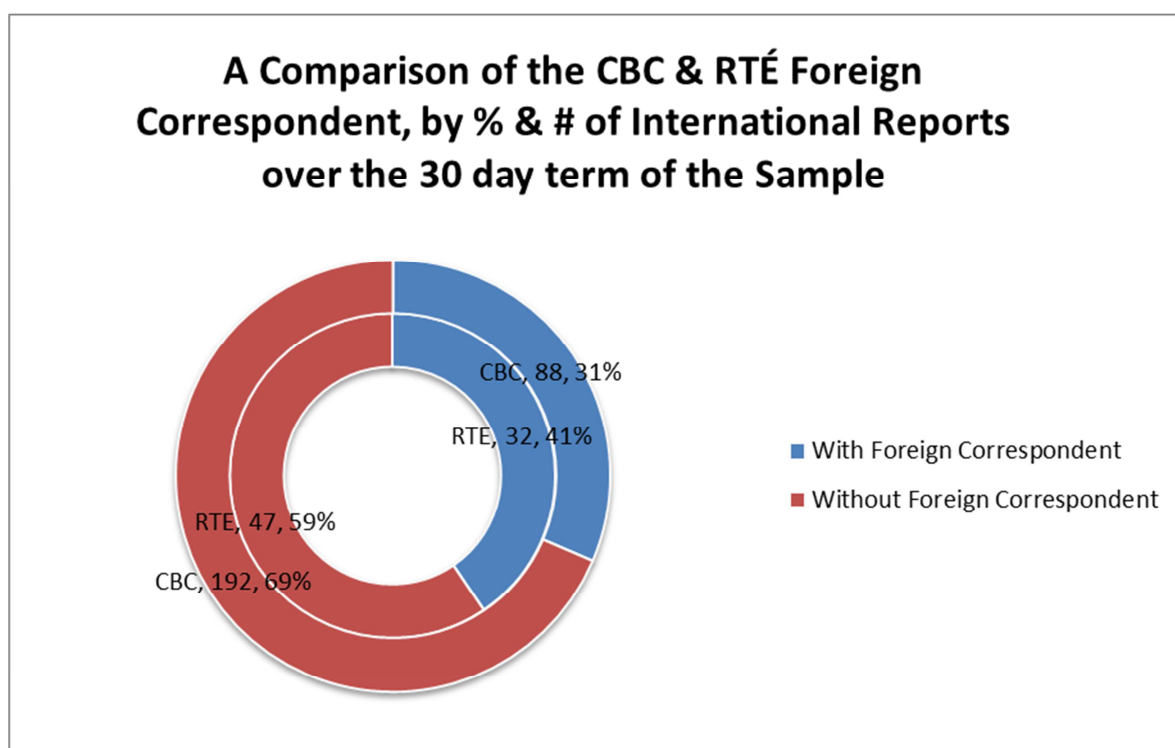


Fig. 8 ~ The CBC and RTÉ: A comparison of foreign correspondents.

Foreign correspondents bring value added contributions to news quality through their unique ability to provide a genuinely Irish and/or a Canadian point of view. Given global media systems awash with identical commercial news products that seek to appeal to the widest possible audience, and given that local audiences associate with the familiar, the ability of the CBC and/or RTÉ to have “one of their own” gathering the international news has never been greater. In support of the role that the foreign correspondent plays in fostering increased levels of civic knowledge, the lack of universal journalistic values represents an

obstacle in consistently measuring credible international reporting (Black and Barney 2002, Seib 2002, Ward 2005).

Through the process of domestication explored earlier (Clausen 2004), a voice-over Irish or Canadian commentary is of real value in contributing to the increased quality of the reportage. However, it cannot be of equal value to the contributions of a foreign correspondent in the field. For several significant reasons, the ability to observe what's happening behind the camera and beyond the frame rests with the foreign correspondent on location, not with a newsreader at the home desk. Moreover, foreign correspondents serve as important markers of independent nationality in the international reportage of both the CBC and RTÉ. This national branding of the international news is important because the CBC and RTÉ are national broadcasters. Furthermore, these correspondents possess both a measure of symbolic and real authority vested by both perception and accreditation. However, the public value of that authority is commensurate with “declines in the numbers of foreign correspondents and foreign news bureaus overseas” (Testar 2004 cited in Haffner, Casas i-Klett and Lehmann 2008 p264).

In the career of a foreign correspondent, popular credibility with home audiences is a pre-eminent professional concern. Accountable to national audiences and jurisprudence in a way in which a foreign national could never be, foreign correspondents employed and deployed by a PSB bring a personally vested interest in the quality of their reportage.

Certainly, the broadcast of international reports without a foreign correspondent is an indication of news dependency upon outside news gatherers and providers, which are predominately commercial by nature. In fact, reportage without a foreign correspondent represents over 50% of the data analysed from both broadcasters.

The CBC and RTÉ add value to the international news they broadcast only if they own and produce it. The commercially licensed international news packages are produced by their providers for the widest possible global audience. Alternately, proprietary news products gathered by correspondents under the

ownership and control of the home desk are representative of the national interests of home audiences.

Responsible civic journalism in the public service requires of journalists the ability to undertake the tough task of tracking down a story and verifying their sources to fulfil public expectations of professional reportage. Therefore, news dependency upon sources outside the auspices of the PSB must be accompanied by an implicit trust in the veracity of those sources and the modus operandi of their news-gathering apparatus inclusive of their translations and news values. In the absence of any other acknowledged provenance, when commercially acquired international news packages replace the reports of foreign correspondents, the commercial news wholesaler must then, in effect, become the source.

This study also observed that even the inclusion of a foreign correspondent on location at the real source of the story did not exclude the propensity of those reports to be compiled with pool footage licensed from the commercial services and/or otherwise by exchange with other public broadcasters such as through the processes of the EBU. As mentioned, when news footage is imported, so are the accompanying news values of the processes at the source of the story. All of this is beyond the direct editorial control of the home desks of RTÉ and/or the CBC.

In affirming the traditionally elite status attributed to the classic role of the foreign correspondent (Sussman 2001) as being a uniquely informed cosmopolitan (Cohen 1963 p17) with special access to the story and subsequent symbolic and real authority, Hamilton and Jenner (2002 p23) suggest that this traditional evaluation is increasingly obsolete. Meanwhile, McAllister (2006) concludes that the decline in foreign correspondence is attributable to purely commercial concerns of profitability. Ebinger (2004) expressed similar sentiments, arguing that foreign correspondents are too expensive and increasingly irrelevant to audiences. Arnett (1998) and Norris (1995, 1997) offer that in a post-Cold War world, foreign correspondents were simply left without a story. Regardless, Carroll (2006) and Wu and Hamilton (2004) predict further declines in the numbers of foreign correspondents.

This is a concern because volumes of international news are in part based on the available number of reporters to report it. While this study did not undertake its own survey of foreign correspondents, in Hun Shik Kim's (2002) survey, journalists conveyed that sufficient numbers of foreign bureaus and correspondents are critical determinants in assessing both the quality and quantity of international newsflow. Meanwhile, Hess (1996 p61) and this research identify the urgent need for more foreign correspondents.

A good indicator of Western media representation in Japan is the fluctuating regular membership at The Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan (FCCJ). Regular members are defined as those in the country on a journalist visa or otherwise recognized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as working in the trade for an overseas company. This year (2004) regular membership at the club is at a 20-year low and shows little signs of picking up (Testar 2004 cited in Haffner, Casas i-Klett and Lehmann 2008 p264).

Gilboa (2000 p10) offers that the role of the foreign correspondent may be interventionist, leading to accusations akin to the "Vietnam Syndrome" observed by Hallin (1989), Taylor (1997) and Carruthers (2000). Today, direct access to the story is increasingly limited (Harnden 2002); as a result, there are fewer correspondents than ever before as foreign correspondence has come to mean parachuting and embedding (Levins 1997). Critical of the news values and practices of embedding and parachute journalism are those such as Hess (1996) and Kotcheff and Margles (2005).

Despite the dynamics of compassion fatigue (Moisy 1996, Moeller 1999, Clausen 2004), this research finds that an increased quantity of reportage from foreign correspondents demonstrates an increase in the independent broadcast of higher quality international news. This increase in quantity serves to increase levels of civic knowledge (Preston Horgan 2006). According to CBS News Bureau Chief Dunning (2009), the role of the foreign correspondent in the post-Westphalian international communications order (Linklater 1998) rests in presenting an active and investigative civic function at the source of the news.

As of 2010, the following CBC international/foreign correspondents served the public corporation from abroad. At the World Desk was Adrienne Arsenault;

in the Mideast was Nahlah Ayed; in Washington was Henry Champ and in Western Europe was David Common. China played host to Michel Cormier while London was covered by Nancy Durham. The continental US was covered by Neil Macdonald, while reportage from Africa was delivered by David McGuffin and Latin America was covered by Connie Watson (CBC 2010b). At RTÉ, only three overseas bureaus serve the Irish audiences: one in the US, another in England and a final bureau in Belgium at the Parliament of the European Union. While the RTÉ correspondents were identified earlier, other journalists such as Charlie Bird and Richard Crowley epitomize the practice of the 'have parachute will travel' methodology of international news gathering.

## Research Question (E)

This research question asks of the data, what is the national origin of the international reports broadcast at the CBC and RTÉ?

As of May 1, 2008, there were 192 member states of the UN (UN 2009, online). It is worthy of note that this study found that only 40 of the 192 nations recognized by the UN were represented across the 359 international reports of both broadcasters. While not comparative, the statistic does convey that even when combined, the efforts of both the CBC and RTÉ reflected the affairs of only 20.83% of world nations.

In comparison, the international news output of RTÉ originated from 21 nations or 10.94% of the member states, while the output of the CBC originated from 34 countries or 17.71% of the nations so recognized. Reportage originating from Australia and regionally from Central America, the Caribbean and/or Oceania was absent from the sample.

While the CBC supplied a broader global perspective than did RTÉ, reportage originating from the US was dominant in the output of both broadcasters. Reports from the US appeared on 122 separate occasions. At the CBC, 98 reports originated from the US, representing 35% of that broadcaster's

international output. And at RTÉ, 24 reports representing 30.40% of the international output were similarly from America.

Comparative research has found that when the same sources (Shudson 2000) are used, the same international news events are depicted in national contexts (Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh 1991, Riegert 1998, de Vreese 2001). This analysis reveals the dominance of the northern hemisphere first identified during the NWICO debates as a persistent trend towards a geographical bias in international news sources.

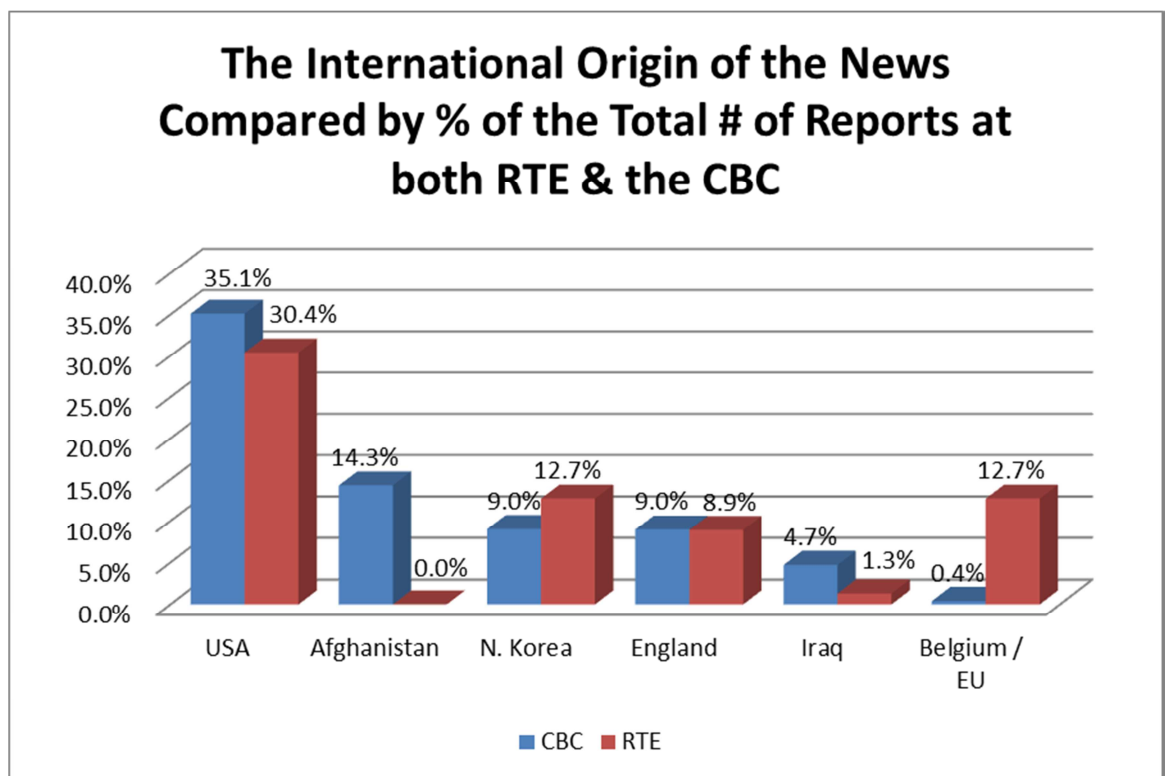


Fig. 9 ~ The national origin of the news at RTÉ and the CBC compared by percentage of international output.



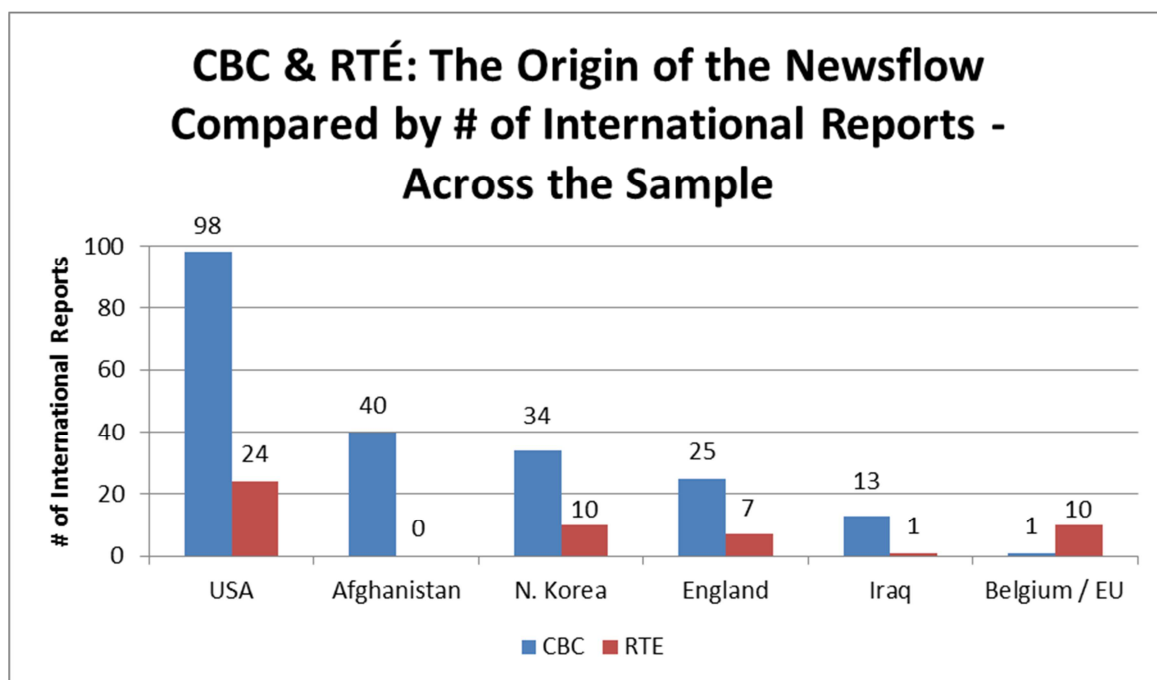


Fig. 10 ~ The CBC and RTÉ: National origin of international output compared by number of reports.

These findings and the findings of authors such as Sreberny-Mohammadi (1979, 1983, 1985, 1995), Coca (1976), McBride (1980), McPhail (1987) and Mowlana (1997) identify an international news agenda that largely ignores the developing world.

Throughout the examination of the CBC, few reports on the southern hemisphere made their way to broadcast. In the case of RTÉ, there were no reports from the southern hemisphere, and 79.17% of world nations considered for inclusion went unreported. As a result, the independent ability of the broadcaster to report events from around the world was demonstrably limited.

The implications for ignored nations are not reserved exclusively for those of the southern hemisphere. Reportage of Ireland's historic St. Andrews agreement made the news at the CBC in only two reports. Reciprocally, no reports of Canadian origin were broadcast by RTÉ. In fact, audiences of the CBC and RTÉ were largely isolated from the benefit of information emanating from each other and the majority of world nations, including those of the southern hemisphere. Absent from the international news agenda, internationally newsworthy events being broadcast by ignored nations remained parochial news to those nations. As a result, the nations omitted from the output of the CBC and

RTÉ were reciprocally denied the benefit that these platforms could provide in raising awareness.

Conversely, being isolated from the global newsflow is a strategic advantage for those nations that seek to conceal their current events from scrutiny. Last on the 'Reporters without Borders' (RWB, 2008) World Press Freedom Index, the State of Eritrea, bordered by Sudan on the west and Ethiopia on the south, has absolutely no interest in being profiled on the international news agenda of western nations in a manner that it cannot control through the official news of the Eritrean News Agency (ENA). Certain of this, the national Press Law enacted in 1996 has banned private broadcast media outlets since 2001, requires all journalists to be licensed and further stipulates that all media must be submitted for government approval prior to release (Freedom House 2008). It would appear that since the affairs of Eritrea failed to appear on a single occasion across the sample, this failure in fact serves the interests of oppressive Eritrean media policy.

This study found that the international output of the CBC and RTÉ was dominated by reportage of American origin. Scores of newsflow studies have explored the phenomena of American-led dominance over the global newsflow. These discussions have largely pertained to the processes of globalizing deregulation of the 1980s and subsequent consolidation and convergence of worldwide media into the hands of a few, predominantly American, corporations (Badgikian 2006). A myriad of forces are responsible for driving this dominance, including the dynamics of cultural imperialism (Tomlinson 1991), newsroom economies of scale, declining demand, tabloidization tendencies, gatekeeping dynamics and agenda-setting influences. Meanwhile, Chomsky (2006) simply argues that American dominance over the newsflow is not benign but is rather a "mediated reality" (Van Ginneken 1998) designed to utilize soft power in favour of American foreign policy interests.

In terms of American dominance over the international news agenda of the CBC and RTÉ, it is the PSBs' 'corporate culture' that must in part dictate the practice. However, this study did not set out to measure by what degree

corporate culture influences gatekeepers. Nonetheless, the gatekeeping practices identified by this study do demonstrate a preference for American-led international reportage. Exactly why the CBC and RTÉ have elected to embrace an American corporate news culture is a question that only the gatekeepers of the CBC and RTÉ can and should answer. However, this study is intent not on identifying the thought and selection processes of the gatekeepers themselves, but instead on conducting an examination of the output of those processes.

Beyond this study, the findings herein reveal a need for future research into why we also find patterns of repetition in the international news output of PSBs. This study, however, did not seek to quantify the frequency of original or wire service content but to identify the overall volume by number of reports, duration and origin of that international news and the measure by which foreign correspondents contribute to that output.

The implications arising from Research Question (E) are arguably the most important when heard in the renewed context of agenda-setting theory (Weaver 2007). Based in the understanding that "The media doesn't tell us what to think; it tells us what to think about" (Cohen 1963), McCombs and Shaw (1972) introduced agenda-setting theory in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*. The theory is based on their benchmark study of the role of the media in 1968. Agenda setting was expounded upon by Rogers and Dearing in their model of the agenda-setting process (1988) and was revisited by McCombs and Shaw (1993).

Central to agenda-setting theories is the concept of 'salience transfer'. Salience transfer is the ability of the mass media to reassign issues from their agenda to a public one, as in the case of the much-analysed 'CNN Effect' (Livingstone 1997, Hess 2002). There are understandable confines to the salience of television's influence.

However, Iyengar and Kinder (1991) quantitatively revealed that television news about politics and public policy does influence public opinion. News has an influence on public opinion by virtue of what issues audiences consider newsworthy. First-level agenda setting is defined by how much prominence and space are given by PSBs to those newsworthy issues. In second-

level agenda setting, the focus is on the characteristics of the objects or issues (Curran 2008). In this study, those objects were the nations of origin of the international news.

Certainly, the international news agencies have been found to dominate the international news agenda (Clausen 2004). However, this study sought to identify not the sources of that agenda, but the manifestation of that agenda as broadcast by the CBC and RTÉ. In that Salween and Matera (1992) have already found a strong correlation between international news stories and public opinion, this approach was appropriate.

In sum, the selection of issues and nations was influenced greatly by Canadian and Irish diplomacy and foreign policy. This research revealed that on average, RTÉ broadcasted 5.2 international reports per hour, while at the CBC, on average, 10.24 international reports were broadcast. Therefore, the CBC broadcast 1.97 times – nearly double – the quantity of the international output of RTÉ for each hour of broadcast. Placed foremost on the news agenda at both the CBC and RTÉ, the reportage coded as having originated from the US was found to appear on average 3.58 +/- times per hour on the CBC, while at RTÉ, reportage originating from the US appeared on average 1.22 times per hour. By this measure, the affairs of the US were assured to appear on the news agenda of the CBC more than three times every day. At RTÉ, there is an 80% chance that the affairs of the US will appear on the day's international news agenda. In the case of reportage from North Korea at the CBC, and from Belgium pertaining to the affairs of the EU at RTÉ, there were ten reports from each nation by both PSBs over the thirty-day term. As a result, this reportage was assured to appear at least once every three days. Therefore, in the absence of a breaking story, it is possible during the arc of a news cycle to predict the origin of the international news reportage before it is broadcast. By this revelation, it is the international news agenda that leads the content and not the other way around.

## Expanded Discussion of All Findings

In response to the research questions, hegemonic trends were revealed across the samples of both the CBC and Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ). These were especially acute when the average length of an international report was considered. Hegemonic trends of sameness were also observed in the frequency of the use of foreign correspondents and in the dominance of reportage originating from the United States.

Despite an exponentially increased number of global consumers of media-based products, Moisy (1996) chronicles the decline in the mass media provision of international news. His study revealed that the percentage of foreign stories had declined in the US from 35% in the mid 1970s to 23% in 1995 and that the percentage of time allocated to those stories likewise declined, from 45% to 13.5%, while the average length of an international story also declined from 1.7 minutes to 1.2 minutes. These findings are borne out by this study, which discovered that the average length of an international report at both RTÉ and the CBC was marginally longer than that of the US commercial network broadcasts of fifteen years ago. Newer research shows that “public service television devotes more attention to public affairs and international news” than do commercial broadcasters (Curran et al. 2008 p1).

With respect to funding for PSB, in addition to commercial revenue, the CBC received an annual parliamentary appropriation of \$946 million (CAD) in 2006. Based on the interbank rate of October 2006 adjusted at 1.4318 to the Euro, the CBC had an equivalent capital infusion of €660,706,800. In Ireland, RTÉ depends on a hybrid revenue model of a flat tax licence fee and commercial revenue. In 2006, RTÉ’s total revenues amounted to €405 million (EU 2009), of which approximately €182.8 million (or 45%) were derived from licensee fees and approximately €222.2 million (or 55%) were obtained from commercial revenues (EU 2009). In Canada in 2006, the CBC received the Canadian equivalent of more than €255 million in excess of the entire RTÉ budget from the Canadian government.

The 2006 measurement detailed in the graphic below shows that the CBC receives less than half the public funding per capita that RTE receives. Broadcasting in two languages across multiple service platforms, the CBC, according to this study, produced nearly double the volume of international news and nearly three times more news overall. This was achieved with half the public funding per capita, for a population ten times that of Ireland.

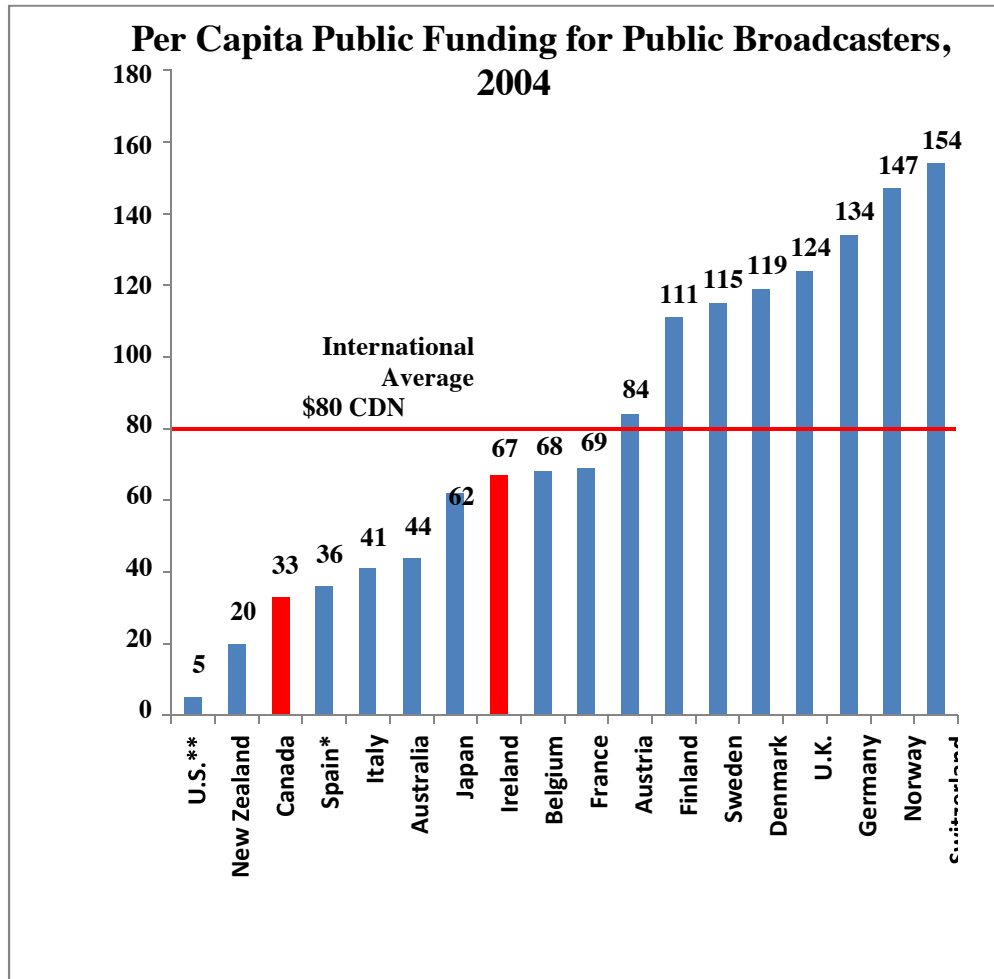


Fig. 11 ~ Public funding for PSBs ranked by nation; data generated by Nordicity Group Ltd., June 2006, *Analysis of Government Support for Public Broadcasting and Other Culture in Canada*. Prepared for Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/La Société Radio-Canada. Exchange rates from the Bank of Canada and population data from the CIA World Fact Book data for fiscal year 2003.

Whether the quality of the information contained in the international news texts of RTÉ and the CBC necessarily suffer because of their dependency-based practices and values is also a subjective consideration. Certainly, the news texts differ quantitatively. However, expectations led by public perceptions of what constitutes high-quality international news values may be quite different. Certainly, this issue begs first and foremost for an internationally recognized benchmark definition of what is high- and low-quality international news in the public service. Moreover, in consumer terms, considering a measure of ‘value for money’ that the public receives from its investment in its PSB necessitates considering the relative quality of the product in relation to the amount of money spent. In that perceptions of quality are attributed to a thing, value is what that thing, by virtue of its measured quality, represents in political and economic terms. By this evaluation, value and quality are inextricably linked.

## Implications for International News Quality

Attempts to define high-quality news have plagued the debates regarding public service broadcasting (PSB) since its inception. Still, the prodigal question of ‘quality’ must be continually addressed. Since all news-products possess various ‘qualities’, the questions remain: what is high-quality international news in the public service, and how can it be identified so that it might be consistently produced by the CBC and RTÉ?

Contentious questions of quality in the public service are addressed today in the context of performance or “value for money” (Coppens 2006). In Canada, “63%

believe that CBC provides value for taxpayers' money” (Pollara Research Inc. 2009 p25). In Ireland, this approach is entrenched in the Broadcasting Charter (2009), which holds, as one of its core precepts, that RTÉ will “Provide a value for money service.” Similarly, according to the RTÉ Corporate Responsibility Report of 2008,

Increasing and legitimate public and political pressure to account for Licence Fee levels means that RTÉ, like most Public Service Broadcasters, must demonstrate value for money and performance, not just in terms of services, cost effectiveness and revenues but also in more difficult to measure and subjective areas such as programme quality, public service, public trust and innovation (RTÉ Corporate Responsibility Report, 2008).

This approach to public service broadcasting seeks to ascertain the measure of real value or benefit that citizens receive in return for their contribution to the coffers of the PSBs. Therefore, it is assumed that should the quality of PSBs fall below an acceptable level, there must be processes by which they may be encouraged to return to full capacity. Failing that, a total reconsideration of the relevant fundamental value of public service broadcasting to empower citizens' participation in democracy becomes a necessity (Fog 2004). In merciless mercantile terms, an obsolete production facility is retooled, or it is closed.

In Canada, the public contribution to the CBC is \$33 per capita, while in Ireland, the cost to each citizen is \$66 annually (Nordicity 2006). Despite this, RTÉ delivers lower benefits in comparison to the CBC (ibid). However, it is impossible to assess the real benefits of the international news without first undertaking an evaluation of the measure of its quality. We take for granted that high-quality products are more valuable than their low-quality alternatives. Therefore, new investigations into public service broadcasting culture in relation to citizens' value for money cannot sidestep largely subjective debates pertaining to quality as it relates to the benefits received by audiences. Certainly, referring to the international news as being 'quality' implies greater associated value. The positivist connotation of the



word in this context elevates the status of the news that, merely by its absence, is missing. Significantly, understanding what quality really means is really important.

In Canada, the CBC “considers it a duty to provide consistent, high-quality information upon which all citizens may rely” (CBC Corporate Policies 2010). Consequently, the ever-problematic question remains: what is ‘high-quality’ international news? Since the word ‘quality’ is a noun and not a verb, it necessarily implies this status as possessing high- or low-quality attributes. In Ireland, the Broadcasting Charter (2004) is designed in effect to supplement broadcasting legislation and requires of RTÉ

international news of high-quality journalism and impartiality as a cornerstone of its schedule. RTÉ’s news coverage shall be accurate, impartial and objective: this will help set the agenda for informed democratic debate in Ireland (RTÉ Broadcasting Charter 2004).

Under the Irish Broadcasting Act of 2009, the Public Service Broadcasting Charter was replaced in July of 2010 with what is now called instead a ‘Public Service Statement’. Just how RTÉ intends to define high-quality international news remains undefined. According to the CBC, new technologies allow the News Division (CBCND) to “achieve savings, and create and deliver a larger number and range of high-quality News stories” (CBC Annual Report 2005). The CBC emphasizes that it broadcasts “high quality programming” that reflects the country’s different regions, broadening diversity and evolving culture (CBC Annual Report 2005 p36). In response to deep budget cuts at the CBC, the CBCND has as its goal “to enhance the quality and quantity of national, regional and international News coverage” (CBC Annual Report 2005 p16). Since both the CBC and RTÉ assert that they consider only high-quality international news products as newsworthy, it follows that, in their view, there is no such thing as low-quality news broadcasting in the public service.

Every stakeholder in the broadcasting systems of Ireland and Canada has a stake in defining those systems. An unbiased definition of ‘quality’ arrives from the

etymology of the Latin root *qualita* and is defined by Aristotle as being a measurable attribute or property of a thing or person (Cargile 1995, Morwood 1995). As a result, the quality of a thing is necessarily dependent upon the criteria being applied to it. Despite this definition, Robert Pirsig (1999), in advocating his theory of the ‘metaphysics of quality’, insists that quality is indefinable, claiming that all the qualities of quality rest in subjective perception. He adds that since both things and people are not static but dynamic, their attributes and properties are in a continual state of indefinable change. However, his theory negates itself, in that a ‘theory’ is at least in part premised on the replicable observation of the qualities possessed by or attributed to a person or thing or a dynamic of its internal or interconnected processes.

So in considering quality as being a thing unto itself, it is the varied qualities of ‘quality’ that must be considered. These qualitative qualities of quality cumulatively make up the whole in an assessment of the measure of quality possessed by or attributed to a thing (Studtmann 2007). This is why the question of what quality international news is can be vexatious: quality is different things for different people. In fact, news professionals themselves do not necessarily create quality; they create the popular perception of quality by audiences. The more credibly that impression meets popular expectations, the greater its relative political economic value. The challenge before RTÉ and the CBC is how to meet the diverse and dynamic popular expectations held by the majority of their international news audiences while remaining cognizant of and compliant with their social obligations as held in a public framework.

However, since the observable ‘qualities’ of quality are separate, they can be coded quantitatively. By this view, the cumulative construction of these more quantifiable qualities ultimately defines whether the object is to be regarded as being of high- or low-quality status. Certainly, normal processes of quality control, which continually seek to assess quality, have long been a central concern in the capitalist provision of all goods and services, including those of the international news.

In response, specific tools have been developed to help service organisations such as PSBs more fully understand their internal processes and improve upon them. These tools include the ‘cause and effect’ analysis of Ishikawa (1990), who used this method to explore the root causes of complex problems in the shipbuilding industry. The ‘cause and effect’ diagram is an effective tool for analysing process dispersion in illustrating the main causes and sub-causes leading to an effect or symptom (Ishikawa 1990). The method is also referred to as the “fishbone diagram” because visually, its representation resembles the skeleton of a fish.

Additional tools for quantitatively identifying quality include control and flowcharts, the histogram, the scatter diagram used in analysing relationships between two variables and the Pareto chart developed by Juran (1950). Based upon the Pareto principle, Juran’s method suggests that most effects arise from comparatively few causes; that is, 80% of the effects come from 20% of the possible causes (Juran 1950). While the Pareto chart presents an excellent graphical tool for ranking causes from most significant to least significant, this study considers the Ishikawa analysis as the most expressive means to convey complex problems such as seeking a definition of value added high-quality international news in the public service. Incorporating the findings from the five research questions of this analysis into the output of the CBC and RTÉ, this study deploys an Ishikawa diagram as a means to benchmark high-quality international news in the public service.

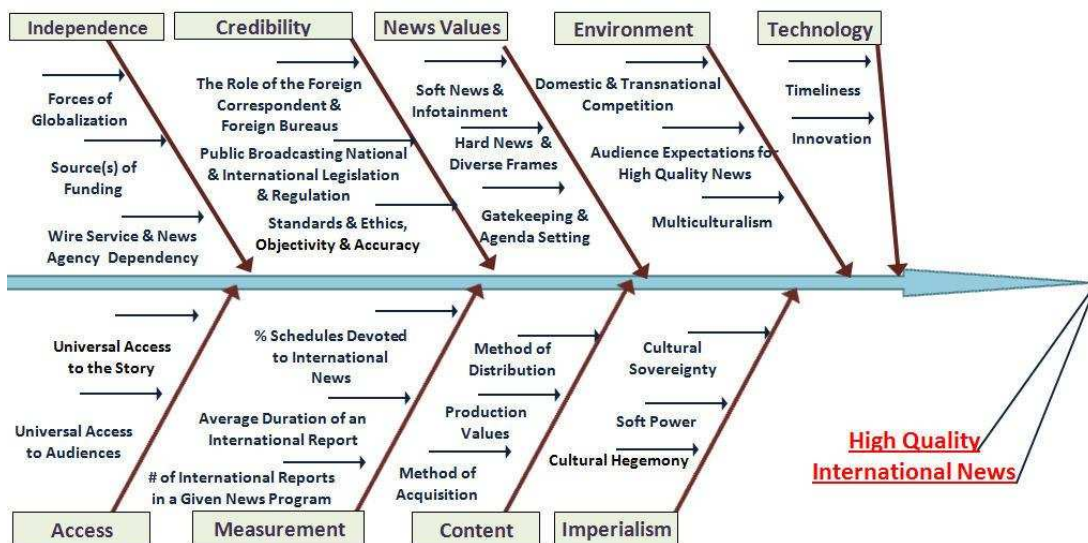


Fig. 12 ~ The attributes of high-quality international news.

Efficiency may be defined as the ratio of the output to the total input in a process. The total international output of RTÉ and the CBC constitutes a key determinant in the broadcasters' measure of effectiveness in providing a high-quality international news service in the public interest. Effectiveness may be defined as the measure by which a process such as the news achieves a predetermined effect. In the case of international news in the public service of Ireland and Canada, that desired effect is the informational enlightenment of the people for whom RTÉ and the CBC are in statutory servitude.

Scholars such as Zaller (1993) have argued that an empirical decline in the quantity of hard news causes an overall decline in news quality. Curran et al. (2009) found that viewers of public service broadcasting are better served by the news values associated with hard news.

In contest with Patterson (2006), Zaller (2003) argues that an increased quantity of hard news does not necessarily lead to de facto increased levels of civic knowledge. His work concludes that inattentive citizens are less willing to explore the intricacies of hard news and that despite reductions in hard news volumes, these same individuals still meet their civic obligations based on their current levels of civic

knowledge. Referred to as an 'Oprah effect' (Baum and Jamison 2005 p1), this point of view states "...that soft news is more efficient than hard news" in increasing participation by otherwise distracted and inattentive citizens. However, while this model may address the inclinations of the inattentive, it does not address the increasing numbers of people who are simply indifferent to the international news. By their standards of value, they just don't care about events of faraway places, no matter how they are presented. These events are seen as beyond their ability to influence, and repeated knowledge of these events does not enable participation in international discourse but serves only to remind such viewers of their inadequacies.

The interactivity of the Internet as a two-way medium for the communication of information such as the international news trumps the abilities of the one-way communication of traditional mass media. Undeniably, the Internet demands engaged audience participation. Nonetheless, troublesome questions pertaining to informational quality and its effects remain. Does hard news in fact promote greater civic engagement, or are already-engaged audiences merely finding information sources to sustain that engagement (Norris 2000)? Linking civic malaise and citizen disengagement with exposure to soft news values, Bennett (2004) concludes that "media induced citizen discontent with politics and government has grown over time in parallel with the growth of infotainment" (p2).

This assertion that audiences of the international news are better served by the soft news values of televised infotainment sets the international news, both public and commercial, in the dramatic context of the "willing suspension of disbelief" (Coleridge 1817 p96). In fact, DeFulgentis (2009) concludes that instead of forcing ourselves to face or forget about inconvenient truths, suspending disbelief allows these irrationalities to vanish on their own accord. By such rationale, a diversionary soft news approach to international news calls for all the theatrical devices of spectacle and performance at the broadcaster's disposal to maximize people's exposure to the international news. If we are to extend this fallacious logic, reducing

it to the absurd, we might even postulate that the international news should offer prizes for participation to have the mass audience appeal it deserves and that game shows regularly receive.

For apathetic and/or indifferent audiences, nothing short of their realization of their own self-interest will induce those who have already committed not to watch the news to start. In the engagement of audiences, entertaining qualities are routinely ascribed to the application of populist soft news values, practices and processes. Traditionally, soft news and its sensationalist qualities have been regarded as being of an inherently lesser informational quality than hard news (Curran 2009). As a result, the dichotomist point of balance between informative hard news values and entertaining soft news values is routinely used in what have been largely qualitative assessments of international news quality.

There must be a balance point at which the quantity of entertaining soft news does not do a disservice to civic knowledge by diluting the informative qualities and effects of hard news. In Canada, that balance is made a requirement by the Broadcasting Act (1991), which stipulates that the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system must be “...varied and comprehensive, providing a balance of information, enlightenment and entertainment” (Broadcasting Act 1991, Sc 3).

With assessments of high quality now being ascribed to even soft news values, proponents such as Graber (2003 p146) exhort that neither people nor the media are capable of completely performing the high functions expected of them in the processes of the hard news, concluding that the utopian concept of the *Informed Citizen* (Schudson 1998) that hard news values seek to achieve has always been unattainable. However, the findings achieved by this study of RTÉ and the CBC contest those of Graber (2003) and also the assessments of Zaller (2003) as having been achieved solely in the context of commercial rather than public service broadcasting. Shudson’s insights pertaining to the contribution that hard news makes

to civic knowledge remain a wholly appropriate international news value for both RTÉ and the CBC in their roles as key national sources of international news in the public service. Traditionally, the notion of high-quality international news in this service has been associated with the concept of hard news values – values that serve to promulgate the realization of the ‘Informed Citizen’ that Schudson (1998) had envisioned. His was a concept of quality public broadcasting wherein the news empowers citizens to be informed democratic decision-makers. By this standard, hard news values that ascribe higher quality to the communication of informative content trump the relative value of the communication of information intended to entertain. Nonetheless, high-quality international news products of PSBs are up against a basic impediment in propagating informed democratic discourse: “People really do not want more serious news, even when they say they do” (Bennett 1996 pp22 – 23).

Conventionally considered, the more the balance swings in favour of hard news, the higher the perception of quality. The current political economy of newsrooms both public and private has prompted some scholars to conclude that the pendulum has swung too far in favour of soft news – so much so that a crisis of political communication now exists (Blumler and Gurevitch 1995).

Cautious consideration in the utilization of entertaining soft news values is unquestionably called for when the international news reports upon the tragedy of others. Ethically, there is nothing inherently entertaining, nor should there be, about bad news. For some, the softening of hard news serves an important purpose in sugar coating reality and softens the reality of hard truth. However, the news is not intended to segregate people from the truth but to expose them to it through free-flowing information. In this regard, hard news is routinely associated with bad news and soft news is conversely associated with good news (Fenton 2005). On American soft political talk news shows such as *Good Morning America*, despite the overnight realities of global war, famine and economic downturns, every morning is a good morning (Solomon 2005).

In any democratic society, there is no decision of greater consequence than the decision to go to war: “Even in a war situation, there must be sensitivity to an individual’s grief and suffering” (RTÉ: Programme Guidelines 2008).

Unquestionably, such serious topics do not credibly lend themselves to sensationalism or trivialization but instead to deep investigation and contemplative retrospection. Under such circumstances, soft news values do a disservice to the deliberative processes of civic society by infusing them with emotions solicited through the use of production values that stress emotion over reason. In so doing, soft news misdirects and limits the scope of the public’s deliberative processes. Simply put, some subjects are too serious and too important to society to be treated with the frivolity that audiences have come to expect from entertainment.

The primary purpose of the news is to communicate information, while the function of entertainment is to entertain. As such, quality valuations of international news as being hard or soft fundamentally reside at opposite ends of the same spectrum. In Ireland, 80% of the broadcast schedule is, by legislation (Broadcasting 2009 Sc 30), devoted to programming other than the news and current affairs. Reciprocally, in the 20% of that which remains, there are few opportunities for news programming and even fewer still for hard international news in public service broadcasting schedules that are already flooded by soft news and current affairs.

In a comparative content analysis of ten local news programmes in four US television markets, Adams (1978) quantified the ratio of hard to soft news broadcasts. The study replicated by Slattery and Hakanen (1994) found that the percentage of hard news about “government, education and politics” had fallen from 54% in 1976 to 15% in 1992 at the same stations. They further revealed that the percentage of soft news codified as “sensationalistic or human interest” rose from 25% to 48%. According to this quantitative assessment, there was a decline in news quality. Broadly classified by the concepts of hard and soft news values, the primary quality of news is its ability to communicate new information. Secondary qualities are



attributed in the measurement of how and to what effect this communication of the news is achieved.

This exploration of RTÉ and the CBC did not undertake an investigation into international news to determine whether that on offer at the CBC and RTÉ was either hard news or soft infotainment-based news; instead, it was ascertained whether that output was international or domestic. Such an open and qualitative investigation into hard and soft news values would likely be near impossible, as demonstrated by McQuail (2005) in his now-tenth edition of his landmark work, with its expansive explorations into the plethora of determinants influencing news values and the quality of the news. Another such open investigation would require greater resources than were available to this research.

Significantly, the sub-genres of international news, both hard and soft, communicate information. The genre of soft news is designed to both inform and entertain, while the function of hard news seeks to inform. Despite this understanding, competing perceptions and subsequent definitions of soft and hard news abound (Curran 2009). The only certainty remaining is that the news is the news. Therefore, this quantitative analysis into the international news output of RTÉ and the CBC takes its findings in the framework of quality being directly connected to the quantifiable qualities of quality such as quantity. Quality is more than a measure of comparison between hard and soft international news values. It is the culmination of the attributes arising from the contributions of the dynamics imposed upon quality by the political economy of newsgathering, production and broadcast of the PSB. These quantifiable attributes of quality include the amount of time available for international news in a given broadcast; the ratio of international to domestic news in a given broadcast; the use of foreign correspondents in that output and the national origin of the news.

According to Porto (2007 p303), news quality is predicated upon “presenting diverse interpretive frames, rather than in terms of informational goals,” as commonly expressed by the concepts of hard news. This research into RTÉ and the CBC reminds

us that news in the public service of Ireland and Canada is uniquely tasked to possess distinctive multicultural frames. As with the CBC, at RTÉ, this pluralistic diversity is a requirement: “News reporting and public affairs coverage shall be undertaken from a variety of perspectives” (RTÉ 2004c). In application to this research, arguably the greater the quantity of international news broadcast, the greater the potential for diverse interpretive frames. By this assessment, future declines in the current quantity of international news at RTÉ and/or the CBC will empirically represent a measurable decline in news quality.

According to Roberts and Dickson (1983), the association between public preference for news stories and the amount of time stations devoted to them also serves as a measure of news quality. Here, we find a link between audience-based perceptions of news quality and broadcaster-based perceptions of newsworthiness, in that public broadcasters define the news they broadcast to be of sufficiently high quality to be newsworthy or it would not be included in the news. However, newsworthiness is determined not only by that which is deemed worthy of broadcast by RTÉ and/or the CBC, but also by that which is evaluated by audiences to be of sufficiently high quality to be deemed worth watching.

In contemporary critical debate, the notion of how to define and how to measure news quality in public newsrooms with constrained budgets is especially contentious. In simplistic terms, the quality of a thing is the inseparable sum of its primary attributes or properties. The perceptions of quality ascribed to a thing also relate necessarily to the subjective perception of that thing by those perceiving it. By this evaluation, it is audiences who decide what quality international news is based on what they choose to watch. Therefore, quality news is inseparable from audience expectations of the news. As a result, the perceived quality of a thing (including quality itself) depends on the values held by the people applying the evaluation. In endeavouring to meet public expectations, international news products in the public service must remain cognizant of the public remits, which lend themselves to the

enabling democracy (Curran, Iyengar, Lund and Salovaara-Moring 2008).

Democratic society itself explicitly relies upon mass media and undervalued public service broadcasting in particular to fulfil this function (McQuail 1992, Venturelli 1998). For public service broadcasting, it is here that the balancing act of determining how much commercialization and soft news is too much and how much is too little rests solely with the CBC and RTÉ.

The quality of the international news, whether it is soft or hard, does not necessarily determine its political economic value. However, in the framework of whether or not the members of the public are receiving real and promised value for their money from PSB, a measurably high-quality international hard news product is representative of better value than the low-quality alternative.

As mentioned earlier, according to Roberts and Dickson (1983), the association between public preferences for news stories and the amount of time stations devoted to them is a determinate measure of news quality. By this approach, there is a normative basis for a quantitative foundation in evaluating the measure of quality well suited to application to this empirical study based on the quantity of international reportage. This study of RTÉ and the CBC similarly applies this understanding in that the quantity of international news is directly linked to quality. As a result, the data contained in this study pertaining to the current international news values of quality at RTÉ and the CBC contribute to both present and future scholarship into the international newsflow of public service broadcasting.

Traditionally, perceptions of news quality are linked to credibility, and news credibility is clearly linked to the ability of broadcasters to attribute/name the source of the news (Sundar 1998). Investigations into news credibility (Gaziano 1986, Ibelema and Powell 2001, Kioussis 2001) remain a pre-eminent concern in the reportage of international news, as only credible news can be considered to be of high quality. While only semi-independent/semi-sovereign of the state, in terms of credibility, PSBs are uniquely positioned in the market as official national public

broadcasters. This status grants them credibility in the perception of viewers that the commercial broadcasters can never possess.

For public service broadcasting in Canada and Ireland, real independence is a prerequisite in maintaining all manner of credibility. When PSBs rely upon news products of diminished credibility, this reflects their diminished news values. Since both the CBC and RTÉ are the real property of their respective governments, when the credibility of these PSBs is diminished, so, by extension, is the credibility of the sponsoring state itself. At the core of this research is the realization that this independence, or lack thereof, lies at the heart of the crisis facing PSBs and their news products. This critical understanding is expounded upon in the concluding chapter of this work.

## CHAPTER V

### Conclusion

This chapter concludes this dissertation with a summary of the contributions made by the answers to the research questions. This is achieved in three parts by addressing Research Questions A, B and C together and Questions D and E independently. The chapter closes by addressing the limitations discovered and implications for future research.

The historic, contemporary and future value of public service broadcasters as core providers of high-quality international news to the Irish and Canadian peoples cannot be overemphasised (Finn, McFadyen and Hoskins 2000). Currently, their international news products play indispensable roles in the public service of their respective national media landscapes. Their performance in this regard constitutes a distinct contribution to the development of the knowledge economy of the national public spheres of both Ireland and Canada. As a result, the provision of this output by the CBC and RTÉ is a vital component in the setting of national agendas for informed democratic debate about the role of the Irish Republic and Canada in world affairs. Further, and in occupying an impartial communicative space, this output promotes national identities through popular participation in the democratic process of citizenship (Curran, Iyengar, Lund and Salovaara-Moring 2008). In matters pertaining to the maintenance of cultural sovereignty, the contributions of the CBC and RTÉ to civic knowledge are important.

media provision of public information does matter, and continued deregulation of the broadcast media is likely, on balance, to lead to lower levels of civic knowledge (Curran, Salovaara-Moring, Coen and Iyengar 2009 p25).

Civic knowledge is crucial because only a knowledge-based society is capable of becoming a truly enlightened one. Aspirant to this utopian state, the currently

televised tagline for the CBC News aptly conveys, “There is a difference between being informed and being well informed.”

In the public model, international news products of the CBC and RTÉ aspire to promulgate increased levels of civic knowledge in bridging the gap between the well informed and the uninformed.

Despite markedly differing nation-centric inspired foreign policy and normative news values, both broadcasters are similarly tasked to serve their public by respective acts of legislation. This research concludes that, despite the fundamental differences in their funding and structural models, the news programs of RTÉ and the CBC share a measurable lack of distinctiveness in the provision of that remit as measured by their international output. This trend was apparent across the data revealing the national origin of that output and in the proclivity of the broadcasters to employ and deploy their own foreign correspondents.

The lack of distinctiveness between the CBC and RTÉ international output reflects the shared experience of these two western liberal and bilingual countries. Each has firsthand knowledge of cultural imperialism (Schiller 1976, Tunstall 1977), structural and news imperialism (Galtung 1971) and media imperialism (Boyd Barrett 1977) inherent in their “David and Goliath” relationships with nations that are more powerful.

Among the current market-fragmenting forces influencing the international news output of both RTÉ and the CBC are the evolution of globalization (Bennett 2000) and the subsequent deregulating liberalization and commercialization of the public sphere (Paterson 2006a). Further challenging PSBs are major media consolidations (McChesney 1998, Bagdikian 2001, Corcoran 1990) and increased competition via new domestic and 24-hr satellite-based providers.

Today, we live in an age enabled by the seemingly unlimited potential of the Internet. It’s an age wherein digital streams of pluralistic information threaten to permanently supplant the need for traditional television-based public broadcasting

systems. As a result, traditional television is increasingly in crisis and perhaps even headed towards obsolescence. In its place, the spatial and temporal footprint of the Internet allows for dynamic new platforms for the transmission of international news in the public service of the global sphere. However, as Patterson (2006) warns, television's legacy of dependence on just two wholesale news providers (Patterson 1998, 1996, Boyd-Barrett 1998, Badgikian 2006) has exposed the prolific replication of identical reports online, revealing their dominance and the limitations on pluralism and civic knowledge that this dependency imposes upon civic discourse. More than ever before, the CBC's and RTÉ's ability to independently produce a superior international news product compared to that of their conventional rivals and new online competition is essential in assuring the future of public service broadcasting in both Canada and Ireland.

In supplanting an alternative to the rise of soft news and the market-driven journalism of infotainment (Thussu 2007), the independent assertion of sovereignty over the entire production and distribution chain of the CBC and RTÉ's international output calls for a renaissance of public service-inspired hard news values from within. In Ireland, this redirection calls for a repatriation of RTÉ by the state from the commercial imperatives of its remit. In both cases, a new dedication by the State to fully funding public service broadcasting will provide for lost cultural sovereignty to be repatriated and new cultural independence to be found.

For the sake of maintaining independence at RTÉ and the CBC, no commercial revenue is attributed to their news divisions (CBC & RTÉ Annual Reports 2007). To revitalize these divisions would require increased budgets without a corresponding increase in revenue. Cash strapped and, in the case of the CBC, with declining news budgets (CBC Annual Report 2009), the PSBs would find that these funding increases would necessarily come at the expense of other divisions of the corporation's interests. Difficult choices will continue to be necessary. In the case of the CBC, a long-time commitment to its radio symphony orchestra has already been reconsidered

(CBC 2009b). At RTÉ, this may prompt the PSB to reconsider how maintaining its symphony orchestras contributes to a contemporary public broadcasting remit (RTÉ Annual Report 2006).

Reportage originating from the US featured foremost in the international new agenda of both broadcasters. With respect to the dominance of this reportage, this study accordingly concludes that the international news of the CBC and RTÉ is weighted to present an American worldview.

Concurrent with their dedication to distinct audiences, the broadcasts of the CBC and RTÉ routinely rely upon the pre-packaged international news products of the dominant commercial news wholesalers. By way of example, during the broadcast week of October 15<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> (RTÉ/Appendix A & CBC/Appendix B), both RTÉ and the CBC carried often identical footage of a horrific schoolhouse shooting in the American State of Pennsylvania. Reports #23, 49, 147 and 239, as indexed across the appendices, highlight the lack of distinctive frames across the broadcasters' output. Of course, the natural implication of the presence of this identical footage is that it was acquired from an identical source.

During the same weekday news cycle from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>, the Republic of Ireland's Enterprise, Trade and Employment Minister, Micheál Martin, T.D., together with Northern Ireland Enterprise Minister Maria Eagle, led a joint *Invest Northern Ireland/Enterprise Ireland* delegation to Toronto and Montreal, Canada. This important event in trilateral relations went unreported by both the CBC and RTÉ. By this example, the news values of the CBC and RTÉ were not based on the execution of the hard news values routinely associated with high-quality international news.

Whether the quality of the international output suffered as a result of its dependency on US-led coverage and commercial wholesale sources was not directly addressed in this study. However, this is a question that, with the baseline data this study provides, should prompt future researchers of the CBC and RTÉ to ask, what are the nation centric international news values of the CBC and RTÉ? Since news values, audience expectations and newsworthiness differ markedly from country to country, a standardizing scale by which to



measure international news quality would be an invaluable tool for future newsflow research into the public sector. It's hoped that as result, a universally accepted definition of high-quality international news in the public service can yet be achieved.

## Summary of Contributions

In domesticating international news acquired from commercial services (Ginneken 2005), both the CBC and RTÉ were subjectively observed to superimpose their corporate logos upon the footage licensed from others. This local branding of otherwise unattributed content conveyed the hallmark of ownership and editorial control despite the real lack of it. In colonial Ireland, the presence of the Royal Postal Service was similarly a hallmark of British imperialism and the royal red letter-boxes were grand testaments to that fact. With the coming of the Irish Republic, these vestiges of an imperialist past were painted green to reflect their new ownership. However, there is a popular saying in Ireland “That it takes more to make a republic, than painting the post boxes green” (Anon circa 1950). In the framework of the international news, it takes more to make a PSB than superimposing a logo upon the news products of the global wire services.

Chronicling three decades of declining international news volumes, Moisley (1995) researched the trend across US network television. Based on current levels of international output at the CBC and RTÉ, this study shows that both broadcasters examined demonstrated an analogous decline.

### *Research Questions A, B and C*

What is the total measurement of international news reported by RTÉ and the CBC by quantity and duration of reports? What is the ratio of these international reports by number of international reports compared to the number of domestic reports, and what is the average length of an international report?

This research concludes that in generating their own unique views of world events, both the CBC and RTÉ aired only a nominal volume of international news by both quantity and duration of reports. A significant exception to the hegemony found in the international news agenda was that the overall quantity of the CBC output was nearly three times that of RTÉ. This finding is important because in 2008, RTÉ allocated €38,834,000 of its annual budget to its NCAD (RTE: 2008).

This finding also speaks directly to which national audience, Canadian or Irish, receives better value for its money from its public service broadcaster. As mentioned earlier, in Ireland, “77% of the Irish public regards RTÉ Television News as its main source of both Irish and international news” (RTÉ 2006a). Despite the importance of RTÉ to the Irish people, Canadian audiences received more international news for less public money (CBC 2008) and therefore greater value for their money than did the audiences of RTÉ.

As indicated earlier, over the term of the sample, this study found that the CBC produced nearly three times the number of international reports that RTÉ did. In addition, the CBC broadcast a greater ratio of international news compared to domestic output than did RTÉ.

According to the CBC and RTÉ, the normal output of their international news divisions is of a consistently high quality. This study contributes the finding that a news programme at RTÉ contains no less than 23.30% of high-quality international reportage by number of reports and that those reports are on average no less than 1 minute and 46 seconds in duration and utilize an employee of the broadcaster as a foreign correspondent at least 40.51% of the time. However, a news programme at CBC contains no less than 36.04% of international reportage by number of reports, and those reports are on average no less than 1 minute and 43 seconds in duration and utilize an employee of the broadcaster as a foreign correspondent at least 31.43% of the time. The implication for RTÉ is that audiences of the CBC are, in terms of quantity, getting three times the value for their money relative to audiences in Ireland.

The CBC broadcast 4 hours and 25 minutes more international news by duration and 178 more international reports than did RTÉ during the same term. This was achieved by the CBC with per capita public funding that was half that of RTÉ (Nordicity 2006). However, such per capita statistics are qualified, in that there is more than ten times the number of people in Canada than in Ireland. As such, economies of scale account significantly for this disparity. However, Canada is also a larger country spanning several time zones. More resources are necessary for the CBC to provide for universal access than are required of RTÉ in Ireland. Therefore, the limitations of the economies of scale imposed upon RTÉ are by some measure alleviated.

#### *Research Question D*

What percentages of those international reports are demonstrably sourced from the foreign correspondents of the PSBs? In terms of the use of foreign correspondents, both broadcasters availed themselves of their services almost equally. As a result, the CBC and RTÉ measure the news value of the contributions made by foreign correspondents similarly. By this quantitative measure of comparison, the news values of RTÉ and the CBC are nearly universal.

With fewer than twenty foreign correspondents between them, this study observed that neither the CBC nor RTÉ has a sufficient number of multilingual foreign correspondents (Garnham 1996b, Cormack 2005) to cover the international news. In its watchdog role, investigative journalism grants the practice of public service journalism credibility. In terms of international newsgathering, it is extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, to undertake a genuine investigation of Canadian and/or Irish interests abroad in the absence of PSB-based foreign correspondents at the source of the story.

In highly unionized corporate environments and with shrinking and/or fully allotted newsroom budgets, the limitations inherent in maintaining and assigning new

foreign correspondents abroad are seemingly significant. Despite the need for newsworthy content, in the face of present-day newsroom contraction, it seems almost inconceivable to consider an expansion of the numbers of correspondents abroad.

Investigative journalism is a domestic hallmark of the CBC and RTÉ news divisions. However, it was secondarily and subjectively observed that such journalism was largely absent from their international news agendas, largely because this type of journalism requires a foreign correspondent to source the story, gather and corroborate the investigative content, and shoot and package the footage. In lieu of active newsgathering, parachute journalists rarely have sufficient resources of time to allow for such in-depth investigation.

Unquestionably, the resulting reduction in the size of the news agenda has been accompanied by a corresponding re-evaluation of what news topics have remained newsworthy. Established news theory tells us that events or issues become newsworthy only when these events come in contact with an actual news-gathering organisation with its own peculiar news values. Within the global sphere, neither the CBC nor RTÉ exists in a bubble. They co-exist. This comparative study asserts that when considering what is newsworthy, the shared global news values of RTÉ and the CBC are revealed in the interest of American-led reportage that dominates the news agenda of both broadcasters.

Outside the term of this study, yet illustrative of ignored newsworthy events was the absence of CBC and RTÉ foreign and parachuting correspondents in Rwanda during one of the most ghastly genocides in living memory (UN 2010). The horror began in 1994, at a time when international news volumes had reached record lows (Hess 1996) – lows that this study finds are still mirrored today. It was in 1994 that the Hutu peoples waged genocide upon the once-ruling Tutsi minority. In just one hundred days, in a tiny nation one third the size of Belgium, an estimated 800,000 to 1 million individuals were massacred (Desforges 1999). At least a million more fled to the Democratic People's Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Zaire, Uganda and

Tanzania. Despite the scale of the atrocity, the genocide in Rwanda was largely ignored by mass media (UN 2010). As a result, vast numbers of people who might have been saved by informed intervention died. At a time when the international news was never needed more, there was less of it on television than ever before (Hess 1996, Moisy 1996). For those of us who are fortunate enough to have not witnessed ethnic cleansing in our lives, the magnitude of the event is nearly unimaginable. It's for this reason that we need international news in the public service and foreign correspondents to report it, so that we not only can imagine that such failures of humanity are possible, but also can be deeply informed of them when they are taking place.

As recently as April 21, 2010, the Governor General of Canada, Michaëlle Jean, delivered an official apology on behalf of the international community of the UN inclusive of The Republic of Ireland and Canada for a shared failure to act during the Rwandan genocide of 1994 (Panetta 2010). Had the CBC and/or RTÉ been relentless in exposing the horrors of the jungle daily instead of reducing the amount of international news on offer, it is certainly possible that our governments might, instead of issuing official apologies through the UN, be receiving thanks from the international community for swift intervening action.

Notably, neither the CBC nor RTÉ has retained its old monopoly over the international news in the public spheres of Canada and Ireland. Meanwhile, the traditional role of the classic foreign correspondent has been largely replaced by embedding and/or parachuting journalists into various hotspots when and where needed. In the case of the CBC, this newsgathering modus operandi is supplemented through the limited use of stringers and freelancers. However, the policy at RTÉ is to engage neither. Routinely cited by the broadcasters as justification for not having larger quantities of their own correspondents abroad are the reportedly prohibitive costs associated with global newsgathering.

In addressing the deficiency in the numbers of foreign correspondents in the public service, the European Broadcasting Union News Exchange (EBU) exchanges international news between public broadcasters. Taking their concept a step further, the design and implementation of a global exchange of journalists between national PSBs would be of real yet hitherto unrealized value. Under such an international exchange program, a journalist of RTÉ could be assigned to the CBC, and in return, a CBC reporter would be assigned to the newsroom in Dublin at RTÉ. Such reporters could be engaged in the day-to-day work of their host newsrooms until called upon by their parent corporation to file a report as a foreign correspondent. Under this system, neither the CBC nor RTÉ would be deprived of a journalist, and both would gain a foreign correspondent.

When deployed under the direct editorial control of the home desk, foreign correspondents add valued credibility to international reportage and promote non-parochial understanding. However, with the availability of free-broadcast-quality, video-enabled digital telephony, future international correspondents of public service broadcasting need not be traditional in the classic unionized sense but could be accredited nationals of the diaspora, resident abroad. Importantly, foreign correspondents who present an Irish and/or a Canadian view of the world to domestic audiences strengthen their respective national sovereignties. In addition, their work accrues the proprietary platform necessary to extend Irish and Canadian soft power into the globalized media environment of the transnational public sphere. Moreover, news products that are owned outright can be licensed to others for rebroadcast. However, products that are licensed by the CBC and RTÉ from commercial wholesale sources cannot be commercially exploited for the benefit of the PSBs.

Accepting that the right to communicate is based entirely on the right to access sources of information (Cocca 1976), this study further finds that the routine abdication by the CBC and RTÉ of independent control of the complete news

production chain, from newsgathering and processing phases through to the final delivery to domestic audiences, represents a fundamental failure to communicate.

### *Research Question E*

What is the national origin of the international reports broadcast at the CBC and RTÉ? In making original contributions to the body of knowledge pertaining to agenda-setting theory, this research observed that only two reports about Ireland were broadcast in Canada and no reports about Canada were broadcast in Ireland during the term of the sample. The CBC international news output originated from 18.23% of the nations recognized by the UN while that of RTÉ originated from only 11.46% of world nations. It was during the NWICO-era debates that the developing world of the southern hemisphere complained most loudly in identifying an imperialist imbalance in global newsflow (Cocca 1976, McBride 1980). While this study acknowledges that this inequity persists, it adds that the bilateral reportage between wealthy nations of the northern hemisphere other than the US, such as Canada and Ireland, also suffers from imbalance. This finding is of significance because it stands in contrast to research conducted in 1996 that concluded that national wealth and GNP were major determinants influencing international coverage (Kim and Barnett 1996 p240).

Challenges in comparative newsflow studies routinely arise from the perception that the Anglo-American model of journalistic values, practices, and norms constitutes a universal 'meta' model for everyone (Lloyd 2004). Arguably, if there is a failing in the public service broadcasting culture, it may be its requirement to be all things to all people. In 1975, the global population stood at 4 billion individuals. By 1985, it had climbed to 4.85 billion; as of 2012, it was double the 1975 level (US Census 2009). In concluding that the trends of Anglo-American dominance over the international newsflow persist specifically at RTÉ and the CBC, this study reminds us that, if population as a measure of news volume is a determinant, there will soon be twice as many potential stories as there were in 1975. Yet despite exponential

increases in audience population and the frequency and number of newsworthy events, the quantity of international news and the sources of its origin have instead contracted.

During the NWICO debates, five newswires dominated the international newsflow. Today, only two of these companies remain. Remarkably, despite the fact that the Big Five agencies of yesterday have been replaced by the Associated Press and Thomson Reuters duopoly of today, the once vehement geo-political debate about the influence that they still wield over the international newsflow has largely ceased (UNESCO 2001, Giffard 2001). However, this study did not examine the corporate source of the reports' origin; it targeted the national source. As such, this study has drawn its conclusions about the source of the news directly from the international broadcast agendas of RTÉ and the CBC. Consequently, the source of the news beyond this national framework and the contributions of the foreign correspondent are questions for future researchers to explore more deeply.

As mentioned earlier, this research contributes the finding that concurrent with the claims made before NWICO, the linear north – south geographical bias in the international newsflow persists. Few stories originating from the southern hemisphere were broadcast by either broadcaster considered.

This inability to engage the Canadian and/or Irish public sphere has practical foreign policy implications for the interests of those nations ignored. No less important are the implications for the breadth and depth of civic knowledge of the world among audiences in Canada and Ireland.

## Limitations Discovered

As addressed in Chapter III, the duration of the sample was limited in its chronological scope. The greatest difficulty encountered affecting the course of the research was to be found early in establishing an unbiased methodology to apply when considering what actually constituted an international



report. Notwithstanding such early challenges, this component of the research also bore some of the most fruitful contributions. However, the most accurate findings arose from comparing the quantity, duration and participation of RTÉ and/or CBC correspondents in those international reports.

The news is about people and how newsworthy events impact them and us. As such, the international news is about these newsworthy events as they happen to people in other nations. As mentioned earlier, newsworthiness is routinely defined by that which has been deemed worthy of broadcast by a given broadcaster based on its perceived news values. However, this understanding undermines an acknowledgement of the simultaneous pluralism of the global news system. It is a system wherein the contributions of both the CBC and RTÉ offer striking similarities in their international news agendas.

Addressing delegate PSBs in 2001 at the 13th European Television and Film Forum of the European Institute for the Media, Ireland's Minister for Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, Ms. Sile DeValera, identified the Americanization of the European broadcasting landscape, stating, "To put it plainly, do we want to beat the US at its own game, to produce more of the same but with European credits, or do we want to create a distinct European model?" (IFTN 2001). The findings of this study echo his sentiments of nearly a decade ago in revealing that the processes of hegemony attributed to the Americanization of culture are also at work across the international news output of public service broadcasting not only in Ireland and across Europe, but also in Canada.

## Future Research

The future state of public service broadcasting is of global concern (Banerjee and Seneviratne 2005). Consequently, the future of RTÉ, the CBC and their news divisions must be of special concern to the Irish and Canadian people. The

importance of the baseline data contributed by this study should be integral to future investigations in comparative global newsflow, which radiate from this concern.

The future of international news, beyond over-the-air television (OTA) broadcasting and the conventions it imposes, will continue to bring new challenges and opportunities for the CBC and RTÉ. In the extant and future climate of rapid technological and geo-political change, the genuine potential for the CBC and RTÉ to inform both the national and emergent transnational public sphere rests in the digital distribution pathways of Internet-enabled television.

However, concurrent with this online opportunity to set the agenda for a new global debate, the soft paternal and commercial benefits once held by occupying protected national bandwidths are extinguished. On the Internet, the offerings of RTÉ and the CBC constitute a tiny space amongst the 206,026,787 websites available as of May 2010 (Netcraft 2010). Even the international news products of the CBC and RTÉ will compete with each other for the first time online. Therefore, for the CBC and RTÉ, nothing less than a truly distinctive and nationally centric international news product explored in cyberspace, not broadcast time, stands a reasonable chance of success in a medium already flooded by the hegemonic international news products of the AP and Reuters (Curran 2009).

It is ironic that the citizenry, who partly fund the CBC and RTÉ, also pay private distributors to watch that same programming. It is further paradoxical that the programming of any PSB contains commercial advertising. Advertising revenues were originally only intended to offset the costs incurred in providing free universal access to public service broadcasting (Savage 1996, Attallah 2000).

As the crow flies, it is 140 kilometers from Dublin to Belfast. However, the Kármán line that represents the border to outer space rests at an altitude of only 118 kilometers above us (Thompson 2009). For both Canada and Ireland, outer space is the same distance away, and as few as six orbiting satellites are capable of imaging the entire surface of the Earth (Satellite Television 2007). Through the outright

ownership and control of their own orbiting micro-satellite constellations, the CBC and/or RTÉ could assert independence over the distribution of their international news products. Reciprocally, digital decoders built into receivers could be required by domestic regulation to decode the streaming data for domestic audiences freely.

Traditional research pertaining to international news has been limited in its investigation into the news processes of selection and from the standpoint of its construction. For the CBC and RTÉ to be wholly independent in these news processes, that independence must surely now also extend over the distribution of their news products. If the current commercial satellite and partnered cable-based distributors were obliged to pay RTÉ and the CBC for all the content they sell back to the citizenry, the broadcasting environments of Ireland and Canada would be enduringly altered in the public interest. Conversely, in Ireland, commercial broadcasters recently launched an all-out assault on RTÉ. They alleged that under EU rules, RTÉ was the recipient of an illegal subsidy from the state in the form of license fees. Had it not been for the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) enacted in 1999, the commercial challengers might have been successful. Had that happened, it could have ended the collection of license fees to publicly fund RTÉ and could have threatened the public service broadcasting model across Europe.

In the shadow of the US, Canada resists America's cultural imperialism through tough broadcasting and content regulation (CBC 2002a, Edwardson 2008, Macerola 2003). Foreign ownership is strictly limited, and all Canadian broadcasters are required to programme a set measure of Canadian content (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission [CRTC] 2009). However, as a genre, the news is exempt from current Canadian content regulation. Nevertheless, consideration of additional regulatory limits in both Ireland and Canada targeting the quantity of commercial news acquired from the international news wholesalers would be a research and policy direction worthy of exploration.

As mentioned, the CTF, which currently funds eligible program genres, is also unavailable to the news divisions of the CBC. It is unfortunate that under-funded news divisions, facing extraordinary challenges, are not eligible for cultural funding. Given this lack of needed support, it might be advisable for CBC and RTÉ to investigate applying recommendations made by the Council of Europe pertaining to co-production and resource-sharing agreements between their news divisions (EU Parliamentary Assembly Committee 2009). Certainly, imagination and innovation are needed to solve the crisis posed by the current political economy of the international news in the public sector.

In summary, in socio-political terms, the CBC and RTÉ have traditionally been central to government labours to strengthen all forms of national sovereignty. In achieving this national cohesion, the broadcasting acts of Ireland and Canada convey to RTÉ and the CBC the unique authority to incorporate commercially as national public service broadcasters. In this commercial context, Greenwood (2005) argues that by virtue of their incorporation, all corporate entities – which, by extension, include the CBC and RTÉ – are ‘semi-sovereign’ in their commercial independence from the state. However, being funded in part by the state and bound by public legislation to their service mandates, the CBC and RTÉ are limited in their corporate ability to be commercially semi-sovereign as espoused by Greenwood.

In a political science framework as envisioned by classical liberal theory, the CBC and RTÉ are also ‘semi-sovereign’ in their ability to serve independently as the Fourth Estate. However, despite their editorial independence over their international output, both broadcasters remain dependent upon commercial news wholesalers who are not under their editorial control.

True sovereignty represents the rightful authority to be wholly independent (Krasner 2001). Therefore, the limiting forms of public/commercial or ‘semi-sovereignty’, sometimes referred to as semi-autonomy, concurrently inherent in the structural and funding models of RTÉ and the CBC constitute no real sovereign right

to independence at all. This study concludes that both the authority and practical ability of RTÉ and the CBC to be wholly sovereign or otherwise wholly independent over their international newsgathering, processing and dissemination are demonstrably limited.

Traditionally considered in its political context, sovereignty is measured as being *de jure*, meaning to possess the legal right to be sovereign, or *de facto*, meaning to possess the practical ability to be sovereign. This conceptual dualism is useful for assessing the relative measure of independence that RTÉ and the CBC wield over their international news output. This study concludes that while the authority of the PSBs to assert that independence is *de jure* in law, the *de facto* performance of that independence is limited in practice.

Pursuant to the Reithinian model of public service broadcasting (BBC 2009), both RTÉ and the CBC are mandated to inform, educate and entertain. For both broadcasters, the mandate to inform is secondary to the mandate to entertain. However, if any one element of the trinity of obligation is significantly deficient, it is reasonable to question whether the broadcasters are operating wholly within the terms of the social contract.

The inability of the CBC and RTÉ to be independent – they are wholly sovereign neither in a public nor in a commercial sense – merits renewed examination in light of the ‘social contract’ that Rousseau (1762) identifies and to which RTÉ and the CBC are at least, in principle, bound. Certainly, the broadcasting acts of Ireland and Canada are social contracts with their respective citizenry. As such, these contracts carry with them the implicit common-law obligation of ‘a duty of care’ (House of Lords [1990] 2 AC 605). Significantly, even as a party to these contracts, the citizenry are only ‘semi-sovereign’, in that the day-to-day control over political decision making is largely beyond their reach (Schattschneider 1960). As such, the duty of care weighs even more heavily on the CBC and RTÉ to uphold their

part of the social contract as good corporate citizens in delivering a real value-for-money service.

In terms of RTÉ and the CBC, a social contract enabled the provision of free universal access to public television. Reciprocally, civil society agreed to watch the sponsoring commercials. On August 31, 2011, Canadian over-the-air broadcasters were required to turn off their analogue transmitters and make way for digital television. Ireland's rollover would not be far behind. In a fully digital environment, universal public access will be further restricted (CBC 2007a). Ironically, the commercials will most certainly remain (CBC 2007b).

The conundrum undermining the news independence of the CBC and RTÉ news divisions are these incompatible public/private funding models coexisting in the same organizational space at the same time. This assessment is especially poignant for RTÉ, which was out of necessity (Savage 1996) explicitly founded upon this hybrid public/private dualism. According to the 2006 annual report of RTÉ, 60% of the broadcaster's budget arises from the sale of commercial advertising. Conversely, in 2006, the CBC was the recipient of 60% public funding.

Although some professionals in the business of broadcasting might disagree, a choice needs to be made to ensure a future of credibly independent international news in the public service. The funding models in both Canada and Ireland must be wholly public or wholly commercial. Mindful of the broadcasting acts of Canada and Ireland and in the extended context of the social contract, and in consideration of the acknowledged role played by the CBC and RTÉ news divisions as the 'Fourth Estate' envisioned by Thomas Carlyle (1795 – 1881), as well as in this researcher's shared opinion (Lorimer and Duxbury 1994, Canadian Heritage 2006), there is ample justification for a 100% publicly funded, commercial-free RTÉ and CBC.

The political will to create policy initiatives aimed at new independence in the gathering, processing and distribution of the news is required to achieve this policy shift (Hackett 2000). It is a shift that necessitates independence from the

commercialization of the newsflow and the associated softening of international news values.

A multiplicity of media giants jockey for market share over international news broadcasting in Ireland and Canada today. Their struggle contributes to a reduced ability by the CBC and RTÉ to deliver value for money in the assertion of their public service independence. In this media environment, the public's right to be informed has become a commodity to be bought and sold. Accordingly, free-flowing information is not free at all.

Accepting that the right to communicate is based on the right to access sources of information (Cocca 1976), this study concludes that there is a routine abdication of independent access to the primary sources of international news by the CBC and RTÉ. Moreover, a subsequent dependence on the rebroadcast of largely commercially generated news products constitutes a fundamental failure to communicate. If left unaddressed, this failure promises to have a negative impact upon the civic knowledge of those who rely upon the CBC and RTÉ for news about the world (McAllister 2006). Public service broadcasters in Canada and Ireland can have a distinctive competitive edge by virtue of their unique national mandates. It is upon this uniqueness that truly meaningful and distinctive international news products can arise.

In conclusion, I trust that this study will quantitatively contribute to the establishment of a universal benchmark for the evaluation of high-quality international news in the public service, thereby establishing a universal standard for measuring the real value that the public receives from their respective PSBs. Lastly, it is hoped that this work also prompts other researchers to reconsider the present and the future international news agendas of public service broadcasting not only at the CBC and RTÉ, but also in contemporary democracies around the world.

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## Appendices

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## **Appendix (A): Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ)**

**A)** RTÉ News: One O'Clock, Monday – Friday, 09/10/2006 – 20/10/2006, 13:00.00 – 13:25.00 (GMT)

### ➤ **Monday, October 9, 2006**

- a) Actual broadcast duration: 26 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 10
- c) Number of international reports: 1
- d) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 26 sec
- e) Run time of all international reports combined: 4 min & 51 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #1 ~ 10:21.00 – 12:01.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test.  
Notes: Report by Anne-Marie Green with file footage of North Korean border. (1 min & 41 sec)

### ➤ **Tuesday, October 10, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 31 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 7
- c) Number of international reports: 2
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 2 min & 11 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 6 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 0

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #2 ~ 09:15.00 – 11:00.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test China Reaction. Notes: RTÉ v/o Reporter; Anne Marie Green. (1 min & 45 sec)
2. Report #3 ~ 13:54.01 – 14:20.01, Russia - Funeral of Russian Journalist Anna Politkovskaya. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (26 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 11, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 22 min & 1 sec
- b) Number of domestic reports: 7
- c) Number of international reports: 2
- d) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 38 sec
- e) Run time of all international reports combined: 5 min & 15 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #4 ~ 00:45.00 – 05.44.01, Scotland - Leaders of North's Political Parties Travel to Scotland Talks. Notes: F/C, T. Gorman for RTÉ. (4 min & 59 sec)
2. Report #5 ~ 11:15.01 – 11:31.00, Europe/France - French Plane Crash. Notes: Map overlay Anchor v/o. (16 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 12, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 30 min & 59 sec
- b) Number of domestic reports: 8
- c) Number of international reports: 1
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 4 min & 58 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 29 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #6 ~ 18:22.00 – 18:49.00, North America/USA - Small Plane Crash in New York. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (27 sec)

#### ➤ **Friday, October 13, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 25 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 8
- c) Number of international reports: 4
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 10 min & 5 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 1 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #7 ~ 10:14.00 – 12:01:00, England - British General Against Iraq, Notes: Report v/o by Anne Marie Green. (1 min & 47 sec)
2. Report #8 ~ 11:55.00 – 12:22.00, England - Terry Lloyd Murder Inquest Killed by US in Iraq. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (27 sec)
3. Report #9 ~ 14:51.00 – 16:11.00, North America/USA - Pulitzer Prize Winner. Notes: v/o reporter Ruth McAvinia. (1 min & 20 sec)
4. Report #10 ~ 17:38.00 – 19:10.00, Europe/Belgium - Food Aid Infrastructures Ireland UN Deal for Use of Foreign Bases. Notes: v/o reporter for RTÉ John Kilraine. (1 min & 32 sec)

➤ **Monday, October 16, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 31 min & 01 sec b)  
Number of domestic reports: 14
- c) Number of international reports: 4
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 3 min & 47 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 45 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

- 1. Report #11 ~ 04:33.00 – 05:00.01, Asia/Sri Lanka - Sixty-seven Killed in Sri Lanka Bombing. Notes: Entirely v/o by domesticating anchor. (27 sec)
- 2. Report #12 ~ 05:00.02 – 06:54.00, Middle East/Israel - Police in Israel Say President Should Be Charged for Sexual Assault. Notes: v/o reporter for RTÉ Kathleen MacMahon. (1 min & 54 sec)
- 3. Report #13 ~ 06:54.01 – 07:22.00, Middle East/Iraq - Car Bombing. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)
- 4. Report #14 ~ 17:53.00 – 18:20.00, North America/USA - Earthquake Rocks Hawaii. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (27 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 17, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 31 min & 01 sec b)  
Number of domestic reports: 10
- c) Number of international reports: 3
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 5 min & 59 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #15 ~ 14:07.00 – 14:29.00, Europe/Italy - Subway Crash.  
Notes: Anchor is v/ok. (22 sec)
2. Report #16 ~ 15:02.00 – 16:52.00, North America/USA - Madonna - Adoption of Malawi Boy Raises Controversy in London, England.  
Notes: for RTÉ Kathleen MacMahon. (1 min & 50 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 18, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 25 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 11
- c) Number of international reports: 2
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 4 min & 39 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 33 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #17 ~ 10:08.00 – 11:49.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test Condoleezza Rice in Japan, Notes: v/o reporter for RTÉ Anne-Marie Green. (1 min & 41 sec)
2. Report #18 ~ 16:05.00 – 17:52.00, Europe/Iceland - Starts Whaling Again; Notes: v/o reporter for RTÉ Kathleen MacMahon. (1 min & 47 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 19, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 30 min & 59 sec
- b) Number of domestic reports: 9
- c) Number of all international reports: 1
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 1 min & 50 sec



- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 50 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 0

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

- 1. Report #19 ~ 12:03.00 – 13:53.00, North America/USA - President Bush  
Compares Iraq to Vietnam: Notes: v/o RTÉ Reporter Anne - Marie  
Green. (1 min & 50 sec)

#### ➤ **Friday, October 20, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 29 min & 01 sec b)  
Number of domestic reports: 14
- c) Number of international reports: 4
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 4 min & 38 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 56 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 0

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

- 1. Report #20 ~ 11:09.01 – 11:44.00, North America/USA - Foreign  
Secretary in China re: North Korea. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (35 sec)
- 2. Report #21 ~ 11:44.01 – 12:16.00, Asia/Thailand - Bombing in  
Southern Thailand. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (32 sec)
- 3. Report #22 ~ 15:16.00 – 15:47.00, Russia - Gas Supplies from  
Russia Threatened. Notes: Anchor does v/o. (31 sec)
- 4. Report #23 ~ 15:47.01 – 18:23.00, North America/USA - Chevron-  
Global Oil Supply. Notes: Anchor v/o for RTÉ. (2 min & 36 sec)

**B)** RTÉ News: Six One, Monday – Friday, 09/10/2006 – 20/10/2006,  
18:01.00 – 19:00.00 (GMT)

➤ **Monday, October 9, 2006**

- a) Actual broadcast duration: 68 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 20
- c) Number of all international reports combined: 6
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 14 min & 32 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 05 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 3

**ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:**

1. Report #24 ~ 06:50.00 – 07:54.00, North America/USA - UN Condemns North Korea Nuclear Test. Notes: Report Audio fails; Anchor breaks away, Anne Marie Green v/o for RTÉ. (1 min & 04 sec)
2. Report #25 ~ 24:40.00 – 26:40.00, United Nations - Condemns North Korea Nuclear Test. Notes: Anne Marie Green v/o for RTÉ. (2 min)
3. Report #26 ~ 26:40.00 – 30:29.00, Asia/North Korea - North Korea Test. Notes: Interview with Robert Short Washington F/C. (4 min & 29sec)
4. Report #27 ~ 37:15.00 – 39:00.00, Russia - President Putin Promise investigation into death of journalist. Notes: Kathleen MacMahon. (1 min & 45 sec)
5. Report #28 ~ 42:27.00 – 44:24.00.00, Europe/Cyprus - Irish President State visit to Cyprus. Notes: F/C for RTÉ Eileen Magnier. (1 min & 57 sec)

6. Report #29 ~ 53:05.00 – 54:22.00, Europe/Belgium - 603 Carat Diamond sells for \$12.5 million. Notes: v/o Tony Connelly for RTÉ. (1 min & 17 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 10, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 60 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 16
- c) Number of all international reports combined: 2
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 6 min & 49 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 3 min & 25 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 0

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #30 ~ 23:20.00 – 29:38.00, Asia/North Korea - North Korea Nuclear Test. Notes: v/o for RTÉ, Anne-Marie Green and interviews in London. (6 min & 18 sec)
2. Report #31 ~ 31:25.00 – 31:56.00, Europe/Greece - Greek Plane Crashes claims over 100. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (31 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 11, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 65 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 15
- c) Number of all international reports combined: 3
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 10 min & 18 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 35 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

#### ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #32 ~ 15:43.00 – 17:25.00, Europe/France - France Train Crash. Notes: v/o for RTÉ, Kathleen MacMahon. (1 min & 42 sec)
2. Report #33 ~ 29:43.00 – 31:49.00, North America/USA - President Bush Warns North Korea. Notes: v/o Mary Calpin for RTÉ. (2 min & 6 sec)
3. Report #34 ~ 44:00.00 – 46:05.00, Europe/Belgium - European style Casinos Considered for Ireland. Notes: F/C for RTÉ Tony Connolly. (2 min & 5 sec)

#### ➤ **Thursday, October 12, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 65 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 19
- c) Number of all international reports: 5
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 12 min & 24 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 4 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 4

#### ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #X ~ 27:00.00 – 30:35.00, Northern Ireland - St. Andrews Talks Notes: F/C, T. Gorman. (3 min & 35 sec)
2. Report #35 ~ 30:38.00 – 33:52.00, Europe/Spain - Spain Property Boon Corruption Boon 13,000 Illegal Homes. Notes: F/C Sean Whelan for RTÉ. (3 min & 14 sec)
3. Report #36 ~ 37:50.00 – 39:55.00, Europe/Belgium - Open Skies Policy. Notes: Tony Connelly F/C for RTÉ. (2 min & 5 sec)
4. Report #37 ~ 39:56.00 – 40:23.00, North America/USA - Small

Plane crashes in New York. Notes: Anchor v/o. (27 sec)

5. Report #38 ~ 40:24.00 – 40:46.00, North America/USA - Amish School House Demolished. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (22 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 13, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 65 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 13
- c) Number of all international reports combined: 4
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 15 min & 1 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 3 min & 00 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #39 ~ 38:14.00 – 39:50.00, Asia/Bangladesh - Bangladesh Noble Laureate Peace Prize Awarded. Notes: Anchor v/o Ruth McAvinia. (1 min & 36 sec)
2. Report #40 ~ 39:51.00 – 41:35.00, United Nations - World Food Programme New Global Emergency Response Measures; Notes: v/o for RTÉ John Kilraine. (1 min & 44 sec)
3. Report #41 ~ 41:36.00 – 42:04.00, North America/USA - Madonna Adopts Boy from Malawi. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)
4. Report #42 ~ 42:05.00 – 42:33.00, England - Inquest into ITN Reporter Terry Lloyd. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 17, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 65 min & 1 sec
- b) Number of domestic reports: 19

- c) Number of all international reports combined: 1
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 10 min & 39 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 3 min & 33 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #43 ~ 47:05.00 – 48:54.00, England - London Madonna Adopts Malawi Boy. Notes: v/o for RTÉ Kathleen MacMahon. (1 min & 49 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 18, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 65 min & 1 sec
- b) Number of domestic reports: 16
- c) Number of all international reports combined: 5
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 10 min & 56 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 11 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 3

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #44 ~ 16:10.00 – 18:00.00, North America/USA - Ten Soldiers Killed & Media Reports Pull-out from Iraq Considered. Notes: F/C for RTÉ, Robert Short Washington. (1 min & 50 sec)
2. Report #45 ~ 29:47.00 – 31:29.00, North America/USA - Condoleezza Rice in Tokyo re: North Korea Sanctions. Notes: v/o Anne-Marie Green for RTÉ. (1 min & 42 sec)
3. Report #46 ~ 31:29.00 – 35:00.00, Europe/Denmark (Greenland) - Rising Sea Level Greenland Glaciers Melting. Notes: F/C for RTÉ, Paul Cunningham from Greenland. (3 min & 31 sec)

4. Report #47 ~ 35:01.00 – 37:07.00, Europe/Iceland - Defies Whaling Ban. Notes: Kathleen MacMahon. (2 min & 6 sec)
5. Report #48 ~ 37:08.00 – 38:55.00, Europe/Belgium - European Liberalization of Postal Services. Notes: Tony Connolly RTÉ signs off in Europe. (1 min & 47 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 19, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 65 min & 1 sec b)  
Number of domestic reports: 14
- c) Number of all international reports combined: 2
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 4 min & 36 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 18 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

**ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:**

1. Report #49 ~ 11:57.00 – 13:51.00, North America/USA - President Bush Iraq Is Like Vietnam. Notes: F/C Robert Short for RTÉ. (1 min & 54 sec)
2. Report #50 ~ 32:00.00 – 34:42.00, Europe/Greenland - Ocean Levels Rising. Notes: F/C Paul Cunningham. (2 min & 42 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 20, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 65 min & 1 sec b)  
Number of domestic reports: 17
- c) Number of all international reports combined: 3
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 6 min & 56 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 19 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #51 ~ 09:05.00 – 11:18.00, Europe/Belgium - Leaders Talks re: Safeguarding Oil Suppliers. Notes: F/C for RTÉ Tony Connelly. (2 min & 13 sec)
2. Report #52 ~ 30:36.00 – 33:18.00, Europe/Denmark (Greenland) - Ice Shelf Melting, Ocean Rising, RTÉ F/C Paul Cunningham. (2 min & 42 sec)
3. Report #53 ~ 33:19.00 – 35:20.00, Europe/Belgium - Irish Trade Unions Call on a Ban for Romanian and Bulgarian Immigration Upon Joining the Union. Notes: v/o. (2 min & 1 sec)

C) RTÉ News: Nine O’Clock, Monday – Friday, 09/10/2006 – 20/10/2006, 21:00.00 – 21:35.00 (GMT)

➤ **Monday, October 9, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 30 min & 21 sec b)  
Number of domestic reports: 13
- c) Number of international reports: 5
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 11 min & 52 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 59 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 4

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #54 ~ 08:50.00 – 10:53.00, Asia/North Korea - North Korea & UN Security Council Response to Nuclear Tests. Notes: Anne-Marie Green v/o. (2 min & 03 sec)



2. Report #55 ~ 10:53.01 – 12:40.00, Asia/North Korea - North Korea Conducts Nuclear Test: Notes: Second Report in a series, v/o reporter for RTÉ, Gareth O'Connor. (1 min & 47 sec)
3. Report #56 ~ 12:41.01 – 14:43.00, Asia/North Korea - North Korea Nuclear Test. Notes: Interview with F/C Robert Short. (2 min & 2 sec)
4. Report #57 ~ 17:00.00 – 18:47.00, Europe/Germany - Ahern State Visit. Notes: F/C, David McCullagh. (1 min & 47 sec)
5. Report #58 ~ 26:30.00 – 28:28.00, Europe/Belgium - 600 Carat Diamond. Notes: F/C Tony Connelly. (1 min & 58 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 10, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 36 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 15
- c) Number of international reports: 4
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 8 min & 23 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 41 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

**ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:**

1. Report #59 ~ 06:30.00 – 08:20.00, North Korea - Nuclear Test.  
Notes: v/o Anne- Marie Green. (1 min & 50 sec)
2. Report #60 ~ 08:20.01 – 10:15.00, North America/USA - North Korea Nuclear Test. Notes: Interview with Robert Short. (1 min & 55 sec)
3. Report #61 ~ 21:47.00 – 22:55.00, Europe/Belgium - Tuberculosis Awareness. Notes: v/o Edel McAllister. (1 min & 8 sec)

4. Report #62 ~ 24:05.00 – 25:35.00, North America/USA - Divorcee Ellen Barkin of Billionaire Auctions Jewellery. Notes: Gareth O'Connor v/o. (1 min & 30 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 11, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 35:59 b)  
Number of domestic reports: 13
- c) Number of international reports: 3
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 9 min & 45 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 26 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 1

**ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:**

1. Report #63 ~ 14:20.00 – 16:07.00, Asia/North Korea – USA Response to Nuclear Test. Notes: Mary Calpin v/o for RTÉ. (1 min & 47 sec)
2. Report #64 ~ 19:02.00 – 20:37.00, North America/USA – Small Plane Crashes in Manhattan. Notes: v/o Jonathan Clynych. (1 min & 35 sec)
3. Report #65 ~ 20:37.00 -22:20.00, Europe/France - France Train Crash Kills Five, Notes: Kathleen MacMahon v/o. (1 min & 43 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 12, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 36 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 10
- c) Number of international reports: 2
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 8 min & 18 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 46 sec

- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #66 ~ 23:15.00 – 25:21.00, Europe/Spain, Thousands of Holiday Homes Illegal Risk Demolition. Notes: F/C, Sean Whelan. (2 min & 6 sec)
2. Report #67 ~ 29:20.00 – 31:02.00, Middle East/Turkey, Turkish Author Wins Humanitarian Prize. Notes: Edel McAllister v/o. (1 min & 42 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 13, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 36 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 15
- c) Number of international reports: 3
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 13 min & 20 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 13 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 4

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #68 ~ 18:10.00 – 20:03.00, England - British General Says Troops Should get out of Iraq. Notes: F/C -Brian O'Connell. (1 min & 53 sec)
2. Report #69 ~ 20:03.01 – 22:03.00, England - Terry Lloyd Murder Inquest of ITN Journalist Killed by Americans in Iraq. Notes: Edel McAllister. (2 min)
3. Report #70 ~ 22:03.01 – 24.00.00, North America/USA - Nuclear Test Sanctions China Responds. Notes: F/C is Robert Short. (1 min & 57 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 17, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 36 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 17
- c) Number of international reports: 1
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 6 min & 1 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 00 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 3

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #71 ~ 23:59.00 – 25:35.00, North America/USA - UN Day to End Poverty. Notes: F/C, Robert Short. (1 min & 36 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 18, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 35 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 12
- c) Number of international reports: 3
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 5 min & 56 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 59 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #72 ~ 18:30.00 – 20:45.00, Europe/Denmark (Greenland) - Rising Sea Levels. Notes: F/C, Cunningham. (2 min & 15 sec)
2. Report #73 ~ 20:45.01 – 22:55.00, North America/USA - American Soldiers Face Rape Charges in Iraq. Notes: F/C, Robert Short. (2 min & 10 sec)
3. Report #74 ~ 28:20.00 – 29:51.00, England - Heather Mills & Paul McCartney Notes: v/o Sinead Crowley. (1 min & 31 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 19, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 31 min & 29 sec b)  
Number of domestic reports: 12
- c) Number of international reports: 2
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 5 min & 32 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 46 sec
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #75 ~ 11:20.00 – 14:32.00, North America/USA - Bush Iraq  
Violence akin to Vietnam. Notes: F/C, Robert Short. (3 min & 12 sec)
2. Report #76 ~ 21:45.00 – 24:05.00, Europe/Denmark (Greenland) -  
Global Warming Rising Sea Levels II. Notes: F/C, Paul  
Cunningham. (2 min & 20 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 20, 2006**

- a) Scheduled broadcast duration: 36 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 13
- c) Number of international reports: 3
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 6 min & 1 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min
- f) Use of RTÉ foreign correspondents: 2

ALL INTERNATIONAL REPORTS:

1. Report #77 ~ 10:08.00 – 12:05.00, Europe/Finland - Finland Gas  
Supply from East. Notes: F/C, Tony Connelly. (1 min & 57 sec)
2. Report #78 ~ 20:10.00 – 22:25.00, Europe/Denmark (Greenland) -  
Global Warming. Notes: F/C, Paul Cunningham. (2 min & 15 sec)

3. Report #79 ~ 22:25.01 – 24:14.00, Europe/Belgium - Restrictions on Bulgarian and Romanian Immigrants. Notes: v/o reporter for RTÉ Ingrid Miley. (1 min & 49 sec)

## **Appendix (B) The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)**

- A) CBC News: Morning, Monday – Friday, 09/10/2006 – 20/10/2006,  
06:00.00 – 07:00.00 (EST)

### ➤ **Monday, October 9, 2006**

- a) Actual broadcast duration: 60 min b)  
Number of domestic reports: 10
- c) Number of international reports: 7
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 23 min & 40 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 3 min & 23 sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 2

### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #1 ~ 00:01.04 – 10:45.01, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test,  
Notes: F/C is Patrick Brown from Beijing. (10 min & 44 sec)
2. Report #2 ~ 10:45.02 – 11:13.00, United Nations - Reaction to NK Test.  
Notes: Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)
3. Report #3 ~ 11:13.01 – 12:13.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Returning  
Coffins, Ramp Ceremony. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (1 min)
4. Report #4 ~ 31:08.00 – 40:42.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test.  
Notes: repeat of earlier spot, F/C P. Brown Beijing. (9 min & 34 sec)
5. Report #5 ~ 40:43.00 – 41:12.00, United Nations – Reaction to NK Test.  
Notes: Anchor is v/o. (29 sec)
6. Report #6 ~ 41:12.01 – 42:12.00, Asia/Afghanistan – Returning  
Coffins, Ramp Ceremony. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (1 min)
7. Report #7 ~ 50:02.00 – 50:27.00, North America/USA – E-coli  
Found in California Produce. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)

### ➤ **Tuesday, October 10, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 19
- c) Number of international reports: 11
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 16 min & 25 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 30 sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 5

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #8 ~ 01:42.00 – 04:23.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test World Responds. Notes: F/C, Michel Cormier in Seoul South Korea. (2 min & 41 sec)
2. Report #9 ~ 04:23.01 – 04:59.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Attack Kills Sixteen, Notes: Anchor is v/o. (36 sec)
3. Report #10 ~ 04:59.01 – 05:22.00, Asia/Afghanistan - CDN Troop Deployments. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (23 sec)
4. Report #11 ~ 05:22.01 – 05:46.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Canadian Soldier Funeral, Notes: Anchor is v/o. (24 sec)
5. Report #12 ~ 05:46.01 – 08:05.00, Asia/India - Child Labour Banned. Notes: F/C, Rohit Gandhi by telephone. (2 min & 19 sec)
6. Report #13 ~ 08:05.01 – 08:31.00, South America/Argentina - Bus Crash Kills Forty. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (26 sec)
7. Report #14 ~ 08:31.00 – 09:03.00, North America/USA - Shooting in Missouri School. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (32 sec)
8. Report #15 ~ 26:42.00 – 27:24.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test World Responds. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (42 sec)
9. Report #16 ~ 27:31.00 – 31:07.00, England - Internet Child Stalking. Notes: F/C, Harry Forestall. (3 min & 36 sec)



10. Report #17 ~ 34:35.00 – 37:51.00, Asia/North Korea - World United Front against Nuclear Test. Notes: Top story, F/C, A. Arsenault. (3 min & 16 sec)
11. Report #18 ~ 52:33.00 – 54:03.00, England - Tate Modern Art Gallery, Notes: F/C, Harry Forestall. (1 min & 30 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 11, 2009 - MISSING**

➤ **Thursday, October 12, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 20
- c) Number of international reports: 14
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 20 min & 58 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 30 sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 4

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #19 ~ 01:30.00 – 04:24.00, North America/USA - Small Plane Crash in Manhattan Update. Notes: Coast Guard File images, CBS interviews, and anchor is v/o. (2 min & 54 sec)
2. Report #20 ~ 06:15.00 – 09:57.00, Asia/North Korea - Ongoing Developments re: Nuclear Test. Notes: F/C, for CBC Michel Cormier. (3 min & 42 sec)
3. Report #21 ~ 09:57.00 – 10:27.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Recent Attacks Overview. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)
4. Report #22 ~ 10:30.00 – 13:15.00, North America/USA - New York Crash. Notes: Top story, live F/C, Clare Linkin from CBS Network News. (2 min & 45 sec)

5. Report #23 ~ 13:15.01 – 13:49.00, North America/USA - Amish School to Be Demolished. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (34 sec)
6. Report #24 ~ 17:50.00 – 19:49.00, United Nations - Children and Violence. Notes: F/C, Forestall London. (1 min & 59 sec)
7. Report #25 ~ 19:50.00 – 20:28.00, Asia/Afghanistan - CDN Soldier Killed, Coffin Return to Canada. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (38 sec)
8. Report #26 ~ 22:00.00 – 23:12.00, North America/USA - Charges against Conrad Black. Notes: Anchor v/o and interview. (1 min & 12 sec)
9. Report #27 ~ 31:00.00 – 31:45.00, North America/USA - New Video Plane Crashes in Manhattan. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (45 sec)
10. Report #28 ~ 31:50.00 – 32:29.00, Middle East/Palestine – Violence, Five Dead. Notes: Forestall in London is v/o. (39 sec)
11. Report #29 ~ 32:29.00 – 33:18.00, Europe/France - Armenian Genocide. Notes: Forestall in London is v/o. (49 sec)
12. Report #30 ~ 33:20.00 – 34:05.00, Asia/Indonesia - Bali Bombing 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. Notes: Forestall in London is v/o. (45 sec)
13. Report #31 ~ 45:14.00 – 45:45.00, North America/USA - Plane Crash Manhattan. Notes: Top Story anchor is v/o. (31 sec)
14. Report #32 ~ 51:32.00 – 54:47.00, England - Freeze Art Fair. Notes: Forestall for CBC in London. (3 min & 15 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 13, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 18
- c) Number of international reports: 12
- d) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 18 sec

- e) Run time of all international reports combined: 15 min & 32 sec f)  
CBC foreign correspondents: 4

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #33 ~ 01:20.00 – 03:21.00, Europe/Sweden - Nobel Peace Prize Awarded. Notes: Forestall from London. (2 min & 1 sec)
2. Report #34 ~ 03:21.01 – 04:08.00, Asia/North Korea - China and South Korea Presidents Meet. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (47 sec)
3. Report #35 ~ 04:08.01 – 04:44.00, Asia/Japan - Response to North Korean Test. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (36 sec)
4. Report #36 ~ 04:44.01 – 07:08.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Attack Leaves Dead. Notes: Live F/C, Stephen Puddicombe. (2 min & 24 sec)
5. Report #37 ~ 08:05.00 – 10:41.00, North America/USA - Buffalo Hit by Winter Storm. Notes: Anchor v/o and C. Jones for CBC. (2 min & 36 sec)
6. Report #38 ~ 15:35.00 – 16:10.00, Europe/Sweden - Nobel Prize Winner. Notes: Top Story Anchor is v/o. (35 sec)
7. Report #39 ~ 16:10.01 – 16:45.00, North America/USA - Health Officials E-coli Outbreak. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (35 sec)
8. Report #40 ~ 28:19.00 – 28:53.00, Europe/Sweden - Nobel Peace Prize. Notes: Top Story, Anchor is v/o. (34 sec)
9. Report #41 ~ 29:00.00 – 30:35.00, England - UK General Against Iraq Mission. Notes: Forrestal in London. (1 min & 35 sec)
10. Report #42 ~ 30:35.01 – 31:04.00, Scotland – St. Andrews Power Sharing Agreement. Notes: F/C, Forestall. (29 sec)
11. Report #43 ~ 31:04.01 – 31:42.00, Africa/Ghana - Malaria Outbreak Breakthrough. Notes: v/o by Harry Forestall. (38 sec)

12. Report #44 ~ 51:39.00 – 54:21.00, England - Modern Benefactors of the Arts. Notes: Forestall in London. (2 min & 42 sec)

➤ **Monday, October 16, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 20
- c) Number of international reports: 13
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 21 min & 41 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 40 sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 3

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #45 ~ 01:30.00 – 02:38.00, North America/USA - Hawaii Earthquake State Declared a Disaster Area. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (1 min & 8 sec)
2. Report #46 ~ 02:40.00 – 05:05.00, Middle East/Israel - Israeli President Accused of Rape. Notes: F/C, Peter Armstrong in Jerusalem via Skype. (2 min & 25 sec)
3. Report #47 ~ 05:10 .00 – 07:49.00, United Nations - Security Council Elections. Notes: F/C, N. Herland New York. (2 min & 39 sec)
4. Report #48 ~ 07:51.00 – 08:27.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Coffins Return to Canada. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (36 sec)
5. Report #49 ~ 08:30.00 – 08:50.00, North America/Mexico - Investigation into Murders of Two Canadians. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (20 sec)
6. Report #50 ~ 09:47.00 – 10:27.00, North America/USA – Public Hearings Great Lakes American Live Fire Exercises. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (40 sec)

7. Report #51 ~ 15:25.00 – 22:04.00, North America/USA – Hawaii Aftershocks. Notes: Anchor is v/o and local interview by phone. (6 min & 39 sec)
8. Report #52 ~ 26:00.00 – 28:41.00, England - Madonna Adopts Child from Malawi. Notes: Harry Forestall v/o. (2 min & 41 sec)
9. Report #53 ~ 34:00.00 – 34:40.00, North America/USA - Hawaii Earthquake. Notes: Top story, Anchor is v/o. (40 sec)
10. Report #54 ~ 34:45.00 – 35:37.00, Asia/Sri Lanka - Suicide Attack. Notes: Forestall. (52 sec)
11. Report #55 ~ 35:37.01 – 36:29.00, Middle East/Iraq - Saddam Hussein Trial. Notes: Forestall v/o. (52 sec)
12. Report #56 ~ 36:29.01 – 37:08.00, Asia/South Korea - Civil Defence Drill. Notes: Forestall v/o. (39 sec)
13. Report #57 ~ 52:30.00 – 54:00.00, England - Battle of Hastings Re-enactment. Notes: F/C, Forestall. (1 min & 30 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 17, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 27
- c) Number of international reports: 17
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 19 min & 47 sec e)
- Average of run time of an international report: 1 min & 10 sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 5

## THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #58 ~ 00:55.00 – 04:51.00, Asia/North Korea - S. Korea Reacts. Notes: Anna Fifield of the Financial Times F/C by telephone from Seoul. (3 min & 56 sec)
2. Report #59 ~ 05:01.00 – 05:16.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State Rice Goes to Asia. Notes: Anchor update. (15 sec)
3. Report #60 ~ 05:16.01 – 07:55.00, Asia/China - Canadian in China Jail. Notes: F/C, by telephone from Shanghai CCB Anthony Germaine. (2 min & 39 sec)
4. Report #61 ~ 07:55.01 - 08:20.00, North America/Mexico - Canadians Ianerio Couple Killed Investigation. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)
5. Report #62 ~ 08:21.00 ~ 09:05.00, Asia/Afghanistan - CDN Soldiers Killed Arrive Home. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (44 sec)
6. Report #63 ~ 10:45.00 – 12:34.00, England - Madonna Adopts Malawi Boy. Notes: F/C, Harry Forestall. (1 min & 49 sec)
7. Report #64 ~ 12:38.00 – 13:00.00, North America/USA - Cory Lidle Yankees Plane Crash Funeral. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (22 sec)
8. Report #65 ~ 16:12.00 – 16:48.00, Asia/North Korea – North Korea warns West against Sanctions. Notes: Top story, F/C. (36 sec)
9. Report #66 ~ 16:48.01 – 19:25.00, Russia - Israel Russia Meetings. Notes: F/C, Nick Spicer in Moscow. (2 min & 37 sec)
10. Report #67 ~ 29:15.00 – 30:00.00, Asia/North Korea - Warns West Against Sanctions. Notes: Top story. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (45 sec)
11. Report #68 ~ 30:06.00 - 30:47.00, Europe/Italy - Subway Trains Collide in Italy. Notes: v/o, Sky TG24 footage. (41 sec)
12. Report #69 ~ 30:47.01 – 31:25.00, Asia/Sri Lanka - Blast Aftermath. Notes: Forestall v/o. (38 sec)

13. Report #70 ~ 31:25.01 – 31:49.00, Middle East/Iraq - Twenty Killed in Bombing - Forestall v/o. (24 sec)
14. Report #71 ~ 31:49.01 – 32:42.00, England - Terror Suspects Wanted. Notes: Forestall v/o from London. (53 sec)
15. Report #72 ~ 35:52.00 – 36:37.00, Asia/North Korea - Warns UN Sanctions Are an Act of War. Notes: Anchor v/o. (45 sec)
16. Report #73 ~ 42:22.00 – 42:55.00, Asia/North Korea - Warns UN Sanctions Are an Act of War. Notes: Anchor v/o. (33 sec)
17. Report #74 ~ 50:00.00 – 51:45.00, Scotland - Game Park Robot for Lions. Notes: Forestall v/o. (1 min & 45 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 18, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 23
- c) Number of international reports: 11
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 11 min & 41 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 4 sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 2

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #75 ~ 01:25.00 – 04:10.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State in Japan. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (2 min & 45 sec)
2. Report #76 ~ 08:12.00 – 08:37.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Deadly Attacks. Notes: Anchor Forestall v/o. (25 sec)
3. Report #77 ~ 08:37.00 – 10:19.00, England - British Top Commander Iraq Detracting from Successes in Afghanistan Force Allocations. Notes: F/C, Harry Forestall. (1 min & 42 sec)
4. Report #78 ~ 10:21.00 – 10:46.00, North America/Mexico - Bus

- Crash Kills Fourteen. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)
5. Report #79 ~ 10:46.01 -11:20.00, North America/USA - Hawaii Recovers. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (34 sec)
  6. Report #80 ~ 14:29.00 – 15:06.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State Rice in Japan Warns North Korea. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (37 sec)
  7. Report #81 ~ 31:00.00 – 31:35.00, North America/USA - Secretary Rice Warns North Korea While in Japan. Notes: Anchor v/o. (35 sec)
  8. Report #82 ~ 31:40.00 – 32:30.00, Asia/Sri Lanka - Riots in Southern Region, Notre: Forestall v/o from London. (50 sec)
  9. Report #83 ~ 32:30.01 - 32:55.00, Asia/China - Rescue on the High Seas. Notes: Forestall v/o from London footage CCTV China. (25 sec)
  10. Report #84 ~ 32:55.01 – 35:00.00, England - Blair Joins Muslim Dress Debate in Europe. Notes: Forestall F/C. (2 min & 5 sec)
  11. Report #85 ~ 53:54.00 – 55:12.00, Europe/Vatican - Papal Cartoon. Notes: Anchor Forestall v/o. (1 min & 18 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 19, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 22
- c) Number of international reports: 11
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 14 min & 50 sec e)
- Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 21sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 1



## THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #86 ~ 04:26.00 – 09:08.00, North America/USA - Rice in Japan Warns North Korea. Notes: F/C, M. McAuliffe in Seoul. (4 min & 42 sec)
2. Report #87 ~ 09:11.00 – 09:35.00, Asia/Afghanistan - British Convoy Attacked. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (24 sec)
3. Report #88 ~ 09:35.01 – 10:54.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Canadian Generals Speak Out. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (1 min & 19 sec)
4. Report #89 ~ 10:58.00 - 12:50.00, England - NATO Officials re: Afghanistan Mission. Notes: v/o Forestall. (1 min & 52 sec)
5. Report #90 ~ 17:23.00 – 18:15.00, North America/USA - Canadian Deported as Terrorist Receives National Award. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (52 sec)
6. Report #91 ~ 26:27.00 – 26:55.00, North America/USA - Buffalo Blizzard Aftermath, Notes; Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)
7. Report #92 ~ 29:30.00 – 30:20.00, North America/USA - President Bush Admission. Notes: Anchor is v/o and ABC interview with the President and George Stephanopoulos. (50 sec)
8. Report #93 ~ 30:21.00 – 31:23.00, Middle East/Iraq - Violence on the Increase. Notes: Forestall v/o. (1 min & 2 sec)
9. Report #94 ~ 31:29.00 – 32:16.00, Africa/Malawi - Father of Madonna's Adopted Child Speaks Out. Notes: v/o. (47 sec)
10. Report #95 ~ 32:16.00 – 33:17.00, North America/USA - Body Parts for Sale. Notes: London anchor Forestall is v/o. (1 min & 1 sec)
11. Report #96 ~ 53:22.00 – 54:55.00, Europe/Italy - Italy Lost City of the Dead Discovered. Notes: London anchor is v/o. (1 min & 33 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 20, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 20
- c) Number of international reports: 9
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 9 min & 3 sec e)
- Average run time of an international report: 1 min
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 2

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #97 ~ 06:35.00 – 09:15.00, Asia/North Korea - Secretary State Rice in China Warns North Korea. Notes: F/C, Michele Cormier in Beijing. (2 min & 40 sec)
2. Report #98 ~ 09:20.00 – 11:23.00, England - Islamic Veils Spark Controversy. Notes: Forestall is v/o. (2 min & 3 sec)
3. Report #99 ~ 11:23.01 – 11:50.01, Asia/Afghanistan - Attack Kills. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (27 sec)
4. Report #100 ~ 11:52.00 – 12:39.00, North America/USA - Coast Guard Goes Live Fire Exercises in Great Lakes. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (47 sec)
5. Report #101 ~ 25:22.00 – 25:45.00, North America/USA - Buffalo Storm Clean-Up. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (23 sec)
6. Report #102 ~ 30:05.00 – 31:06.00, England - Al-Qaeda's UK Targets. Notes: F/C, Forestall. (1 min & 1 sec)
7. Report #103 ~ 31:06.01 – 31:42.00, Middle East/Iran - Rally in the Streets Anti-Israel. Notes: v/o - Harry Forestall. (36 sec)
8. Report #104 ~ 31:42.01 – 32:15.00, Asia/Philippines - Protesting Aroyo. Notes: v/o - Harry Forestall. (33 sec)
9. Report #105 ~ 32:15.01 – 32:48.00, Africa/Sudan - Drowning of

Sudanese Soldiers. Notes: v/o - Harry Forestall. (33 sec)

**B)** CBC News: Today, 9/10/2006 – 20/10/2006, Monday –Friday,  
12:00.00 – 01:00.00 (EST)

➤ **Monday, October 9, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 26 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 9
- c) Number of international reports: 8
- d) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 18 sec
- e) Run time of all international reports combined: 18 min & 20 sec
- f) CBC foreign correspondents: 3

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

- 1. Report #106 ~ 00:00.00 – 08:12.00, North America/USA - Notes: Foreign Correspondents James Bone of The Times Newspaper from New York and Patrick Brown in Beijing. (8 min & 12sec)
- 2. Report #107 ~ 08:12.01 – 10:24.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Ramp Ceremony for Fallen Canadian Soldier. Notes: Stephen Puddicombe F/C. (2 min & 12sec)
- 3. Report #108 ~ 14:26.00 – 14:41.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test Update. Notes: anchor is v/o. (15 sec)
- 4. Report #109 ~ 14:41.01 – 18:50.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Top Commander Needs More Help. Notes: Telephone interview with Major Luke Knittig. (4 min & 9 sec)
- 5. Report #110 ~ 18:54.00 – 20:54.00, United Nations - New Secretary General. Notes: N. Hurling CBC, F/C at the UN. (2 min)

6. Report #111 ~ 20:55.00 – 21:17.00, North America/USA - American Awarded Nobel Prize in Economics. Notes: Anchor s v/o. (22 sec)
7. Report #112 ~ 21:17.01 – 21:49.00, Europe/Vatican - Ancient Discovery of Mosaic. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (32 sec)
8. Report #113 ~ 25:22.00 – 26:00.00, Europe/Spain - Underwater Painter. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (38 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 10, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 59 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 18
- c) Number of international reports: 8
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 18 min & 5 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 16 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 5

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #114 ~ 00:54.00 – 05:25.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Test Fallout and United Nations Reaction. Notes: Neil Herland F/C and F/C Michael McAuliffe in South Korea. (4 min & 31 sec)
2. Report #115 ~ 09:27.00 – 09:48.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Fallen Canadian Soldier Returns Home. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (21 sec)
3. Report #116 ~ 09:48.01 – 10:17.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Bombing in Kabul Kills. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (29 sec)
4. Report #117 ~ 14:24.00 – 19:02.00, United Nations - Top Story Reaction to Nuclear Test. Notes: Anchor is v/o and interview with South Korean Ambassador to the UN. (4 min & 38 sec)
5. Report #118 ~ 23:41.00 – 24:37.00, England - Tate Art Gallery Exhibition in London. Notes: Forestall F/C in London. (56 sec)

6. Report #119 ~ 28:59.00 – 32:30.00, North America/USA - World Leaders Condemn Nuclear Test. Notes: F/C for CBC Henry Champ at the Whitehouse. (3 min & 31 sec)
7. Report #120 ~ 32:32.01 – 35:34.00, Middle East/Iraq - Police in Iraq Finds Sixty Killed Execution & Iraq Trial of Saddam Hussein. Notes: Freelance F/C Larry Kaplow. (3 min & 2 sec)
8. Report #121 ~ 35:39.00 – 36:16.00, North America/USA - Emergency Crew Free People Trapped in Tunnel Crossing from Mexico. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (37 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 11, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 59 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 23
- c) Number of international reports: 18
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 26 min & 58 sec e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 30 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 4

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #122 ~ 01:00.00 – 04:27.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Threat. Notes: Henry Champ F/C White House. (3 min & 27 sec)
2. Report #123 ~ 04:27.00 – 07:25.00, United Nations - Sanctions Against North Korea. Notes: Neil Herland F/C. (2 min & 58 sec)
3. Report #124 ~ 07:33.00 – 07:48.00, Asia/China - China Sends Special Envoy to North Korea. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (15 sec)
4. Report #125 ~ 08:15.00 – 08:36.00, North America/USA - E-coli Outbreak in Juice Exported to Canada. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (21 sec)

5. Report #126 ~ 12:45.00 – 16:58.00, Asia/North Korea - Sanctions.  
Notes: Anchor based interview. (4 min & 13 sec)
6. Report #127 ~ 17:00.00 – 20:01.00, Europe/France - France Rescue Crews and Train Crash. Notes: D. Common F/C. (3 min & 1 sec)
7. Report #128 ~ 20:01.00 – 20:49.00, Russia - Banker Murdered.  
Notes: Business section. (48 sec)
8. Report #129 ~ 28:07.00 – 30:10.00, Asia/North Korea - New Nuclear Threat Sanctions Considered Act of War. Notes: F/C Michel Cormier in Seoul South Korea. (2 min & 3 sec)
9. Report #130 ~ 32:09.00 – 32:38.00, Ireland - St. Andrews Agreement. Notes: File pictures and anchor is v/o. (29 sec)
10. Report #131 ~ 32:40.01 – 33:10.00, Middle East/Iran - Anti -Demark Cartoons of Mohamed Protestors Attack Embassy. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)
11. Spot #132 ~ 33:12.00 – 33:32.00, Asia/Philippines - Bombing by Extremists. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (20 sec)
12. Report #133 ~ 33:38.00 – 34:22.00, North America/USA - Booker Prize Winner. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (44 sec)
13. Report #134 ~ 36:22.00 – 36:52.00, North America/USA - World Yo-Yo Competition. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)
14. Report #135 ~ 39:28.00 – 39:45.00, Asia/North Korea - Top Story Recap. Notes: Anchor is v/o (17 sec)
15. Report #136 ~ 39:47.00 – 40:41.00, North America/USA - US Says Four More Years in Iraq. Notes: File pictures and anchor v/o. (54 sec)
16. Report #137 ~ 40:41.01 – 44:08.00, Middle East/Iraq - Death Toll of Iraqi Citizens Report Claims 500,000 Dead. Notes: Anchor interview with Richard Garfield of Columbia University. (3 min & 27 sec)

17. Report #138 ~ 47:13.00 – 49:20.00, North America/USA - Global Internet Gambling. Notes: CBC reporter from Ottawa. (2 min & 07 sec)
18. Report #139 ~ 49:57.00 – 50:31.00, North America/USA – The Barkin Jewellery Auctioned at Christies. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (34 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 12, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
  - b) Number of domestic reports: 18
  - c) Number of international reports: 12
  - d) Run time of all international reports combined: 22 min & 4 sec
  - e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 50 sec f)
- Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 4

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #140 ~ 00:55.00 – 04:08.00, North America/USA - New York, Crash Investigation Small Plane Yankees Pitcher. Notes: US Coast Guard footage, NBC Jay Grey on loan as F/C for the CBC. (3 min & 13 sec)
2. Report #141 ~ 04:09.00 – 07:15.00, Asia/North Korea - Threats by North Korea Against Japan. Notes: N. Herland F/C at the United Nations. (3 min & 6 sec)
3. Report #142 ~ 07:15.01 – 09:21.00, Asia/South Korea - Internal Political Pressure & South Korea Wants Nukes. Notes: Michael Cormier F/C for the CBC. (2 min & 6 sec)
4. Report #143 ~ 12:24.00 - 13:11.00, United Nations - Global Child Violence. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (47 sec)
5. Report #144 ~ 17:09.00 – 20:58.00, North America/USA - Morning

- Small Plane Crash. Notes: Top story - anchor is v/o. (3 min & 49 sec)
6. Report #145 ~ 25:28.00 – 26:07.00, North America/USA - Texas State Fair Pig Races. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (39 sec)
  7. Report #146 ~ 30:07.00 – 30:24.00, Asia/North Korea - Update. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (17 sec)
  8. Report #147 ~ 32:40.00 – 34:01.00, North America/USA - Amish School Shootings, School House Torn Down, Amish Community Expresses Disdain for Media Coverage and Bans Access to the Site. Notes: Karri Fairchild of NBC News, F/C. (1 min & 21 sec)
  9. Report #148 ~ 34:01.01 – 34:31.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Suicide Attack and Increased Spate of Violence. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)
  10. Report #149 ~ 34:31.01 – 34:58.00, Middle East/Israel - Gaza Strip Israel Forces Raid Territory. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (27 sec)
  11. Report #150 ~ 47:05.00 – 52:30.00, North America/USA - US Environmental Protection Agency Spokesman Interview on Disaster Management. Notes: Interview with anchor. (5 min & 25 sec)
  12. Report #151 ~ 52:31.00 – 52:55.00, South America/Brazil - Rio Statue of Jesus Christ 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (24 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 13, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 19
- c) Number of international news reports: 11
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 12 min & 12 sec



- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 7 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 2

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #152 ~ 01:30.00 – 04:32.00, North America/USA - Buffalo Storm. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (3 min & 2 sec)
2. Report #153 ~ 04:32.01 – 04:57.00, North America/USA - No Radio Activity Detected from Monday's Blast. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)
3. Report #154 ~ 04:57.01 – 07:51.00, United Nations - Sanctions Against North Korea. Notes: Neil Herland - F/C for the CBC. (2 min & 54 sec)
4. Report #155 ~ 07:55.00 – 08:15.00, Asia/China - China and South Korea President's Meet re: N-Korea. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (20 sec)
5. Report #156 ~ 08:16.00 – 08:42.00, Asia/Japan - Takes Economic Action Against North Korea. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)
6. Report #157 ~ 08:44.00 – 09:17.00, Europe/Sweden - Nobel Peace Prize. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (32 sec)
7. Report #158 ~ 09:18.00 – 11:33.00, England - Britain's Top Commander Criticizes Iraq Mission. Notes: F/C Adrian Arsenault. (2 min & 25 sec)
8. Report #159 ~ 11:35.00 – 11:55.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Suicide Bomber Attacks. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (1 min 20 sec)
9. Report #160 ~ 11:58.00 - 12:12.00, North America/USA - Florida Four Found Dead. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (14 sec)
10. Report #161 ~ 23:34.00 – 24:35.00, Asia/Bangladesh - Nobel Peace Prize. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (59 sec)
11. Report #162 ~ 51:45.00 - 52:27.00, Middle East/Turkey - Ancient City. Notes: Pictorial anchor is nominal v/o. (42 sec)

➤ **Monday, October 16, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 18
- c) Number of international news reports: 14
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 21 min & 56 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 34 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 2

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #163 ~ 00:49.00 – 03:47.00, North America/USA - Hawaii Earthquake. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (2 min 58 sec)
2. Report #164 ~ 05:04.00 – 05:33.00, Asia/North Korea - Nuclear Tests Confirmed. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (29 sec)
3. Report #165 ~ 05:33.01 – 08:14.00, United Nations - Security Council Elections. Notes: Neil Herland F/C. (2 min & 41 sec)
4. Report #166 ~ 08:16.00 – 08:35.00, Asia/Sri Lanka - Explosion Kills Eight. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (19 sec)
5. Report #167 ~ 08:35.00 – 10:38.00, Middle East/Israel - President Charged with Rape & Sex Crimes. Notes: P. Armstrong F/C. (2 min & 3 sec)
6. Report #168 ~ 16:55.00 – 17:14.00, North America/USA - Top Story, Hawaii Earthquake. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (19 sec)
7. Report #169 ~ 24:30.00 – 25:08.00, England - Seventy Shopping Days till Christmas. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (38 sec)
8. Report #170 ~ 29:30.00 – 29:45.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Suicide Bomber Kills Three. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (15 sec)
9. Report #171 ~ 29:46.00 – 30:25.00, England - Tony Blair of Afghanistan Mission. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (39 sec)

10. Report #172 ~ 30:30.00 – 36:19.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Women's Rights. Notes: Anchor is v/o and Interviewer. (5 min & 49 sec)
11. Report #173 ~ 36:21.00 – 36:39.00, Middle East/Iraq - Violence & Trail of Hussein. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (18 sec)
12. Report #174 ~ 36:39.00 – 37:07.00, North America/USA - Rhode Island Amusement Park Fire. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)
13. Report #175 ~ 47:15.00 – 51:24.00, Africa/Malawi - Madonna Notes: Anchor does telephone interview with Hilary Mbobe of the Malawi Broadcasting Corp. (4 min & 9 sec)
14. Report #176 ~ 51:29.00 – 52:20.00, North America/USA - Famous Nightclub CBGB Closes Doors. Notes: Pictorial with anchor v/o. (51 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 17, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 59 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 26
- c) Number of international news reports: 13
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 17 min & 19 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 20 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 2

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #177 ~ 03:47.00 – 04:17.00, Europe/Italy - Subway Crash Injures 100, Kills Driver. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)
2. Report #178 ~ 04:17.01 – 04:43.00, North America/USA - President Bush, New Terrorism Trial Legislation Suspension of Habeas Corpus. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (26 sec)
3. Report #179 ~ 04:45.00 – 06:58.00, Asia/China - Canadian Held in

- Chinese Prison. Notes: A. Germain Beijing F/C. (2 min & 13 sec)
4. Report #180 ~ 07:01.00 – 12:23.00, Asia/North Korea – NK Warns of Retaliation - Notes: Don Kirk interviewed Christian Science Monitor. (5 min & 22 sec)
  5. Report #181 ~ 13:35.00 – 17:45.00, North America/USA - Population Hits 300 Million. Notes: Henry Champ F/C in Washington. (4 min & 10 sec)
  6. Report #182 ~17:45.01 – 18:15.00, England - Madonna Adoption Boy Arrives in London. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)
  7. Report #183 ~ 30:25.00 – 30:50.00, North America/USA - World's Most Expensive Wedding Cake. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)
  8. Report #184 ~ 34:45.00 – 35:00.00, Asia/North Korea - Warns of Retaliation. Notes: Top Story – Anchor is v/o. (15 sec)
  9. Report #185 ~ 42:40.00 – 43:01.00, Middle East/Iraq - Car Bomb Violence Kills Twenty. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (21 sec)
  10. Report #186 ~ 43:01.01 – 43:20.00, Asia/Afghanistan - UK Troop Withdraw. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (19 sec)
  11. Report #187 ~ 43:25.00 – 44:00.00, Asia/North Korea - Celebrates 80<sup>th</sup> Down with Imperialism Celebration Massive Games. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (35 sec)
  12. Report #188 ~ 49:37.00 – 50:00.00, North America/USA - Hollywood Star Has Tax Troubles. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (23 sec)
  13. Report #189 ~ 50:00.01 – 51:50.00, Europe/Germany - Berlin Museum Reopens. Notes: Pictorial anchor is v/o. (1 min & 50 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 18, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 59 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 17

- c) Number of international news reports: 11
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 23 min & 17 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 7 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 2

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #190 ~ 00:44.00 – 05:20.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State Rice in Tokyo. Notes: BBC telephone interview. (4 min & 36 sec)
2. Report #191 ~ 07:30.00 – 09:01.00, North America/USA - Canadian Maher Arar, Deported from USA to Syria and Tortured, Gets Humanitarian Award. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (1 min & 31 sec)
3. Report #192 ~ 09:01.01 – 09:39.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Air Attacks Kill Civilians. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (38 sec)
4. Report #193 ~ 09:39.01 – 10:14.00, Middle East/Iraq - Saddam Trial. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (35 sec)
5. Report #194 ~ 10:14.01 – 12:24.00, England - Paul McCartney Divorce. Notes: F/C, A. McMillan in London Bureau. (2 min & 10 sec)
6. Report #195 ~ 16:29.00 – 16:44.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State Rice in Japan. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (15 sec)
7. Report #196 ~ 24:35.00 – 24:59.00, Africa/Malawi - Madonna Adoption and Adopting in Malawi. Notes: Top Story – v/o. (24 sec)
8. Report #197 ~ 31:00.00 – 32:30.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State in Japan. Notes: Freelance by phone Steve Herman. (1 min & 30 sec)
9. Report #198 ~ 32:30.00 – 33:02.00, Middle East/Israel - President Katsav Responds to Sex Crimes. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (32 sec)

10. Report #199 ~ 33:02.01 – 40:00.00, Africa/Malawi - Young Canadian Couple Seek to Adopt in Africa. Notes: Anchor is v/o and telephone interviews with Canadians abroad. (6 min & 58 sec)
11. Report #200 ~ 48:30.00 – 52:38.00, Europe/Italy - PM/Head Scarf Debate for Muslim Women Sparks Heated Debate. Notes: Phillip William freelance F/C. (4 min & 8 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 19, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 59 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 16
- c) Number of international news reports: 7
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 9 min & 44 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 23 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 2

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #201 ~ 11:39.00 – 12:21.00, Asia/North Korea - International Sanctions. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (42 sec)
2. Report #202 ~ 12:21.01 – 15:49.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State Visits Japan. Notes: F/C, M. McAuliffe (telephone). (3 min & 28 sec)
3. Report #203 ~ 15:50.00 – 19:30.00, North America/USA - President Bush & Iraq Vietnam Comparison. Notes: F/C, Champ. (3 min & 40 sec)
4. Report #204 ~ 44:00.00 – 44:15.00, North America/USA - President Bush Compares Iraq to Vietnam on ABC. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (15 sec)
5. Report #205 ~ 44:20.00 – 45:04.00, Asia/Afghanistan - NATO Commends Canada. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (44 sec)

6. Report #206 ~ 45:04.00 – 45:29.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Suicide Attacks Kills Two Children. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)
7. Report #207 ~ 52:03.00 – 52:33.00, North America/Mexico - World Heritage Site. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 20, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 17
- c) Number of international news reports: 8
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 16 min & 16 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 2 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 3

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #208 ~ 00:45.00 – 04:20.00, Asia/North Korea - Promises no more Testing. Notes: F/C Michael Cormier. (3 min & 35sec)
2. Report #209 ~ 04:22.01 – 05:14.00, Middle East/Iran - President Unconcerned about Sanctions re: Nuclear Ambitions. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (52 sec)
3. Report #210 ~ 05:15.00 – 08:23.00, Middle East/Iraq - Militia Take City of Amarah. Notes: John Burns of the New York Times Bureau Chief is F/C for the CBC. (3 min & 8 sec)
4. Report #211 ~ 19:00.00 – 19:15.00, Asia/North Korea - Breakthrough in the Crisis. Notes: Top Story anchor is v/o. (15 sec)
5. Report #212 ~ 19:15.01 – 20:05.00, Asia/China - ICBC Record Share Prices. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (50 sec)

6. Report #213 ~ 30:54.00 – 33:18.00, North America/USA - Secretary State Rice in Asia. Notes: Thom Shanker, New York Times reporter by telephone as F/C for the CBC. (2 min & 24 sec)
7. Report #214 ~ 33:18.01 – 33:45.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Gunmen Kill Eight Civilians. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (27 sec)
8. Report #215 ~ 33:45.00 – 38:30.00, Middle East/Iraq - Amarah City Seized by Militants. Notes: James Hider, Times reporter as F/C by telephone for the CBC. (4 min & 45 sec)

C) CBC News: The National, Monday – Friday, 9/10/2006 – 20/10/2006, 22:00.00 – 23:00.00 (EST).

➤ **Monday, October 9, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 15
- c) Number of international news reports: 7
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 11 min & 44 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 41 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 4

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #216 ~ 01:14.00 – 04:11.00, North Korea - Nuclear Test. Notes: CBC F/C Michael Cormier in Seoul. (2 min & 57 sec)
2. Report #217~ 04:11.00 – 07:03.00, USA - Calls to Action re: North Korea. Notes: F/C Neil McDonald. (2 min & 52 sec)
3. Report #218 ~ 07:03.01 – 09:02.00, China - Responds to the North Korea Crisis. Notes: F/C Patrick Brown in Beijing. (1 min & 59 sec)



4. Report #219 ~ 12:06.00 – 14:45.00, North Korea - The Nuclear Club. Notes: F/C, Adrian Arsenault. (2 min & 39 sec)
5. Report #220 ~ 14:53.00 – 15:24.00, Afghanistan - Canadian Soldier Killed Ramp Ceremony. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (31 sec)
6. Report #221 ~ 18:17.00 – 18:38.00, USA - Google Buys YouTube for \$1.6 billion. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (21 sec)
7. Report #222 ~ 26:55 – 27:20.00, Vatican - Necropolis Discovered. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 10, 2006 – MISSING**

➤ **Wednesday, October 11, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 16
- c) Number of international news reports: 11
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 15 min & 48 sec e)
- Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 26 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 6

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #223 ~ 00:54.00 – 04:08.00, North America/USA - Small Plane Crash in Manhattan. Notes: F/C Allison Smith in New York. (3 min & 14 sec)
2. Report #224 ~ 04:08.01 – 04:31.00, North America/USA - Plane Crash Victim Lidle of the New York Yankees. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (23 sec)
3. Report #225 ~ 04:31.01 – 05:22.00, North America/USA - NORAD Fighter Planes Scramble in New York. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (51 sec)

4. Report #226 ~ 05:22.00 – 05:58.00, Europe/France - France Train Crash Kills. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (36 sec)
5. Report #227 ~ 05:58.01 – 08:40.00, Asia/North Korea - Ominous Signs Stand-off NK Warns Could Test Again. Notes: Michel Cormier, CBC F/C in Seoul, S. Korea. (2 min & 42 sec)
6. Report #228 ~ 8:41.01 – 09:38.00, Middle East/Iraq - Deaths Reports Six Hundred Thousand Dead Invasion. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (57 sec)
7. Report #229 ~ 12:50.00 – 15:13.00, North America/USA - US Coast Guard Live Fire Exercises on the Great Lakes. Notes: F/C Laurie Graham in the USA. (2 min & 23 sec)
8. Report #230 ~ 15:15.00 – 15:38.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Canadian Soldier Ramp Ceremony. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (23 sec)
9. Report #231 ~ 19:15.00 – 19:30.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Flying with Canadian Forces. Notes: CBC F/C embedded. (15 sec)
10. Report #232 ~ 22:14.00 – 25:23.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Flying with Canadian Forces. Notes: Embedded F/C Chris Brown. (3 min & 9 sec)
11. Report #233 ~ 58:20.00 – 59:15.00, Asia/Afghanistan - A Day in the Life of a Canadian Soldier. Notes: Brian Stewart embedded F/C for the CBC. (55 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 12, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 12
- c) Number of international news reports: 6
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 9 min & 41 sec

- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 37 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 3

#### THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #234 ~ 03:58.00 – 06:24.00, England - General Dannatt Warns on Iraq. Notes: B. Stewart as F/C. (2 min & 26 sec)
2. Report #235 ~ 06:24.01 – 08:50.00, North America/USA - Plane Crash Kills Yankees Baseball Player Lidel Investigators Search for Clues. Notes: Alison Smith F/C in New York. (2 min & 26 sec)
3. Report #236 ~ 14:31.00 – 17:28.00, North America/USA - US Proposes Sanctions Against North Korea at the UN. Notes: F/C Michel Cormier in South Korea. (2 min & 57 sec)
4. Report #237 ~ 17:30.00 – 18:03.00, Europe/Belgium - Turkish Author Nobel Literature Prize. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (33 sec)
5. Report #238 ~ 18:04.00 – 18:45.00, United Nations - Report about Violence Against Children. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (41 sec)
6. Report #239 ~ 18:45.01 – 19:23.00, North America/USA - Amish School Demolished. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (38 sec)

#### ➤ **Friday, October 13, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 14
- c) Number of international news reports: 6
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 12 min & 28 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 5 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 3

## THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #240 ~ 06:05.00 – 08:33.00, North America/USA - Freak  
October Snow Storm in Buffalo. Notes: L. Graham F/C for the CBC.  
(2 min & 28 sec)
2. Report #241 ~ 14:05.00 – 14:42.00, United Nations - Secretary  
General Approved. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (37 sec)
3. Report #242 ~ 14:42.01 – 17:15.00, England - Brigadier General  
Advance on Remarks on Iraq War. Notes: Adrian Arsenault F/C. (2 min  
& 33 sec)
4. Report #243 ~ 17:15.01 – 17:52.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Canadian  
Soldier Mitchell Returns Home Ramp Ceremony. Notes: Anchor is v/o.  
(37 sec)
5. Report #244 ~ 19:10.00 – 21:15.00, Asia/Bangladesh - Nobel Peace  
Prize for Yunus Bank. Notes: CBC Ron Charles v/o. (2 min &  
5 sec)
6. Report #245 ~ 24:32.00 – 28:40.00, England - Surfing. Notes: CBC  
Nancy Durham F/C. (4 min & 8 sec)

### ➤ **Monday, October 16, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 15
- c) Number of international news reports: 9
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 15 min & 31 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 43 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 3

## THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #246 ~ 00:46.00 – 05:14.00, North America/USA - American

- Northern Border Security. Notes: F/C Mellissa Fung. (4 min & 28 sec)
2. Report #247 ~ 05:14.01 – 08:00.00 North America/USA - USCG Live Fire Exercises on the Great Lakes. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (2 min & 46 sec)
  3. Report #248 ~ 18:09.00 – 19:13.00, Asia/Afghanistan - CDN Soldier Killed Ramp Ceremony. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (1 min & 4 sec)
  4. Report #249 ~ 19:13.01 – 19:38.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Coalition to Curb Roadside Bombs (IED). Notes: Anchor is v/o. (25 sec)
  5. Report #250 ~ 19:38.01 – 22:08.00, Middle East/Israel - President Katsav Charged with Rape. Notes: F/C, P. Armstrong. (2 min & 30 sec)
  6. Report #251 ~ 25:13.00 – 25:43.00, Asia/Sri Lanka - Suicide Bombing Kills 100 Wounded 150 More. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (30 sec)
  7. Report #252 ~ 25:43.01 – 26:25.00, Asia/North Korea - USA Confirms Nuclear Test. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (42 sec)
  8. Report #253 ~ 26:25.01 – 27:00.00, United Nations - Security Council Seats for Grabs. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (35 sec)
  9. Report #254 ~ 27:01.01 -29:32.00, England - Madonna Adoption. Notes: F/C Adrian Arsenaault. (2 min & 31 sec)

➤ **Tuesday, October 17, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 18
- c) Number of international news reports: 9
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 24 min & 8 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 41 sec

- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 4

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #255 ~ 16:27.00 – 16:55.00, North America/USA - Border Pass Card System Unveiled. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (28 sec)
2. Report #256 ~ 16:55.01 – 17:43.00, North America/USA - President Bush Passes New Law Allows Torture. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (48 sec)
3. Report #257 ~ 17:43.01 – 20:02.00, United Nations - UNICEF Halloween Contributions. Notes: v/o Ron Charles. (2 min & 19 sec)
4. Report #258 ~ 23:38.00 – 26:03.00, Europe/Ireland - Bono U2 Rock Star World Debt. Notes: F/C Adrienne Arseneault. (2 min & 25 sec)
5. Report #259 ~ 26:03.01 – 26:26.00, North America/USA - Wesley Snipes Wanted on Tax Evasion. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (23 sec)
6. Report #260 ~ 29:00.00 – 29:23.00, Asia/North Korea - 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Birth of the Nation: Notes: Anchor is v/o. (23 sec)
7. Report #261 ~ 29:23.01 – 37:43.00, Asia/North Korea - Sabre Rattling NK Ready for a Second Test. Notes: Feature report F/C Joe Schlesinger. (8 min & 20 sec)
8. Report #262 ~ 37:54.00 – 46:13.00, North America/USA - California Governor Fight Against Air Pollution Can Canada Measure Up. Notes: F/C is Sasa Petricic in San Francisco. (8 min & 19 sec)
9. Report #263 ~ 58:17.00 – 59:00.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Pictorial Feature History of the Conflict on the Road to Khandahar. Notes: Brian Stewart embedded F/C for the CBC. (43 sec)

➤ **Wednesday, October 18, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 15
- c) Number of international news reports: 9
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 35 min & 54 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 3 min & 59 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 3

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #264 ~ 00:48.00 – 04:30.00, Asia/Afghanistan - New Information About Canadian Mission in Afghanistan, the Untold Story. Notes: F/C Brian Stewart for the CBC. (3 min & 42 sec)
2. Report #265 ~ 10:53.00 – 13:02.00, North America/USA - Harvard Study Says Fish Is Safe to Eat. Notes: v/o is Tom Murphy. (2 min & 9 sec)
3. Report #266 ~ 13:00.00 – 13:52.00, North America/USA - Canadian Maher Arar, Deported from USA to Syria and Tortured, Gets Humanitarian Award in Washington. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (52 sec)
4. Report #267 ~ 13:53.00 – 17:40.00, North America/USA - American Old School Anti-Castro Terrorist Louis Pasada Carriles, US State Department Refuses to Deport Him to Venezuela. Notes: F/C Neil MacDonald in Washington. (3 min & 47 sec)
5. Report #268 ~ 17:40.01 – 18:15.00, North America/USA - Secretary of State Rice in Japan Pledges to Defend the Nation. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (35 sec)
6. Report #269 ~ 24:53.00 – 25:08.00, North America/USA - Online Bomb Threat Against Seven NFL Stadiums. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (15 sec)

7. Report #270 ~ 25:08.01 – 25:57.00, North America/USA - Buffalo Storm Slow Response Six Days Later. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (49 sec)
8. Report #271 ~ 26:00.00 – 26:37.00, North America/USA - Steve Wynn Owner of a Picasso Rips Painting by Accident Valued at \$140 million. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (37 sec)
9. Report #272 ~ 26:41.00 – 39:12.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Feature Documentary Report (continued), The Road to Khandahar. Notes: F/C Brian Stewart. (12 min & 31 sec)
10. Report #272(a) ~ (continued) 41:58.00 – 52:35.00, Feature Documentary Report, The Road to Khandahar. Notes: F/C Brian Stewart. (10 min & 37 sec)

➤ **Thursday, October 19, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 15
- c) Number of international news reports: 4
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 9 min & 7 sec e)  
Average run time of an international report: 2 min & 17 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 2

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:

1. Report #273 ~ 07:03.00 – 10:29.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Canadian Appeal to NATO. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (3 min & 26 sec)
2. Report #274 ~ 10:29.01 – 10:46.00, Asia/Afghanistan - Suicide Bombing. Notes: Anchor is v/o. (17 sec)
3. Report #275 ~ 10:46.01 – 13:33.00, Middle East/Iraq - President Bush War in Iraq & Vietnam Comparison. Notes: F/C Allison Smith in Washington. (2 min & 47 sec)



4. Report #276 ~ 14:50.00 – 17:27.00, Russia - Journalist Attacked for Editorial. Notes: F/C Nick Spicer in Russia. (2 min & 37 sec)

➤ **Friday, October 20, 2006**

- a) Scheduled duration: 60 min
- b) Number of domestic reports: 17
- c) Number of international news reports: 4
- d) Run time of all international reports combined: 6 min & 23 sec
- e) Average run time of an international report: 1 min & 36 sec
- f) Total use of CBC foreign correspondents: 3

**THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSFLOW:**

1. Report #277 ~ 16:39.00 – 19:04.00, Asia/China - NK Apologizes to China Rice in Beijing: Notes: Michael Cormier F/C. (2 min & 25 sec)
2. Report #278 ~ 29:04.01 – 30:06.00, Middle East/Iraq - Violence 70-Killed in One Month and City Captured. Notes: F/C, A. Smith. (1 min & 2 sec)
3. Report #279 ~ 24:25.00 – 25:01.00, Europe/Finland - President Putin at EU Summit re: Oil and Gas Supplies for Europe and Speak about Georgia. Notes: Anchor is v/o (36 sec)
4. Report #280 ~ 25:10.00 – 27:30.00, Russia - Crises in Georgia Putin Tough Talk. Notes: Nick Spicer F/C, Moscow. (2 min & 20 sec)