

READING BEHIND THE LINES:
ARCHIVING THE CANADIAN NEWS MEDIA RECORD

by

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ABSTRACT

Historians and other researchers regularly turn to news media as primary sources for studies on a wide range of topics. Generally, the materials used are the end products of the news-publishing process – newspaper clippings, radio and television broadcasts, and web programming. These published documents, beyond relating specific events, reflect the values and perspectives of the societies in which they have been created. As products of a creative and editorial process, these news media documents can provide a rich source of information about the media. Government records, personal papers, and published memoirs of those in the media industry, along with media trade publications, are also often studied for insights into the news publishing process. What is lacking in these studies is an examination of the varied records -- internal correspondence, memos, minutes, and forms, for example -- made and used to perform and manage the media's work itself, rather than to present it in final published form. These records are not usually archived by the media.

This has handicapped historical understanding of the media and contributed to the underdevelopment of the literature on the history of the Canadian news media. There is irony in this. The media often claims the vital role of holding others to account for their actions, especially government and political institutions. It often does so by championing and using access to information legislation and criticizing lax recordkeeping on the part of these organizations. And yet, the records that would hold the media itself to account are rarely archived and made available. How the problem of the underdevelopment of media archives in Canada can be addressed needs to be explored. This thesis will do so. This is important given the powerful past and present role of the media in our society.

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INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM WITH NEWS MEDIA RECORDS

In a scene from the premiere episode of the science fiction television series “Falling Skies,” aliens have invaded earth and decimated the human population. Resistance fighter and former university history teacher, Tom Mason, surveys a pile of discarded books as he pauses in preparation to evacuate his community’s refuge. He picks up a hardcover copy of *Robinson Crusoe*, and then *A Tale of Two Cities*. He checks the weight of each book, tosses what appears to be the heavier book back into the pile, and tucks the lighter book into his bag as he walks away.¹ What will happen to the books in the pile is anybody’s guess. But Tom can only afford to take one and it is the lighter literary classic he saves. While admittedly not facing the threat of alien doom being visited upon us at any moment, archivists often make acquisition decisions based on practical resource limitations such as space, money and personnel. We have ideas about what we consider important (just about everything) but we are limited in what we can effectively manage.

What Tom Mason faced and what archivists face is very similar to what news journalists and editors face. In any given minute of any day, there are millions of stories happening in the world around them that could be valuable for a large number of people to know. Not all of those stories can be told. Most will be forgotten. Individual stories will be subsumed into larger narratives, their idiosyncrasies and special focuses lost forever, often limiting our understanding about what has really happened. This is a necessary part of the process. Not only can it often take longer to create a representation of an event than it took for the event to happen, every representation of an event must occur at the same time other events are occurring. There are not enough resources available to make everything news.

¹ TNT, “Falling Skies,” Episode 1, “Live and Learn.” first aired 19 June 2011.

What those in the news media can do is provide greater transparency in their own decision-making processes, and at the same time provide at least a ghost of a record for the untold stories. While not pressed for time in the same manner as journalists, archivists are also faced with multiple sources and large amounts of material that document various aspects of our society. There are more stories possible for inclusion in the archival record than we can possibly store. There come times when some material must be disposed of in order to make room for new material that seems more important. When we make these acquisition, description, and disposal and decisions, we hold ourselves accountable by noting in the descriptions and finding aids that we have de-accessioned materials, removed or moved materials. We note whether we have left the records in their original order, or if we have imposed an alternative order for some reason. It was not always like this, and it is not perfect, but it is evidence of the choices we make with regard to the records in our care. Those whose work involves telling the immediate stories of our society also bear a certain responsibility to provide some evidence of their work processes.

Governments and businesses are often called to account for their decisions and actions. There does not seem to be the same requirement for those in the business of creating news regarding their editorial choices. Considering the fast pace of the business, this might seem an unrealistic goal. But, when we bear in mind the conflicting, pervasive and ubiquitous presence of the news, it is a goal worth attempting. We should know more about how the massive amounts of information are filtered and disseminated as news.

That disseminated information is the end result of an intense and highly selective auditing process that whittles down potential items and viewpoints to fit the limited space or time-frames available to the publisher. Which events (the smaller nine out of ten house fires

of the week; the economic bill that takes away some consumer rights; the reporter who was kidnapped and not yet released) do not make it into the published reports, or make it there only after the issues are resolved? It is certainly understandable that the media would knowingly keep some reports under wraps (the kidnapped reporter) but others seem less understandable (the economic bill that removes some consumer rights). There may be very good reasons for both, but in all cases those reasons should be documented and available for future perusal. This is not to find blame, but to provide transparency and accountability to the people who rely on the news. Documenting the process could also provide a mechanism to allow those who work in the media industry to better critique and improve their own work. It would also provide a record of those events that did not make it to the published news story.

The news media in Canada arguably have played various roles in helping to shape Canadian society as we know it: building a common community; calling for political action; initiating social change; maintaining the power base; and encouraging consumerism. These uses, however, are more often than not the goals of the creators and publishers of the news, and it is these uses that seem to be a focus of most media and communication theories. We should also consider the various uses consumers make of the news and the current archival records of the news industry. Below are some examples of how news consumers have used published news and various archival sources of news records.

In “Notes for Further Thought,” a postscript to her novel, *The Handmaid’s Tale*, Margaret Atwood claims that every event or aspect depicted was based on real events.² According to Atwood, anyone who doubts this can check her assertion by going to the University of Toronto Archives to review her newspaper clippings scrapbook. This is not her

² Margaret Atwood, “Notes for Further Thought,” *The Handmaid’s Tale*, third edition, (Seal Books, 1998), pp. 392-393.

only book that attests to the use of news stories. *Oryx and Crake* and *Alias Grace* also made use of newspaper stories to develop some of the main elements. Other artists frequently use news stories in their work, both as a reference and as part of the work. The Tragically Hip's "Fifty Mission Cap," and the Clap's "Burning Down the House" were based on news stories. Any music video criticizing any government leader or policy is most likely spurred on by news stories of the same, as are many segments of programs like "The Rick Mercer Report." Many movies and television series episodes feature "ripped from the headlines" stories: *Monster*; *Flight 197*; and *Flags of Our Fathers*, which was partly based on an iconic World War II photograph. Television shows, such as "Law and Order" and "CSI," usually add the disclaimer that they are not based on real events. The news often has been for them a source of inspiration as well as information.

Individuals, private organizations, government offices and even media organizations collect and save published media accounts to see what the news has to say about them. Published newspaper articles and broadcasts from the past are used to trace family genealogies, corroborate oral histories, and to gather information on topics of interest. How many of us confess somewhat sheepishly to owning "clippings" files (or piles, depending on your level of organization)? For readers, published news has uses that reach beyond the purported purpose of helping us know ourselves and helping us make daily decisions that affect our personal, professional, and political lives. The media makes use of its "archived" news stories which often find their way into documentaries and film for television and movie production. The news media regularly relies on "stock footage" and "file footage" to augment its daily news programs. These uses also make the media organizations money.

The CBC website certainly promotes its digital archives for educational purposes. It has an extensive collection of teachers' packages online with suggestions for class projects and methodological approaches for giving students a better understanding of Canadian history and the role of the media in creating and preserving that history.³ Many newspapers with free digital content generate revenue by charging users a fee for viewing their "archives" and for printing copies. Historians and sociologists also use past and current published news stories in their work. In their research into various aspects of society, they often rely on these published accounts to provide insights into social trends, events, and public sentiment. Published news quickly becomes part of our history.

We should question our use of the published news as primary source material in all these forms of work, both when studying the news and the news media themselves, and when studying other aspects of society. The reason for this has to do with the relative silence of the archival record when it comes to records that document the editorial process. News itself is never the whole story, only bits and pieces of it. Most events never make the "news" and someone or some group has decided what gets in and what gets left out. How and why those decisions are made, and how this process is made transparent to the people most dependent upon the process - the person reading or viewing the news with an eye to learning about issues and events that may impact them - is worthy of greater interest. It is certainly worth the same kind of scrutiny journalists working for news organizations use while researching governments and other private businesses.⁴

This is not a new concern. A review of the literature suggests that, in the past at least, there is scant reference to records documenting the decision making process in the

³ CBC Digital Archives, http://archives.cbc.ca/for_teachers/ [accessed December 2010].

⁴ Most of the journalist association websites I visited list this as one of their primary duties, as will be seen in Chapter 3.

publication of the daily news. Some of this may be due to the nature of the monographs written and their main arguments. With few exceptions, most historians, including Minko Sotiron, Wilfred Kesterton, E. Austin Weir, relied on published news records, personal papers, or government publications to create their accounts. In some cases this is understandable, such as Mary Vipond and Robert Fortner who are largely writing about broadcasting on a whole, not news per se.⁵ However, Paul Rutherford specifically notes the lack of records related to the production of news itself.⁶ This lack of a solid and reliable written record of the news-making process is not taken lightly by those who study the media. Like Rutherford, Lucy Brown writing on the British press during the Victorian age notes in her introduction, “The difficulties lie in trying to establish process behind the finished result.”⁷ The lack of consistent and reliable business information, employment records, and management records make the record incomplete. The absence of good records makes any history of the British press incomplete and probably inaccurate.⁸ Her own work is highly informative and detailed, yet her question does lead one to wonder if her work is really reflective of the actual histories of these newspapers.

This concern was also raised by Robert Albota, who, when attempting to find information to describe how the CBC News Service handled the 1942 conscription referendum, could find no documentation related to the event in the CBC Montreal newsroom. There were concerns at the time that opposing sides in the referendum were not given fair air time over this contentious issue, with the “yes” side heavily favoured. There is

⁵ Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, Third Edition, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2000), and Robert Fortner, *Radio, Morality, and Culture: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1919-1945*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005).

⁶ Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 45.

⁷ Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

no evidence of interference or favouritism, largely because there is no record. Due to the lack of decision-making documentation, this issue will always remain unresolved.⁹

A pioneer in Canadian broadcasting, E. Austin Weir, wrote in the introduction of his monograph on early Canadian broadcasting that he was prompted to write the book in response to a request made by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist in 1960, to donate his personal collection of material on programs and other records of the early days of radio.¹⁰ Weir himself laments the lack of historical documentation from early radio, and notes that only recently (1960s) had the CBC started keeping systematic records. In Weir's bibliography, there are very few primary sources related directly to the actual radio stations he helped to promote. The sources he quotes are largely newspaper and magazine articles, radio and television broadcasts, and government reports.

Paul Rutherford documents his research into the CBC archives in an attempt to write the history of television. He stated that his research aim was to answer the following questions: what was on television; what was television like; who watched television; and finally, "did television matter?" His chief interest seems to lie in the "culture of television"¹¹ and the bulk of his essay and research looks at programming, drama, commercials, and audience surveys. This could certainly provide great context or background for an examination of news on the CBC, but it is not specifically an examination of the news.

Since newspapers were the earliest form of published news, perhaps the ephemeral quality of that medium set the tone for this apparent lack of interest in the process. According

⁹ Robert Albota, Discussion for "Don McArthur's Concept of Objectivity for the CBC News Service," *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast News Heritage*, ed., Richard Lohead, (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), p. 231.

¹⁰ E. Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada*, (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), p. xii.

¹¹ Paul Rutherford, "Researching Television History: Prime-Time Canada, 1952-1967" *Archivaria* 20, (Summer 1985), pp. 79-93.

to Marianne Scott in her 1989 keynote address to the Second National Newspapers Colloquium in Vancouver, "...newspapers are not intended to endure, either editorially or materially."¹² The ink and the paper are not stable, as anyone who collects clippings can testify. The same could be said for those early radio and television broadcasts. And many erroneously believe the new digital or digitized content will be available forever with the push of the "archived" button but since digital hardware and software quickly becomes obsolete, will this "new news" be readily accessible just because it exists on a server or in "the cloud?" Even if the news is accessible, what of the record of the process of creating it? How can we be sure it is accurate and what are we missing?

Josephine Langham, in " 'The Lively Archives' ," discusses a 1982 conference on the troubling situation with regional CBC archives.¹³ Archivists and the corporation were concerned with the visual and audio footage from regional programming, and feared that it possibly had been lost. Part of the concern of the regional stations was the problem of differentiating administrative and policy files from broadcast footage.¹⁴ While understanding that non-paper media require special care, the general tone of the article suggests a perception that the management records were not quite as important to those regional stations as a source for understanding the history of their region, or their part in the larger corporation. It seems an ironic case of the visual and audio record having primacy over the written record. It is odd, in that an organization so heavily influenced by government, public, and private discourse over its role in society should be seemingly so uninterested in the

¹² Marianne Scott, "Keynote Address," in *Canadian Newspapers: The Record of Our Past, the Mirror of Our Time: Proceedings of the Second National Newspapers Colloquium*, (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1989), p. vii.

¹³ Josephine Langham, " 'The Lively Archives' ," *Archivaria* 14 (Summer 1982), pp. 168-173.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

written records that chart that discourse and the processes of creating the audio and visual product.

This thesis will attempt to assess the current availability of archival records related to the editorial decision-making process for various daily news media in Canada and try to suggest why these records are so limited. Chapter One will provide a brief overview of the history of the Canadian news media to the present. Besides providing an overview, this will help archivists to understand the main lines of media development in Canada with a view to guiding their archival work in this area, and thus addressing the key concern of this thesis. I will also make clearer the typically limited sources used in writing these histories. Chapter Two will identify examples of what is currently available in Canadian archives for research on records related to the editorial processes in creating news, in order to help provide a basis for further archival work in this area and a better understanding of these holdings for researchers. Along with the limited citations of internal organizational records reviewed in Chapter One, this survey demonstrates the overall weakness of Canadian news media archival holdings in this area and underlines the significant need to do more in this key sector. The gap between the great variety and extent of media activity outlined in Chapter One and the comparatively limited archival record of this activity revealed in Chapter Two appears fairly large. I hope this will be a spur to action.

Chapter Three will turn initially to record-keeping in the contemporary media by first reviewing news media business websites for evidence of policies related to records management and archival records. I will then review course outlines of Canadian journalism schools to determine what new journalists are being taught with regard to documenting the storytelling processes. Lastly, I will examine existing government regulations and guidelines.

It is important to turn to these sources to understand what the current legal record-keeping requirements are. This can possibly help explain why there seems to be little documentation of the news making process, as well as possibly providing an avenue for encouraging future documentation.

The Conclusion will provide suggestions for carrying out further research in this area, and possible avenues for advocacy to encourage current workers in the field of news publishing to document and preserve a record of their decision-making processes. It is my hope that more attention will be given to these forms of records. As it stands, the news publishing process necessarily provides only a brief insight into the daily goings on of public life. Most events can never make it to the news. We need to know how and why these choices are made, and where possible, provide some evidence for those stories that do not make it to the daily news.

CHAPTER ONE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN NEWS

The first home-grown Canadian newspaper rolled off the press in Halifax, Nova Scotia on 23 March 1752, printed by a Boston import.¹ This is not all that surprising considering the historic and close geographical and economic connection between Boston and Halifax at the time. Indeed, both cities were still part of the British Empire. The originator of the first Canadian paper, the *Halifax Gazette*, was John Bushell. He earned the distinction of being Canada's first "pioneer journalist" largely because his former partner, Bartholomew Green, Jr., grandson of the *Boston News-Letter's*² first printer, died before he could get a paper out at the new Canadian print shop.³ Thus began the Canadian news media industry. However, this was not the beginning of Canadian news. For that we need to go back in time to the earliest inhabitants of the geographic space we have come to know as Canada.

News was likely an important facet of the daily lives of North America's first peoples. The need to know what is going on out of sight would have been just as important to them as it is to present-day people. Mitchell Stephens, writing in *A History of News*, quotes Harvey Molotch's and Marilyn Lesters' conclusion concerning the " '...invariant need for accounts of the unobserved.'"⁴

¹ W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), p. 1.

² By coincidence, the *Boston News-Letter* was the first continuously printed newspaper in the American colonies. It was started on 24 April 1704, less than 50 years before the start of the *Halifax Gazette*. Demers, David, *History and Future of Mass Media: An Integrated Perspective*, (Cresskill: Hampton Press, Inc., 2007), p. 31.

³ Kesterton, p. 1.

⁴ Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News*. Third Edition. (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2007), p. 12.

Stephens argues,

Oral news systems must have arrived early in the development of language, some tens or even hundreds of thousands of years ago. At its most basic, the exchange of news requires only the simplest of indicative or declarative statements. And the dissemination of news accomplishes some of the basic purposes of language: informing others, entertaining others, protecting the tribe.⁵

Throughout his book, Stephens references several historical and anthropological studies that focus on news dissemination, including those about past and present cultures indigenous to North and South America. Some news systems were situational, such as the Vancouver Island Nootka practice that involved inviting visitors or travellers to dinner specifically to get the latest “novelties.” The other guests would go home and pass on these “novelties” to guests at their homes.⁶ Others, such as the Fox Indians in the American Midwest, relied on a more formal system of ceremonial runners to carry the news. This important position also had a religious element to it – celibacy was a requirement as well as speed.⁷ While some news carriers were actually reviled (much like present times), most were revered, such as the heralds of Bella Coola Island. This society believed their heralds were established on the wishes of a god – “as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time.”⁸ Mitchell points out that these specialized news carriers were usually controlled by the leaders of the groups; formality (and likely a particular point of view) usually accompanied the delivery of news.⁹

Mitchell not only describes formal methods for delivering news, he also suggests formal practices and sites for receiving news. He cites several examples of meeting

⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

⁶ Ibid., p. 19.

⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

places for disseminating and picking up on news. While his examples are largely from Africa and other areas, the Forks in Winnipeg, at the conjunction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where Aboriginal groups did not live but met to trade is recognized as one such news sharing and gathering site.¹⁰

It seems reasonable to surmise that in Canada, Aboriginal peoples spread news, either formally or informally, through an oral system that likely flowed along established hunting, trading, and horticultural patterns. It is not likely that the first appearances of white explorers, settlers, missionaries, fishermen, and fur-traders affected this medium of transmission nearly as much as it affected some of the content of the transmission. As whites became more and more established and intrusive, the necessity of the Aboriginal groups to know what the white people were up to would have grown. News about the white people would move from “human interest” to the “business section” and finally to the “front page” as the whites began to have more impact on their daily lives.

As long as the early French colonists were limited in their transmission of news, and the British colonists stuck to the coast, the impact on the aboriginal population was likely limited to those with the greatest amount of interaction. In those early years, the colonists themselves would have received their news in the form of letters, official proclamations, and printed news. Printed news was practically history by the time it arrived here. This was because the early colonies in North America imported much of their printed material from Great Britain and France. According to Mary Vipond, France did not allow her French colony to have a printing press for fear the French government could not control it. Quebec’s first newspaper, the bilingual *Quebec Gazette*, which was started by two Philadelphia printers, was not published until 1764, twelve years after the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

first newspaper in Halifax and one year after the Treaty of Paris ceded New France to Britain.¹¹ The *Quebec Gazette* lays claim to being the oldest surviving newspaper in North America.¹² It could be argued by some that the first Canadian newspapers were in many ways American-run, but since the colonial states were still just that, colonial, and the papers were produced on what is now Canadian soil and contained Canadian news, they were indeed our first Canadian newspapers.

There is some uncertainty as to the criteria for designating the first Canadian daily newspaper. Paul Rutherford contends that the first *popular* Canadian newspaper did not appear until George Brown's *Globe* completed its evolution from a weekly to bi-weekly to tri-weekly to daily by 1853.¹³ Mary Vipond claims that the Montreal *Star*, established from the start as a daily in 1869, was the first popular daily in Canada.¹⁴ W. H. Kesterton and Library and Archives Canada list the *Daily Advertiser* in Montreal (a paper that Rutherford dismisses as a "dismal failure" that lasted less than a year)¹⁵ as the first daily in British North America in 1833. It does seem safe to say that the daily paper, somewhat experimental in the 1830s, was reasonably established by the mid-nineteenth century in Canada.

That the Canadian daily was not profitable until the early nineteenth century should not be considered a sign of tardiness. The daily press in the United States did not establish itself until several years after the American Revolution, and the first English

¹¹Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, Third Edition, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2000), p. 7.

¹²*Chronicle Telegraph*, <http://www.qcctonline.com/history> [accessed 21 December 2010]. The paper claims to be "North America's Oldest Newspaper" in its header.

¹³Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, p. 40.

¹⁴Mary Vipond actually claims the *Star* as the first popular daily press, but this could be due to the fact that the *Globe* had already been in circulation as a weekly previous to its daily status; Vipond, p. 15.

¹⁵Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, p. 36.

daily was not published until 1702, centuries after the establishment of the British state.¹⁶

In many ways, the Canadian news industry was a precocious child of its British and American colonial parents. It established daily newspapers *prior* to the institution of an independent national government.

The early home-grown Canadian press, like that in the United States prior to the American Revolution, was circumscribed in its ability to criticise the existing government. This was largely due to its reliance on government contracts to maintain solvency.¹⁷ News generally came from three main sources: what the government offices sent in for publishing; business, agriculture, and trade news; and whatever crime and social tidbits made their way to the office. After the War of 1812 with the United States, discussion in newspapers of the form British rule should take rose to prominence, and the news became critical, political, and partisan.¹⁸ Unlike the early days, newspapers were no longer controlled by government; they served as mouthpieces for their, generally, politicized editors. This made for exciting reading, but the early nineteenth century was a dangerous time to be in the news business. According to Cecil Rosner in *Behind the Headlines: A History of Investigative Journalism in Canada*:

The first four decades of the nineteenth century saw an unprecedented attack on journalists and editors. Criminal charges, jailings, intimidation, and physical attacks were all part of the arsenal. This was a period of warfare between the various family compacts and cliques, on the one hand, and anti-colonial reformers and revolutionaries, on the other. In Upper and Lower

¹⁶Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers*; David Demers, *History and Future of Mass Media: An Integrated Perspective*, (Cresskill: Hampton Press, Inc., 2007). For England, the first recorded daily is the *Daily Courant*, first published 11 March 1702. The first daily in the United States is commonly recognized as the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* in 1783.

¹⁷Vipond, p. 7.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 7.

Canada, and in the Maritime provinces, the clash was fiercest on the journalistic front.¹⁹

Mike Ward, in *The Hansard Chronicles*, lists several newspaper men who faced prosecution in Canada during this period, including Bartimus Ferguson of the *Niagara Spectator*, Pierre Bedard of *Le Canadien*, Dr. Daniel Tracey of the *Vindicator & Canadian Advertiser*, and Joseph Howe of the *Novascotian*.²⁰ This seemingly widespread persecution may have been due to political fervour, but it may also have been a result of peeved powers that were fuming over loss of control of this important venue for getting out their own point of view.

This shift in the editorial voice occurred during the period Kesterton calls the “The Second Press Period: Thickening Growth,” which was characterized in part by the rise of the entrepreneurial editor-publisher who raised earnings more by subscriptions and advertising than by government patronage.²¹ Editors who did not have to rely on the existing government were freer to choose sides in debates and contemporary issues. They often chose sides that directly challenged the existing power structures. This dangerous period largely ended with the end of the Rebellions in the late 1830s but the press remained strongly partisan for years. By 1876, well into the third press period, Vipond contends that the 291 Canadian papers in existence were either strongly Liberal or Conservative.²²

Vipond also claims that by this time newspapers were still largely for the elite.²³ She notes that there was at that point no real voice for the working people and that

¹⁹ Cecil Rosner, *Behind the Headlines: A History of Investigative Journalism in Canada*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 18.

²⁰ John Ward, *The Hansard Chronicles* (Canada: Deneau and Greehberg Publishers Ltd., 1980), pp. 36-53.

²¹ Kesterton, p.12.

²² Vipond, p. 7.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

“lacking a powerful working class movement, no strong labour press ever developed in Canada.”²⁴ This may have been true in the earliest days of the newspaper business, with its heavy reliance on government patronage and focus on government and business, but it was not likely true by the mid-nineteenth century. Rutherford and Vipond both argue that the need to expand circulation to increase advertising profits necessitated reaching out to greater numbers of the population, a population that was becoming more literate during an era that promoted progress and self-improvement.²⁵ It is difficult to imagine the developing newspaper business ignoring such a large and ripe audience of consumers in the ranks of labour. Ron Verzuh details a rich history of labour papers starting in 1864.²⁶ Nearing the end of the nineteenth century, women journalists also began to make inroads into the news writing business – as editors and publishers, if sometimes grudgingly, made way for women’s pages to entice the main shoppers in families to their advertising.²⁷ If any media product was the purview of the elite, it may have been the burgeoning magazine business.

Magazines can be difficult to deal with in a study of the Canadian news media. Sometimes a hybrid of news and literature, their less frequent publishing cycle mutes some of their news-ness. They were also more expensive than newspapers and more likely to be specialized. The first Canadian magazine, the *Nova Scotia Magazine and Comprehensive Review of Literature, Politics, and News*, founded in 1789, is one such

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 37-38.

²⁶ Ron Verzuh, *Radical Rag: The Pioneer Labour Press in Canada*, (Ottawa: Steel Rail Press, 1988).

²⁷ Marjory Lang, *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999).

hybrid.²⁸ It lasted three years and there were few to replace it. More magazines would start, and a majority would fail, for nearly one hundred years.²⁹ It was not until after Confederation that magazines would achieve any kind of longevity and few survived long into the twentieth century. Even so, magazines tended to be very specialized and, except for the fact that eventually they too were largely absorbed in larger and larger publishing businesses that included newspapers and eventually broadcasting, they seem to have had little impact on daily newspaper readership.

For Canadian newspapers, the 1870s ushered in an era of rapid expansion. This was due to several changes and influences both within and outside of Canada. Paul Rutherford and David Demers also attribute the rise in readership to improved literacy during this period.³⁰ Lucy Brown argues in her monograph on British newspapers that without the technological and industrial innovations occurring in society and in newspaper production that put the daily paper within the realm of affordability for the working class, the rising literacy rates would likely have had little impact.³¹ Like Great Britain in the 1850s, by the 1870s Canada was experiencing railway expansion, industrialization, urbanization, and an increasing amount of leisure for the population.³² The telegraph, the cheaper cost of paper production, and new printing technologies made newspapers cheaper and easier to produce and distribute to more readers.³³ It seems most likely that all these factors, including the rise in literacy, led to a favourable congruence

²⁸ *The Canadian Encyclopedia* under Historica Dominion Institute at <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0005028> [accessed 23 December 2010].

²⁹ In each of his early chapters on press development, Kesterton lists the most prominent of the magazines in each period, only one of which was still publishing at the time of printing in 1967.

³⁰ Demers, p. 30; and Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 24-35.

³¹ Brown, p. 30.

³² Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 9-35.

³³ Vipond, pp. 8-13.

that resulted in the sudden rise in readership during this period. As the newspaper business expanded, the business itself would deliberately reach out for any and every new market to increase profits from circulation and advertising revenue. This is an argument forwarded by Verzuh in his monograph on the Canadian labour press.³⁴ This rapid expansion and competition for readership also led to a rise in a certain homogeneity in news presentation.

The nineteenth century saw a great change in the format, tone, and news stories presented in Canadian newspapers. The press was largely partisan during the early part of the century. By the 1870s, possibly under the influence of the peoples' press in Great Britain and the US that became prominent in the 1830s and 1840s, it became less so. The press began to put profit before party. Vipond suggests that the publishers realized that if they wanted more readers, "they had to cater to the needs, interests, and reading-level of the new urban masses."³⁵ As well, Verzuh suggests that it was competition with a rising labour press, rather than actual concern for the working-class, that caused newspaper publishers to adapt their format and tone to attract a previously untapped popular readership.³⁶

Dailies did start to adopt a more labour-oriented tone: "Papers like the *Montreal Star*, the *Ottawa Citizen* and later the *Toronto Telegram* saw themselves as purveyors of objective news and struck out against the stodgy style and partisan politics of the party press."³⁷ Labour writers were even hired to write columns for the newer dailies.³⁸

³⁴ Verzuh, pp. 9-68.

³⁵ Vipond, p. 14.

³⁶ Verzuh, p. 68. As well, Rutherford notes that Toronto's *Mail* had a regular Knights of Labour column. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, p. 54.

³⁷ Verzuh, p. 68.

³⁸ Ibid.

This seems to support Vipond's assertion that newspaper editors and publishers began to claim that they were independent watchdogs against corruption or conspiracy. They began to promote reformist causes that appealed to the working man. The new "labour" journalism also paralleled the rise of "women's" journalism. Separate sections were created as women's pages in most papers. These sections focused on social issues such as housing, sweatshops, and poverty. The female journalists of the "Women's" pages made several notable achievements and as the issues they covered became more mainstream, related stories often made their way to the front pages, albeit covered by male journalists.³⁹ At the same time as papers crusaded under the banner of journalism for the ordinary citizen, the newer "reformed" dailies catered to the "lucrative working-class market by publishing lurid crime reports and news of bizarre events in exotic lands."⁴⁰

Most daily papers at this time were evening editions, sold after working hours and often on the streets by paperboys or at newsstands, as opposed to morning editions which were available largely by subscription only.⁴¹ The increasing competition for readers resulted in an increased readership. By 1911, Canadian families were purchasing, on average, two and a half papers per household per day. This should not overshadow the other forms of news media, the tri-weeklies, semi-weeklies, and the rest. According to a table created by Kesterton, by 1900 there were over 1200 Canadian periodicals in circulation, only 121 of which were dailies. Two hundred and seven periodicals were published not more frequently than once a month.⁴² This indicates the wide variety of

³⁹ Lang, p. 247

⁴⁰ Verzuh, p. 68.

⁴¹ Vipond, p. 14.

⁴² Kesterton, p. 39.

press formats the news-reading public could choose from. Print Press had become a mass medium.⁴³

It should not be surprising to note that the period just prior to the turn of the century saw the rise of the newspaper tycoon in Canada: Hugh Graham, John Ross Robertson, William Southam, and Bill Maclean were only a few.⁴⁴ Increased competition led to buy-outs of the competition as publishers sought to consolidate their markets. While most papers eschewed party politics in principle, these owners were not above using the paper as their personal platforms.⁴⁵ At the same time, however, Kesterton argues that the news reports themselves became somewhat less affected by editorial bias.⁴⁶ This was most likely the result of the need to appeal to as many readers as possible.

As papers became more profitable, they also became larger, both in size and content and in management. This led to a growing complexity within the newspaper organizations themselves. There were more people writing and producing the paper as more types of news and features became popular. Sports, business news, women's pages, gardening sections and advice columns added personnel to the newspaper organization. This, along with the expensive technology needed to churn out ever more copies of the daily editions, increased the start up costs of newspapers.⁴⁷ The savings brought about by early technology were short-lived and larger investments were required for start-ups.

Always a money-making enterprise, early in the twentieth century newspapers became even more of a commercial venture as family-owned chains, such as those of the

⁴³ Vipond, p. 18.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Kesterton, p. 46.

⁴⁷ Vipond, pp. 20-21.

Southams and the Siftons, bought up paper after paper to add to their holdings, reduce competition, and corner the market.⁴⁸ The growth in size and complexity led to more entrenched business attitudes and more outside partnerships. This led to the first great shift in the newspaper *business*, and thus in Canadian news media, which is discussed by Minko Sotiron in his monograph, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Newspapers, 1890-1920*. It was a shift that was to affect profoundly the future of Canadian news media.

This shift was basic and it involved two aspects of publishing news. Whereas, previously, advertising supported publishing the news, news became the key to selling advertising space.⁴⁹ In other words, the news-reading public was no longer the target market, the advertiser was. Secondly, as the newspapers became big businesses owned by corporations, outside interests, in the form of stockholders, began to have more control over content.⁵⁰ The rising expense and expanse of the newspaper industry in many ways necessitated these changes, but they were not welcomed by all those within the industry.⁵¹

Newspapers grew into the twentieth century in organization, in content, and in prestige. They became the vehicle through which Canadians learned about themselves and the world, and were for the most part, the only source of information for many. Even a member of the labour press, often critical of the party press, believed that, “The newspaper is just as necessary to fit a man for his true position in life as food or raiment. Show us a ragged, barefoot boy, rather than an ignorant one. His head will cover his feet

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁹ Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Newspapers, 1890-1920*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), p. 44.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 38.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 40-51.

in after life if he is well supplied with newspapers.”⁵² This was despite the fact that the labour press believed that they had to “debunk” myths perpetuated by the main political parties and the daily press.

This period also saw the development of the Canadian Press service. The advent of the telegraph meant that newspapers could receive and share news at a much faster rate. It also made the newspapers dependent upon the telegraph operator and the foreign news services for what news they received. M. E. Nichols, publisher of the *Manitoba Free Press*, notes that in 1894 the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), which ran the basic telegram lines in Canada, acquired the Canadian rights to the Associated Press (AP) report. Previously, CPR had been serviced by United Press (UP). At that time, Canadian newspapers were required to purchase their foreign news through the CPR.⁵³ Canadian news reports also travelled via the CPR wires as part of the transmission service. While Nichols reports that overall there were few complaints from the pressmen of the day, this changed in July 1907 when CPR telegraph officials notified the three Winnipeg newspapers (*Manitoba Free Press*, *Winnipeg Telegram*, and *Winnipeg Tribune*) that as of 1 August, “they would receive their basic news service in a new form, over a new route and at a new price.” Under the old plan, news came from Montreal with an abbreviated AP report and a summary of Canadian news. With the new plan, the AP report would come from St. Paul at twice the old price for the old composite service and Canadian news from the east would be brought in separately at a separate cost to the newspapers.⁵⁴

⁵² James S. Williams, publisher of *The Workman*, an unattributed quote in Verzuh, p. 30.

⁵³ M. E. Nichols, (*CP*) *The Story of The Canadian Press*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1948), pp. 12-14.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

This was not acceptable to the three newspapers' publishers and they met to form a united front to fight the changes.⁵⁵

The proposals that came from their meetings included signing up with three non-AP services – United Press Association, The Publishers' Press, and Laffan's.⁵⁶ Special correspondents of both the *Manitoba Free Press* and the *Winnipeg Telegram* would expand on their work, specialize in topic areas, and send their stories to all three papers.⁵⁷ This group then applied for and was granted a charter to Western Associated Press, in September of 1907 by the Government of Manitoba. Its mandate was:

1. To collect and distribute news and information and to enter into agreements with other newspapers or individuals for the furtherance of these objectives;
2. To subscribe to, enter agreements with, become a member of, subsidize and co-operate with any other association, whether incorporated or not, with similar objectives; and
3. In general to do all the things necessary or incidental to the above which a private person could do which are not inconsistent with "The Joint Stock Companies Act."⁵⁸

The new Western Associated Press (WAP) actively sought and gained subscribers to their service from other western papers.⁵⁹ This prompted a quick response from the CPR, which developed an interpretation of existing rules on what constituted a news service more in keeping with the prices they wished to charge. It raised the rates for WAP. A large and very public and political battle ensued. CPR eventually relented under

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 20–21.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 26–27.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

mounting pressure. With their way now clear and vindicated, WAP promptly expanded its services and shareholders.⁶⁰

The CPR, however, did not go down without a fight. It raised all the wire rates that affected both the western and eastern newspapers. Newspaper publishers and owners in both regions united to fight the new rates.⁶¹ The CPR, weary of the fighting and the bad press, turned over the AP rights to WAP and the eastern papers. It now no longer determined which news was carried over the wires; it only carried what the associations and papers sent to each other.⁶² Deciding to work together on a more permanent basis, in January 1911, the eastern and western papers started the Canadian Press Limited co-operative. It was an uneasy alliance from the start. The eastern papers were not as willing to work together as the western papers and set up separate associations in the east. The Maritimes formed the Eastern Press Association, while Quebec and Ontario operated under the name The Ontario and Quebec Division of Canadian Press Limited in two separate sections – an evening paper section in Toronto and a morning paper section in Montreal. As well, the papers in Ontario and Quebec were unwilling to help ‘bridge’ expenses for transmission of news copy to other regions. WAP and the Eastern Press Association were left to bear those costs on their own. WAP was also interested in government assistance to pay for the costs of cable across the country and to assist with developing cable lines to London, England. The eastern papers were opposed to this form of assistance for fear of government interference.⁶³

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 35-47.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 59-62.

⁶² Ibid., p. 69.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 74-170.

Despite their conflicting views, the various factions of Canadian Press Limited combined on 1 September 1917 to form Canadian Press. While Canadian Press did not collect all the news that made its way to the various newspapers, and later, various news media, across the country, it did go a long way to providing Canadians with news, both local and foreign, that more closely represented Canadian views and values. The need for, and the existing lack of, a Canadian viewpoint in press associations was brought home during the Great War, which revealed the American biases inherent in news received from American news services.⁶⁴ This concern would lead to the development of a Canadian overseas press bureau, and ever greater inclusion of Canadian press operatives witnessing and reporting on international events.

The development of Canadian Press was an important factor in creating an ideal of a certain “Canadian-ness” to the news. While it is hard to completely accept Nichols’ repeated protestations that the development of the Canadian news agency was not about money (since no one seemed to mind the AP news until they had to pay more for it), his repeated insistence on Canadians’ need to have news that suited them came to the forefront of the fight for control over a new medium that was making waves in the world.

Even before the Great War, privately-owned Canadian newspaper chains were beginning to express growing unease over unfair competition of American products and the prevalence of American views. This was mainly in relation to magazines, but the American incursion was being felt in many areas.⁶⁵ The introduction of radio technology only heightened that unease.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 151.

⁶⁵ Vipond, p. 24.

Originally developed to send one message between two people, private companies were quick to exploit the accidental discovery that one message could be sent to large numbers of people.⁶⁶ The earliest Canadian radio station was run by the Marconi Company in Montreal, call sign XWA (later CFCF) in 1919.⁶⁷ By 1923, there were thirty stations and double that by 1930.⁶⁸ By 1938, one-third of Canadian households had a radio; two-thirds by 1940, and by 1950, nearly every Canadian household was tuned in.⁶⁹ During the early years, Canadians were largely listening to American broadcasts.⁷⁰

Radio in Canada had been regulated by the government since 1905 under the department of Marine and Fisheries. This was for two reasons. First, it was considered a matter of national security – the authorities feared the use of radio-transmitting equipment for surreptitious purposes, and accordingly they imposed a requirement that all radio equipment must be licensed. Second, there were only a limited number of frequencies available for radio use and, unless someone allocated frequencies, there was a danger of interference.⁷¹ Initially, all radio broadcasting stations were private, with the Canadian National Railway (CNR) being among the foremost to use this new medium to advantage.⁷² At this time the technology, not the content, was regulated.⁷³

The advent of broadcasting, and with it, American broadcasts into Canada, came at the same time that Canada was facing post-World War I issues of identity. Canada was experiencing newfound independence from Great Britain, the heightened focus on

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

⁶⁷ Weir, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Vipond, p. 37.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 38.

⁷¹ Up until 1953, all Canadian radios had to be licensed annually. Frank Peers discusses licensing issues at several points in his *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1920-1951*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1969.

⁷² Weir, chapter 5.

⁷³ Vipond, pp. 38-39.

French-English relations, and the growing might of their American neighbour as an economic and political power on the world stage. This caused unease in a country still suffering the economic effects of war. The United States and Great Britain were also dealing with postwar, social, and economic tensions during this period. According to Robert S. Fortner in *Radio, Morality, and Culture: Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1919-1945*, the United States was faced with “alarming” immigration rates and Britain was slow to recover from ever-present reminders of her war losses. The governments of these three countries felt that this new communication technology would help them deal with their respective situations.⁷⁴ Fortner claims that the problem of American competition for Canadian airwaves was “one of the most significant issues raised as Canada struggled to achieve the vitality of its neighbour to the south while encouraging the public (or national) service in broadcasting that many saw being achieved in the United Kingdom.” This made the Canadian situation the most difficult and problematic of the three countries.⁷⁵

The idea of setting up a national broadcasting system to promote the public interest was not a Canadian idea. When the members of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting (appointed 6 December 1928 by Prime Minister Mackenzie King) visited Europe as part of their research into the shape a Canadian national broadcasting system should take, they found that the same types of inquiries were occurring there.⁷⁶ The commission’s report recommended that Canadian broadcasting be completely taken over by the government and that the new Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation (CRBC)

⁷⁴ Robert S. Fortner, *Radio, Morality, and Culture: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1919-1945*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005), p. 129.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 129.

⁷⁶ Weir, p. 107.

be modelled along lines of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The commission also recommended the nationalization of all existing private stations (with compensation for the current owners), and construction of a chain of seven stations to provide coast-to-coast service and to produce all the programming. This was to be paid for by licence fees and by advertising.⁷⁷

The commission's recommendations were controversial and the King government fell before the report could be acted upon. Railways, especially the Canadian National Railway (CNR), had been instrumental in setting up various stations across the country. Radio availability on its trains had helped boost riders and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) also wanted to take advantage of the new technology. Nationalization would limit that opportunity. The railways thus played a large part in the move to maintain and encourage private ownership of radio stations.⁷⁸ At the same time, the Canadian Radio League (CRL), initiated by Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt in 1930, advocated nationalization of radio in Canada, and pushed for support for Canadian talent. The new Conservative government of R.B. Bennett appointed another Royal Commission. The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 nationalized Canadian radio. It also set up the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), a broadcasting and regulatory body, and set in motion the purchase of the CNR radio facilities by the government of Canada.⁷⁹

The system that eventually came into shape was a mix of private and public ownership that remains the subject of debate to this day. Issues over music rights,

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 108-109; and Vipond, p. 39.

⁷⁸ Weir, pp. 123-127.

⁷⁹ Roger Bird, "Radio Age: Document 17," *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting*, (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988), pp. 116-122.

Canadian content (both in quantity and quality), the prevalence of advertising, and French language programming were always contentious as nationalists and private enterprisers pursued their agendas. What is interesting to note, as Vipond does, is that despite the Depression, during those early years of radio, this debate carried great importance in the government. The government did indeed forge ahead to subsidize what was largely a cultural and entertainment venture, with some news content. Vipond wonders: why did government help radio when it had never helped the movie industry or mass market magazines?⁸⁰ Magazines were middle-class and movies pure entertainment while radio appealed to everyone and could be used for entertainment, information, and propaganda. Radio was recognized for its ability to communicate over vast distances. It was visceral and often close to the moment, especially live broadcasts. Radio could bridge the long, empty distances and bring communities together. This is why the supporters of nationalization persisted in their demands for government support.

The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 was replaced by the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936. This Act created the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and also paved the way for government control of the newly emerging television technology.⁸¹ Because of a lack of funding, full government ownership of radio never occurred. The system of licensing allowed a two-track system to emerge, and along with the growth in CBC popularity during the 1940s and 1950s, private companies grew and prospered.⁸² The Royal Commission on National Development of the Arts, Letters and Sciences (also known as The Massey Commission) of 1949 reviewed the existing radio

⁸⁰ Vipond, p. 41. It should be noted, however, that the government did grant subsidies to newspapers to improve wire services to more remote areas and overseas during the Great War.

⁸¹ Weir, pp. 207-209.

⁸² Vipond, p. 40.

system and recommended an additional review to consider the direction that a national television system should take.⁸³ It recognized the existing national radio system for its promotion of national communication, and while it supported the public and private tiers, criticized the private side for its lack of Canadian content.⁸⁴ It recommended keeping the private stations under the regulatory control of the CBC, but also recommended the establishment of a Board of Commissioners to deal with complaints. These recommendations recognized the tensions between national interest, private enterprise, and freedom of expression, while privileging cultural nationalism over the other interests.⁸⁵

In the midst of all the debates and commissions related to ownership and content of radio broadcasts, news found a place in the new medium. Initially, broadcasting of daily news was a somewhat disorganized affair. Some stations simply read newspaper columns over the air while others purchased news from a news service. Newspaper owners and the Canadian Press news service were divided on how to deal with the presentation of news on the new medium. According to Nichols:

It was obvious from the beginning that radio was a challenge to newspapers in both news-distribution and advertising; hence it was a potential threat to newspaper existence as a prosperous industry. By no stretch of the imagination could it be regarded as a benevolent fellow-traveller. Probable danger to the press was the subject of widely-divergent views; nowhere was it dismissed or held in negligible estimation; newspaper reaction to commercial broadcasting in the first flush of its performance ran all the way from uneasiness to alarm.⁸⁶

⁸³ Weir, p. 250.

⁸⁴ Vipond, pp. 251-254.

⁸⁵ Gene Allen, "Canadian Press and the Emergence of Radio News," *Communicating in Canada's Past: Essays in Media History*, ed., Gene Allen and Daniel Robinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

⁸⁶ Nichols, p. 260.

Gene Allen argues that the larger newspapers such as *La Presse* of Montreal; the *Toronto Daily*, *Toronto Star*, *The Globe*, *The Mail and Empire* and the *Toronto Evening Telegram*; *The Vancouver Sun and Province*; the *Calgary Herald* and *Edmonton Journal*; and many other large and small papers owned radio stations. He adds that while they were “willing to support the use of restrictions on use of CP news on the air ... they were hardly dyed-in-the-wool opponents of broadcast news.”⁸⁷ In the early 1920s, the *Manitoba Free Press* and the *Winnipeg Tribune* were actively competing in radio. Both Winnipeg papers had towers on their buildings and laid claim to having the best and first radio tower.⁸⁸ This was not the experience of many smaller newspapers or those newspapers not affiliated with a radio station. For many, broadcasting news made dangerous inroads into their market, and they were more than willing to support outright bans on broadcasting news.⁸⁹ This was not to be.

During the period from 1922 to 1931, CP worked with newspapers and radio broadcasters to develop guidelines for and limitations on the use of news stories on the news service and news stories already printed in newspapers. These guidelines and restrictions, designed to maintain competitive balance within regions and between types of media, continually changed. Originally, broadcasters could read news already printed in a CP member newspaper on a station that newspaper owned or regularly supplied with news. This restriction did not apply to CP bulletins designed specifically for radio or news of major incidents such as accidents or natural disasters.⁹⁰ These guidelines were to prove unenforceable over the long run. They could not be effectively applied against non-

⁸⁷ Allen, p. 52.

⁸⁸ Nichols, p. 144.

⁸⁹ Allen, p. 52.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

newspaper affiliated broadcasting stations and CP had to compete with the Associated Press news service, which increasingly relaxed its restrictions on broadcasting news during this period.⁹¹

Everything changed in the 1930s with the arrival of a government controlled broadcasting system. The formation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation and its expected reliance on government and not advertising for revenues eased some of the newspapers' concerns over market competition for advertisers and subscribers. The chief commissioner of the CRBC, Hector Charlesworth, a magazine editor and critic, acknowledged CP's concerns over unrestricted news reading on the radio stations. He invited CP to submit a proposal on how an agreement could be worked out. The initial draft proposed that CP would prepare four five-minute broadcasts for the CRBC, to be broadcast at 8 A.M. and 11 A.M. and at 4 P.M. and 9 P.M.. These broadcasts were designed to avoid conflict with morning or evening newspaper editions of similar news stories. There was still some ambivalence on the part of some newspaper owners and the ultimate agreement was for two five-minute broadcasts prepared for radio by CP to be aired at 6:30 P.M. and 10:30 P.M. Within a year, this was reduced to one ten-minute broadcast aired at 10:45 P.M. Sponsorship or advertising during news broadcasts was banned. This arrangement was not to last long.⁹²

By 1935, outside competition from Transradio and other American news services for the private stations outside of the national network forced CP to adopt less stringent policies regarding radio broadcasts of news. The main reason why the American news services were so popular with these smaller stations is that they could use the news to sell

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 54-57. For additional details specific to newspaper owned radio stations, see Nichols, pp. 263-267.

⁹² Ibid., pp. 60-62.

advertising space and they offered four broadcasts a day, not just one. This was not something CP had allowed on the CRBC stations. CP agreed, in 1935, to allow radio stations affiliated with member newspapers to broadcast any CP news at any time provided there were no more than three ten-minute broadcasts in a twenty-four hour period. By 1936, these rules had been relaxed even more to allow CP to provide any radio station with three broadcasts per day for an annual ten dollar subscription fee. Sponsorship or advertising, however, was still banned on Canadian radios.⁹³

Even as late as 1939, not all CP member newspapers agreed on how to deal with news on the radio. There were still those who favoured outright bans on radio news service, some who only opposed the selling of ads on news spots, and those who were willing to support no bans or restrictions. By 1941, when the American Press removed all its bans on selling ads on news spots, and the British United Press emerged as a competitive force in the Canadian market, all bans on advertising with the radio news were dropped.⁹⁴ Radio news was here to stay.

CP developed a commercial broadcasting subsidiary called Press News in 1941. Since CP was a member association owned and supported by newspaper business members, this should not be seen as an incursion on their market. Rather, they simply were doing the same thing they were doing when they purchased new printing presses or bought telephones or telegraph sets: using the new medium to expand their advertising market by improving the circulation of their news stories geared to the product they were selling – first to the reading and now the listening public. Newspaper readership definitely declined with the increasing availability of broadcast radio news, but news

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 63-64.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

consumption did not. Since many newspapers owned and operated radio stations, and were part of the Canadian Press, which sold news stories to any radio stations, the news business was still booming as well as the companies that owned the various news outlets. But did radio news actually diminish the popularity of newspapers?

Nichols claims that “the First World War ruthlessly disposed of surplus daily newspapers on the Prairies.”⁹⁵ By his count, during the first year of the war, seven western papers and one eastern paper “died”; by the end of 1916, eight western and seven eastern papers fell by the wayside; and by the end of the war, thirty-six papers in Canada had gone out of business.⁹⁶ Why would Nichols blame the war? Competition for reduced resources likely raised the costs of producing newspapers. Three quarters of a million Canadian men (and not a few women) were directly involved in the war, many of them overseas, which reduced the available manpower to publish papers. It also reduced the available readership at home. As well, it is likely that smaller papers that could not afford to use a press association regularly were missing the war news that those at home must have hungered for and thus lost out to more connected editions.

It seems likely that, like many historical shifts, there were several factors. Each on their own may have made only a small change, but together they coalesced to create a sea change in the news industry: the reduced resources and potential readers; increasing wire rates; the recent battle with the CPR; the consolidation of newspapers into family companies and combines, which reduced competition between papers (if you own two newspapers in town, why not consolidate them to reduce your expenses); an increasing focus on the business end of news by publishers and owners; the position of reader

⁹⁵ Nichols, p. 52.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 115.

moving from consumer to product (as described by Sotiron); the increasing expense of the new technologies; and of course, the novel immediacy of radio news. Families would experience a greater need for news not less so fewer newspapers on the market would shift readers to a single paper, not lose them all. Increased focus on the *readers as the product* led to greater competition to subscribe more readers to less publications, thus increasing advertising rates and revenue. And radio, while new and immediate, was limited in its initial offerings. Alone, each factor may have led to a small drift to less and less newspapers. Together, along with the rising costs of publishing, the effects were cumulative and worked to reduce the number of newspapers published.

Although news programming was firmly established on radio by the 1940s it was not the bulk of radio programming. Most radio contained a wide range of entertainment programming from music and historical dramas, to religious services and educational programs.⁹⁷ Newspapers had developed several areas of news verging on entertainment, such as sports and gardening columns, but still remained largely a source of information. This was very different from radio in Canada, which attempted to fulfill many roles, not just news publication. Much of what was on the radio as news was gleaned from newspapers or news services that also serviced newspapers. Radio stations and newspapers, often under the same ownership, developed a quasi-competition that helped reduce the number of newspapers but did not reduce the actual consumption of news.

Not long after radio and print news settled into a watchful partnership, television arrived as a new mode of news transmission. Television technology first appeared in Britain in the 1920s and experimentation carried on throughout the 1930s, including in

⁹⁷ See Weir for a fairly full description of programming on CBC radio in its early years. Weir also goes into detail about the role of the Canadian National Railway in the use and promotion of radio programming.

Canada. It was halted during the Second World War, but commercial use proceeded at great speed thereafter. There were twenty-four licensed stations in the US in 1946 and three years later, almost a million Americans had a TV set. In Canada by 1949 there were 3,600 TV sets and no Canadian television station.⁹⁸ The Massey Report tabled in June 1951 recommended that television be placed under CBC direction and control and that no private stations should be licensed prior to the establishment of a national television service.⁹⁹ It also recognized that, as with radio, there could never be a completely commercial free or public system.¹⁰⁰

The Massey Report also stipulated that Toronto and Montreal would be the production centres. The first TV stations opened in] those cities. CFBT Montreal and CBLT Toronto began broadcasting in the fall of 1952. Building a television network was expensive, even with the 15 per cent tax on television sets to help pay for it. Ultimately, in 1958 then Prime Minister Diefenbaker allowed competitive stations: eight licenses were granted to private groups to set up second stations in larger cities. A second network, CTV was authorized to act as an agency through which the individual private stations could share programs. In 1961, a private French-language station was established to service the Montreal area.¹⁰¹

To eliminate complaints by broadcasters that they were being regulated by their competitor (CBC), in 1958 Diefenbaker also set up the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) that all stations were responsible to.¹⁰² By 1960, there were forty-seven Canadian stations, nine were CBC and the rest privately owned CBC affiliates and CTV stations,

⁹⁸ Vipond, p. 44.

⁹⁹ Weir, p. 257.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 257-258.

¹⁰¹ Vipond, pp. 44-48; Weir, pp. 255-265.

¹⁰² Weir, p. 306.

and three quarters of all Canadian homes had a TV set. Not all Canadians had access, however, and there were still concerns over American content. To avoid the expected tide of American programs and the reduction of Canadian programming, the BBG instituted a Canadian content rule in 1960: 55 percent of all programs had to be Canadian in origin.¹⁰³

News on television was established regionally and nationally by 1954-55.¹⁰⁴ This came thirty years after radio news first aired in Canada and only about fifteen since radio was firmly established as a national and commercial entity. The first daily newscast on CBC appeared during a program called “Tabloid” in March of 1953. It moved to a separate telecast in January of the next year and in May the first episode of “The CBC News, The National Edition” aired at 11:00 P.M. The first private TV newscast aired on 24 September 1962 on CTV at 10:30 P.M.¹⁰⁵ First intended as a national service to bring all Canadians in touch with each other, local news quickly become the dominant preference of Canadian viewers.¹⁰⁶ This is not to say that news received all the respect the newscasters themselves thought it deserved. CBC news anchor Knowlton Nash describes the struggle to move “The National” to a more viewer friendly time slot, and to lengthen the news from twenty minutes to one hour.¹⁰⁷ It seems hard to believe, with our current exposure to one hour supertime and evening newscasts, morning and afternoon newscasts, and twenty-four hour news channels, that there was a time when it was felt there was little room for one hour of news. “CBC Newsworld” became the third all-news

¹⁰³ Vipond, pp. 48-49.

¹⁰⁴ Weir, p. 399.

¹⁰⁵ Knowlton Nash, *Prime Time at Ten: Behind-the-Camera Battles of Canadian TV Journalism*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), pp. 21-22.

¹⁰⁶ Weir, p. 399.

¹⁰⁷ Nash, p. 1987.

channel to broadcast when it aired in July 1989. The US based *CNN* and British *Sky News* preceeded it. As with radio, television was quickly included in many publishing businesses. By now, the largest of these could be viewed as media corporations.

As of 2000 there were four national networks - CBC, Radio-Canada, CTV Bell Media, and Shaw Communications - as well as regional television station groupings, privately owned independent stations, provincial education stations, a northern network, and specialty channels.¹⁰⁸ All are regulated under an updated Broadcasting Act (1991), and an updated regulatory body, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). CBC dominance has been greatly reduced from its early years, capturing less than 10 percent of the English speaking audience.¹⁰⁹ There are more television channels than ever, especially American ones, and Canada is one of the most cabled countries in the world. The most watched entertainment on Canadian television is American in origin, but Canadians watch more news and public affairs programs than any other programming on Canadian television.¹¹⁰ This should serve as some small comfort for Canadians alarmed at continual pressure to reduce or remove Canadian content rules in Canadian broadcasting and publishing.

The rise of TV did not reduce reliance on radio in the same way that radio affected newspaper readership.¹¹¹ It did affect the way people listened to it. Most people now listen to radio going to and from work, making 7-9 A.M. and 4-6 P.M. primetime on the radio. There is not, however, necessarily more news. Often, while the news is aired more frequently, it is usually repeated and fragmented. As well, from its early days when

¹⁰⁸ Weir, p. 48.

¹⁰⁹ Vipond, p. 49.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 50.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 48.

every station offered a wide range of programming, most stations now specialize in a particular format to reach a particular segment of the listening public.¹¹² Like newspapers, radio caters to a local audience. Recently, radio has started to lose advertising dollars so the CRTC has allowed multiple station ownership in the same market to improve profitability and stability. Still important, still flexible and useful for reaching local customers, “These functions seem to be essential enough that they will not likely be soon usurped.”¹¹³

Vipond claims that the principal original medium for news information, the newspaper, has seen some of the biggest changes since the 1950s. The most important is the tendency toward mergers and monopolies due to loss of advertising revenue resulting from competition with radio and television.¹¹⁴ This seems, however, to be more of a continuing trend that started with the growth of family-owned chains in the late nineteenth century. In 1938, Sifton and Southam family interests owned almost twenty percent of newspapers between them. By 1960, four of the largest owners controlled thirty per cent of circulation; by 1980, that number jumped to sixty per cent. The biggest difference is in the competing interests within the ownership among various types of enterprises that the corporation may own: “Large corporations with diverse international interests and no local roots now own ninety-three percent of national circulation.”¹¹⁵ This also is not really new: as Gene Allen points out, many newspaper owners quickly moved to incorporate radio stations into their holdings.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 51.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 52.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 60.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

The first two hundred and fifty years of the Canadian news media industry has seen remarkable and rapid growth. It is an industry that has always moved quickly to embrace new technologies and business ideologies to grow and expand. Where once the news media industry was owned and operated by individuals intent on spreading new ideas, political and religious ideals, and presenting the events of the day, that industry is today part of multifaceted corporations that view Canadian news publishing and broadcasting mainly as a source of profit or a CRTC requirement. Today, most news programming is part of larger media empires that include news in a variety of media - newspapers, television, radio, and the Internet – and as part of a larger mix of industries, not the least of which is entertainment, communication and information. News has become a ubiquitous presence in our daily lives. It is this presence more than anything that requires us to understand a little bit better what informs the content and of the news, both past and present.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SEARCH FOR ARCHIVES OF THE NEWS

As discussed previously, the current historiography for the news industry in Canada is incomplete. Most texts that cover various aspects of the history of the news are heavily reliant on the published works of the news industry, personal papers, and government documents. The history written in Chapter One of this thesis is based largely on these sources, whether the newspapers, magazines, and broadcasts themselves and/or autobiographies, government generated and held archival records, and personal papers of some journalists, editors, and publishers. The archives of the media industry as such are largely absent from the archival landscape in Canada. Some of these works are solely about news, but many are broader biographical and other studies of journalism, reporters, owners, and, in the case of radio and television news, about broadcasting. Few of them rely on a wide range of archival documents, particularly those related to the editorial process. This is not a criticism of those who study, research and write about the news: this is an observable and verifiable research phenomenon related to this particular industry. It is necessary to develop a better understanding of why this has occurred and how to rectify the situation. To accomplish this, we first need to develop a better understanding of the primary source materials currently available.

Chapter Two will discuss the results of my attempt at unearthing available sources of unpublished primary source documents related to this field. It is hoped that this will provide a basis for more in-depth archival work to expand on our knowledge of where to find records of editorial processes and, I hope, how to prevent the current gaps from occurring in future records. More needs to be done in this area due to the important and conflicting roles the news has served over the years for publishers (promoting

policies and ideas; profit; funding other corporate concerns), supporters (promoting consumerism; maintaining the status quo for political and corporate powers; agenda setting) and readers (information gathering; personal history; creative inspiration). So where are the news archives? I have found that they are everywhere and nowhere.

The search involved three phases: an examination of how the publishers of news perceive their own records; a search for news production records in the online databases for national and provincial archives; a search for news production records in the online databases for archives at universities that teach journalism; and finally, a search for records of specific news producers, journalists, papers, and stations. First, I examined the various news businesses. I searched for and examined online archives available on several major news sites including the CBC news, the *Globe and Mail*, and CTV News. I also searched for online evidence of records created or controlled by owners of various news media formats, such as Shaw, Bell Media, and Postmedia. There was no expectation that I would be able to view most or even any of these records. In this case, a simple statement describing a records management policy would suffice to indicate the possible presence of records relevant to understanding the process involved in publishing news. What do they say is available in their archives and what kinds of records do they keep? As this is a very preliminary examination, I was mainly interested in what seems to be publicly available for an organization that makes it its job to point out the lack of adequate records management and transparency by governments, public and social agencies, and industries. Are they leading by example?

Secondly, I carried out a general search of the national archives and the provincial archives.

In the third phase, I examined the online finding aids of nineteen Canadian universities (nine that provide journalism courses plus an additional university from each province). The goal here was to determine if universities with journalism programs collected news records and, if they did, what kind of records were collected, and to compare these types of records collecting activities with those of other Canadian universities. I looked at each group separately, then compared my findings. My question was: are schools that teach journalism more active in collecting records related to their field than other universities?

Phase one was easily the most frustrating and the easiest to carry out. News organizations have little to say about how they manage their own day-to-day records management. When I queried an anonymous newspaper source about their records of decisions, I was told the published paper was their record of decisions.¹ Almost every newspaper site I visited, does not talk about records management practice and their “archives” universally consist of digital versions of their published newspapers and articles. In most cases, these are not freely available; you must be a subscriber or pay extra in order to view their archived newspapers. This is true at the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Globe and Mail*, and the *Brandon Sun*.²

Information is not much more accessible with the major broadcasters and media owners. Bell Canada Enterprises Incorporated (BCE Inc.) owns and operates Bell Media which owns the CTV network and several newspapers including the *Globe and Mail*. I searched for evidence of their records and records management policies starting at the

¹ Telephone conversation March 2012.

² *Globe and Mail*, <http://gold.globeinvestor.com/plus/index.html> [accessed 29 July 2013]; *Brandon Sun* http://www.brandonsun2.com/login_new.php?nav=/download_archive_new.php?edition=SUN_2004_04_08.pdf [accessed 29 July 2013]; and *Winnipeg Free Press*, <http://archives.winnipegfreepress.com/> [accessed 29 July 2013].

top. BCE Inc. provides a downloadable PDF document, “Bell: Code of Business Conduct: What we do is who we are.”³ Section 2.12 of this document is “Information and Records Management,” which discusses the responsibility for keeping and managing records. It states that “The purpose of the Information Classification and Records Management Policy is to ensure that the company’s information is properly classified so records are adequately managed to comply with legal requirements and business needs.” The specifics of this policy are on the company’s intranet site and are not publicly available.⁴ Page 16 of this section also lists the types of information considered confidential or for internal use only. These include human resources information; business plans; marketing strategies, pricing, bids, and proposals; and products and services. Their published list provides only an example of what is considered confidential. It also states that when an employee who owns records that are subject to a legal hold leaves Bell, the employee’s manager and Human Resources Consultant must ensure that these records are preserved.

Bell Media, which is owned by BCE, owns 28 conventional television stations including CTV, CTV News Channel, Business News Channel *Winnipeg Free Press* and 28 specialty channels, 33 radio stations and dozens of Internet sites.⁵ CTV’s “Statement of Principles and Practices” briefly states:

The CRTC required, in Decisions 2001-457 and 2007-165, that CTV maintain separate and independent news management and presentation structures for its television and radio operations that are distinct from those of any CTV affiliated newspapers, and that decisions on journalistic content and presentation for CTV be made solely by CTV television news

³ Bell, “Bell: Code of Business Conduct”, http://www.bce.ca/assets/Uploads/Governance-2012/BELL_LEGAL831083v12012_Code_of_Business_Conduct_English_without_links_PDF.PDF [accessed 29 July 2013].

⁴ Ibid., pp. 15, 2.12 and 16, 2.12.

⁵ Bell Media, “About Bell Media”, http://www.bellmedia.ca/about/Media_Landing.page#tabCont4-tabs [accessed 29 July 2013].

management. The CRTC also imposed a requirement that CTV News Managers not sit on the editorial board of any CTV affiliated newspaper; and that no member of the editorial board of any CTV affiliated newspaper participate in the news management of CTV television and radio operations.⁶

This statement, however reassuring it is for those of us concerned about control of news by media monopolies, does not mention any requirement for transparency by those who produce the news. There is nothing on the site that addresses this concern.

Another large Canadian media conglomerate is Rogers Communications, which owns *Maclean's* and over 70 other magazine publications, and radio and television stations. Like BCE Inc., Rogers is also heavily invested in communication technologies including wireless phones, land lines, and Internet sites. Rogers's "Statement of Corporate Governance Practices" does not make mention of records or records management.⁷ The "Business Conduct Guidelines," on the other hand, do discuss records management in some detail.⁸ The records under discussion are financial records except in the case of intellectual property:

From time to time, employees may author, make, create, and conceptualize intellectual property during the course of employment with the Company (whether or not during regular office hours, and whether or not at the employee's place of employment). This information and property is considered to be the exclusive property of the Company, if it arises from or is incidental to performance of duties as a Rogers employee, and must be treated as confidential information.⁹

⁶ CTV, "CTV Statement of Principles and Practices", <http://www.ctv.ca/About/Corporate-Info/principlesandpractices.aspx> [accessed 29 July 2013].

⁷ Rogers, "Rogers Statement of Corporate Governance Practices", http://www.rogers.com/web/Rogers.portal?_nfpb=true&_windowLabel=investor_1_1&investor_1_1_actionOverride=%2Fportlets%2Fconsumer%2Finvestor%2FshowGenericFlexibleZoneAction&investor_1_1_subAction=showCGPracticesAction&_pageLabel=IR_LANDING [accessed 29 July 2013].

⁸ *Ibid.*, Section 5 and 15 [accessed 29 July 2013].

⁹ *Ibid.*, Section 18 [accessed 29 July 2013].

Shaw Media owns the conventional TV network, Global, as well as several specialty channels including BBC Canada and History Television. The Shaw website does not go into any detail regarding governance, business practices, or records management. The most it offers regarding policies or procedures is covered under the link to “Our Vision and Values”, which lists their core values, of which accountability is one.¹⁰ Global TV does not list any information on its website that is not related to programming. It does have an interesting feature called “Open Data.”¹¹ At this page, viewers can see the files accessed under Canada’s “Freedom of Information” laws that Global used when researching various news stories. While not necessarily overtly editorial process records, something like this can help news viewers understand how information gathered by journalists and researchers is turned into the news they see. It is also a level of transparency not found at other news sites.

Quebecor owns Videotron Ltd, Sun Media Corporation, TVA, Canoe Inc, and several other digital, broadcast, and publishing companies.¹² Their page for Corporate Citizenship sounds promising but is in no way related to records management or even the company’s role as information provider. It deals mainly with corporate responsibility as it pertains to supporting culture and various charities.¹³ This is somewhat surprising considering Quebecor’s very prominent criticisms of the CBC and its records

¹⁰ Shaw Media, “Shaw Media: Our vision and Values”, <http://www.shawmedia.ca/AboutUs/OurVisionAndValues.aspx> [accessed 29 July 2013].

¹¹ Global News, “Open Data”, <http://www.globalnews.ca/open/index.html> [accessed 29 July 2013].

¹² Quebecor, “Quebecor at a Glance”, <http://www.quebecor.com/en/content/communications-giant> [accessed 29 July 2013].

¹³ Quebecor, “Quebecor at a Glance,” “Corporate Citizenship”, <http://www.quebecor.com/en/content/corporate-citizenship> [accessed 29 July 2013].

management and accessibility (or lack thereof).¹⁴ Sun Media Corporation, which has 43 daily and over 250 community papers across Canada, does not provide any information regarding governance, records management, or any other form of accountability.¹⁵

Postmedia Network owns ten Canadian dailies as well as several community newspapers. It also provides services such as pagination for others including the *Winnipeg Free Press*.¹⁶ Pagination is the creation of an entire news page for sale as is to another paper. The “Governance” link provides a link to the “Code of Business Conduct” page, where there is some discussion of records but, like Rogers, it applies largely to business and financial records. Postmedia does also specifically address intellectual property, but this has more to do with data, reports, copyrights, and procedures than actual news production records. In fact, it is impossible to see how it relates to news production records at all.¹⁷ There is surprisingly little about news on this news media company’s website. They do, oddly enough, offer a media monitoring service to customers. Postmedia also owns and operates Infomart. These two services blur the line dangerously between news provider and monitor. If you have a customer that is paying you to monitor what is being said about them or a competitor, there is a potential for having your own news story choices editorialized to suit the customer. If “Babs the Builder” is paying you \$100,000.00 to collect stories about her construction

¹⁴ Quebecor, Press Room, “CBC Radio-Canada’s Access to Information Performance Remains Clearly Inadequate”, <http://www.quebecor.com/en/comm/cbcradio-canada%E2%80%99s-access-information-performance-remains-clearly-inadequate> [accessed 30 January 2013].

¹⁵ Sun-Media, QMI Sales, “newspapers”, <http://www.qmisales.ca/newspaper-sun-media.html> [accessed 30 January 2013].

¹⁶ Postmedia/News, “About Us”, <http://www.canada.com/postmedianews/about-us/index.html> [accessed 30 January 2013].

¹⁷ Postmedia, “Postmedia Network Canada Corp. Code of Business Conduct and Ethics”, <http://www.postmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Postmedia-Code-of-Business-Conduct.pdf> [accessed 30 March 2012].

company, she probably won't be happy to see one of your reporters disparaging that company.

TC Transcontinental is another small newspaper company that owns newspapers throughout the Maritime Provinces, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Montreal, as well as various magazines and Internet offerings.¹⁸ Its "Code of Ethics" contains some provision regarding documents but this is related to basic privacy and human resources policies on private information. The Transcontinental code does address responsibilities to society, but this is limited to responsibilities to employees and the environment. There is nothing about their responsibility as an information provider.¹⁹ Perhaps this has largely to do with the fact that like most of the companies listed above, news is only a small part of its overall business. Transcontinental is primarily a printing company, a modern day throwback to the original printers that provided the first newspapers.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) provides a different example of record-making transparency. To be fair to the private organizations, it is a publicly funded organization without the profit making requirement (even if that funding is inadequate). Also, it has more specific obligations pertaining to its role as information provider and cultural bastion, which necessitates more accountable records management and transparency of activity. As a publicly funded organization, it is not accountable to a wide range of stock holders whose main interest in the company is personal profit. Nonetheless, the CBC has a more open stance regarding its records in its online presence. The CBC website provides viewers with an online discussion of records and records management that demonstrates an understanding of the need for some openness

¹⁸ TC Transcontinental, "Brands", <http://tctranscontinental.com/brands> [accessed 30 March 2012]

¹⁹ TC Transcontinental, "Code of Ethics", http://tctranscontinental.com/documents/10180/45244/code_ethics.pdf [accessed 30 March 2012]

about its records management.²⁰ This website has a thumbnail link to the CBC digital archives. It has an archived photo related to the day's topic, and when you click on the thumbnail, you go immediately to selected records related to the topic. Besides this link with obvious entertainment and educational value, there is also on the archive page a link to a virtual tour of the CBC archives. This is not an actual tour, per se, but it does direct the viewer to information relating to the CBC archival holdings: types of records, policy regarding records, reasons for keeping records, and how the records are stored.²¹

The types of records listed on the CBC website are "Video," "Film," "Radio," "Records Management," "Photographs," and "Other Libraries." There is information on each type of record. Under the link for "Management" records, the site notes that there are four thousand boxes of records on site at the CBC headquarters and over 12,000 at the Library and Archives in Ottawa. These records contain all CBC's corporate records from human resources to finance. According to the website, certain records are critical for the CBC: contracts, licensing agreements, and production files are necessary for copyright issues. Many people and companies outside of the CBC own the copyright for much of the content of the CBC record and their permission is required for any use. The bulk of their production records are stored on microfiche (1938-1976 for radio and 1966-1985 for TV) while the most recent is stored on an electronic data base.²²

The copyright issue necessarily limits the offerings on the CBC archive website, as negotiations are still pending with the original creators. That the CBC recognizes the importance of maintaining an archival record should not be doubted. Its "Archives

²⁰ CBC Digital Archives, "A Visit to the Archives", <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/about/> [accessed 15 March 2012].

²¹ CBC Digital Archives, http://archives.cbc.ca/info/archives/archives_en_02.asp?IDLan=1 [accessed 15 March 2012].

²² Ibid.

Project” was an effort started in 1998 to restore, preserve, and catalogue what it realized was a diminishing resource. The goal of the project was the “transformation of the archive from a shadowy, overlooked dumping ground into an active, valuable, and trusted resource both inside and outside the corporation.” CBC does, however, remain focused on the records that “enable the CBC to realize its full historical and economic potential” and “to make available this historical and cultural legacy to the people of Canada.”²³ In other words, it remains focused on the value of the record in a limited (although very important) way. It remains focused on what it says its finished product reveals about Canadian society, not about the organization itself. What I see here is a pretty good start that needs to go a bit farther.

The most problematic issue I uncovered in this search was the use of the term “archives” by most of the news organizations. By dictionary definition, an archives is “a collection of esp. public or corporate documents or records.”²⁴ In the context of this paper and of how archivists work, a more accurate definition can be found on the Society of American Archivists website. Their glossary states that an archives consists of “1. Materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as *evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator*, especially those materials maintained using the principles of provenance, original order, and collective control; permanent records.”²⁵ [italics mine] There are others that define the profession and buildings for housing

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Judy Pearsall, and Bill Trumble, eds., *The Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, Second Edition, (Oxford University Press: Oxford, New York, 1996), p. 69.

²⁵ Society of American Archivists, “Glossary”, <http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/a/archives> [accessed March 2011].

archival documents but this is the one most pertinent to this thesis. This definition reveals the flaw in the online archives offered by news organizations, mainly newspapers. That is, that they are not records that contain “*evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator.*” Published news stories, often available only out of context with the stories originally situated around them on original news sites or newspapers, are not evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creators. They are the *end product* of those functions and responsibilities; what is offered at these “archives” is really a library of published materials. Only the CBC website notes this distinction when discussing their records. Only the CBC website notes where “archived” corporate records are stored and maintained.

Phase two involved searching the online databases of the provincial and federal archives and the legislative libraries. Where possible, in order to avoid viewing every record that contained a newspaper clipping, I limited myself to a fonds/collection search. I also limited my search to “textual records” to minimize the need to review the descriptions of collections or fonds that only contained audio, audio-visual or photographic materials. I initially used the following general search terms: newspaper, television news, radio news, and news. Once the results were returned, I read the biographical/administrative histories and the scope and content entry for each item. From there, I noted which fonds or collections did or did not seem to contain editorial or managerial records.

On the British Columbia online finding aid, material can be searched by fonds or by type of material (textual, photographic, etc). In this case, I searched for fonds and textual material. Results for each search criterion are displayed separately so there was some duplication between the two. The initial search for ‘newspaper’ yielded over 300

results. Out of these results, twenty-one were related to newspaper records: one was for a newspaper (the *British Columbian*),²⁶ five were for editors, three were publishers, four were reporters, and one person who held a variety of positions at various papers. Out of these twenty-one, only six seem to contain anything relevant to the interest of this thesis, including the James K. Suter fonds and the R. T. Lowery fonds. The former is of interest because the description lists a “job book” as part of the holdings and the latter because it contains correspondence related to the ban of his newspaper.²⁷ The rest are interesting mainly due to the fact they contain correspondence by editors of the paper that may provide insight into the editorial process.

The search for ‘television’ yielded a total of 41 results, none of which seemed to contain any relevant information related to news, including the two fonds for television stations. Most of the records were personal papers or government records related to television programming and regulations. ‘Radio’ yielded more interesting results. Of the 142 results yielded, only 18 had material that is possibly related to news. But I was surprised at the number of people who collected radio broadcasts who were not affiliated with broadcasting, including the Sunny Trails Nudist Club collection.²⁸ There were five collections from radio stations, four collections of oral histories or interviews about radio, and one written history for a radio station. Nine collections of recordings were made by radio people or organizations. Unfortunately, as interesting as these were, none

²⁶ The fonds only contained a list of advertisers and fees paid to the paper. British Columbia Archives (BCA), *British Columbian* fonds, MS-2029, <http://search.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca/sn-5C44EDA/view/Fonds/find%2Bbritish%20columbian%2B%2B%2B%2B/2> [accessed February 2012].

²⁷ BCA, James K. Suter fonds, MS-2056, <http://search.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca/sn-594DC6B/query/Fonds/find%2Bsuter%20%2B%2B%2B%2B>, and R. T. Lowery fonds, S/F/L95, BCA, <http://search.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca/sn-594DC6B/query/Fonds/find%2Blowery%2B%2B%2B%2B> [accessed February 2012].

²⁸ BCA, Sunny Trails Nudist Club fonds, T4201, <http://search.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca/sn-594DC6B/query/Fonds/find%2Bsunny%20trails%20nudist%20club%2B%2B%2B%2B> [accessed February 2012].

of the records seem to contain documents related to editing with the exception of the oral and written history collections. These could provide personal observations or reminiscences about the work but could just as easily be about that broad category of “radio.” One other item of interest is the Newsradio Victoria fonds. This is a collection of recordings of news stories collected by the news radio for use by subscribing stations. It might be useful to compare what the service collected compared to what was actually broadcast by subscribing stations. This, however, is not the same as finding an actual record of the editorial decision-making process.

While there is a great deal of archival material related to the news at the BC archives, little of it seems to pertain to editorial records. With regard to copies of television and radio broadcasts, the rich amount of recorded material is certainly valuable but they are not fundamentally different from newspaper clippings. There is one difference. On television and radio, except for specialty news channels, news is a very small portion of the finished product. You have to sift through a lot of other programming material to find the news. The situation was not much different at the other provincial archives.

The search engine at the Alberta Archives also includes material from the library. This meant that many of the results for my searches were not necessarily archival; many were books, maps, and collections from the library. Luckily, it was clear from the item headings which material was library material so there was no need to read most of the descriptions. It also was not possible to do separate levels of search with regard to fonds, series or items, or type of material. In my search for “newspapers”, there were 2,677 results. Many of these were for items, files, or series from the same fonds, also listed separately. On a side note, many of the texts listed from the library were newspaper

directories or bibliographies such as the *Guide to Ukrainian Canadian Newspapers, Periodicals and Calendar-Almanacs, 1903-1970* and an annotated bibliography of works on daily newspapers in Canada, 1914-1983, created by Minko Sotiron and indexed by Gordon Rabchuk.²⁹

Only thirty results contained records related directly to newspapers. Thirteen fonds were for newspapers but these were largely collections of published copies of the paper, clippings or photographs. Ten sets of records were part of the private papers for individuals who worked in news. But of all these thirty results, only three sets of records contain the possibility of editorial records, including the minutes and memoranda in the *Edmonton Journal* fonds.³⁰ The most disappointing fonds was the Arthur Balmer Watt fonds. Watt worked as a reporter for several Ontario papers before moving to Alberta and writing for and establishing several local papers. He also served as president of the Alberta and Eastern B.C. Press Association. His wife, Gertrude, was also a journalist in Edmonton. His personal records consist solely of photographs of the fur trade, an object lesson for those who think journalists, editors, and publishers should be relied on for records of the news industry.³¹

Broadcast news yielded fewer immediate results (twenty-eight for television news and two for radio that had not appeared in the newspaper search), but had similar

²⁹ Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), *An annotated bibliography of works on daily newspapers in Canada, 1914-1983*, <https://hermis.alberta.ca/paa/Search.aspx?st=sotiron&cp=1&DeptID=3> [accessed March 2012].

³⁰ PAA, *Edmonton Journal* Fonds, PR0644, <https://hermis.alberta.ca/paa/Details.aspx?CollectionID=1&st=edmonton+journal&ReturnUrl=%2fpaa%2fSearch.aspx%3fCollectionID%3d1%26st%3dedmonton%2bjournal&dv=True&DeptID=1&ObjectID=PR0644> [accessed March 2012].

³¹ PAA, Arthur Balmer Watt Fonds, PR2868, <https://hermis.alberta.ca/paa/Details.aspx?DeptID=1&CollectionID=1&st=arthur+balmer+watt&ReturnUrl=%2fpaa%2fSearch.aspx%3fDeptID%3d1%26CollectionID%3d1%26st%3darthur%2bbalmer%2bwatt&dv=True&ObjectID=PR2868> [accessed March 2012].

useful results. The Mike Goetze fonds may be helpful: this is based less on the description of contents and more on the fact that he was the news director and “one-man show” at CFRN.³² Oddly, regarding the two radio specific records, one was the *Edmonton Journal* fonds, which contains some administrative material. Possibly this material may shed light on the relationship between radio news and newspapers and shared editorial concerns. Overall, much like the experience at the British Columbia Archives, it is something of a guessing game, even with archival descriptions, to determine what records may be useful. It seems largely an exercise in eliminating obvious non-starters.

I performed a different type of search at the Saskatchewan Archives. Its online finding aid allows users to browse the holdings, which is what I did. It may seem time consuming at the outset but it is preferable to wading through multiple viewings of the same records as they reappear in various search results. Also, it was generally only necessary to view extant, biographical/historical descriptions and the occasional scope and content notes to determine if the records were promising.

In this search, I found nine sets of records related to news: two were newspaper fonds and one television station fonds, with the remainder being the papers of private individuals who worked in the industry, especially CBC. The two newspaper fonds are microfilmed copies of the newspaper (*The Blaine Lake Echo* fonds), and photographs, negatives, and newspaper clippings related to the photographs for the (*Star Phoenix*

³² Goetze’s records showed up in both the television and radio searches. See PAA, Mike Goetze fonds, PR0061, <https://hermis.alberta.ca/paa/Details.aspx?st=goetz&ReturnUrl=%2fpaa%2fSearch.aspx%3fst%3dgoetz&dv=True&DeptID=1&ObjectID=PR0061> [accessed May 2012].

fonds)³³. The fonds for CJFB-TV, a CBC affiliate, which sold their assets to CBC in 2002, might be useful as it contains the records from across the history of the station, which was privately owned by Bill and Julie Forst for the whole of its life. The material extant actually appears to date from prior to the start and just after the demise of the station.³⁴

The Archives of Manitoba's Keystone database yielded very few results. There were thirteen results for the newspaper search, six of which were government records. Only three were from actual news sources, and these news sources were all private individuals who worked for various papers. Two of these private papers were articles and research papers for the individuals and one, the Walter Payne fonds, contained a special war edition of the paper, cards, and staff party photographs. The radio and television searches brought up the same six government records and no relevant private or business records.

At the Archives of Ontario, of the fifty-three results returned for a newspaper search, fifteen results were distantly related to newspapers including an advertising company, three publishing companies, and the Hamilton Typographical Union, Local 129.³⁵ Of the thirty-nine that were more closely newspaper related, most were personal papers of journalists and editors; none contained any documents that seemed pertinent,

³³Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), *Blaine Lake Echo* fonds, Micro 2.7-55, http://sab.minisisinc.com/sabmin/scripts/mwimain.dll/47/1/11/533092?RECORD&DATABASE=DESCRIPTION_COLL [accessed May 2012], and BF 8, *Star Phoenix* fonds, BF 8, Saskatchewan Archives, http://sab.minisisinc.com/sabmin/scripts/mwimain.dll/47/2/45/80?RECORD&DATABASE=DESCRIPTION_COLL [accessed May 2012].

³⁴ SAB, CJFB-TV fonds, F537, http://sab.minisisinc.com/sabmin/scripts/mwimain.dll/257/1/25/88982?RECORD&DATABASE=DESCRIPTION_COLL [accessed May 2012]. Also, for more on the history of the station, see http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index3.html?url=http%3A//www.broadcasting-history.ca/listings_and_histories/television/histories.php%3Fid%3D98%26historyID%3D76.

³⁵ Archives of Ontario (AO), http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/access/our_collection.aspx [accessed May 2012].

including the papers of George Brown, fiery editor of the *Globe* and political man in his own right.³⁶ There were two newspaper fonds: the *Merrickville Chronicle* fonds, which contains one volume of a handwritten list of advertisers' accounts and rates; and the *Upper Canada Herald* ledger, which also appears to be an account book of sorts.³⁷ These seem like abysmal pickings for editorial records in such a large province.

The television and radio searches returned equally limited results. Of the thirty-four listings for television, fourteen were for government departments with some broadcast component including the Ontario Curriculum Branch (1965-1972), which also developed educational television programming.³⁸ Five production companies were also listed – three that specialized in educational programming, an advertising company and a research company. Of those fonds that remain, three represented journalists, one Maclean-Hunter Limited, one a radio/television station and two television stations. The CFPL-TV fonds contains a nearly complete record of their news programming from 1953-1974.³⁹ It may be that the CFPL-TV records are simply broadcast versions of newspaper editions but it may be that along with the ample textual materials, some sort of editorial process may be discerned. The other television station and the radio station fonds are strictly videocassettes.

³⁶ AO, George Brown fonds, F21-1, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/34/1/5/6059?RECORD&DATABASE=AUTH_JOIN_INT [accessed May 2012].

³⁷ AO, *Merrickville Chronicle* fonds, F4206, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/2078/DESCRIPTION_WEB/REFD/F~204206?JUMP, and F4269 *Upper Canada Herald Ledger* fonds. Archives of Ontario, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/2078/DESCRIPTION_WEB/REFD/F~204269?JUMP [accessed May 2012].

³⁸ AO, Ontario Curriculum Branch (1965-1972), http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/137/1/2/7555?RECORD&DATABASE=AUTH_JOIN_INT [accessed May 2012].

³⁹ AO, CFPL-TV fonds, F4396, http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/2078/DESCRIPTION_WEB/REFD/F~204396?JUMP [accessed May 2012].

In the search for radio records at the Archives of Ontario, there were thirty-one results, mainly the same as for the television search. Of the five that were different, only three were involved in broadcasting but none were news related, with one being the papers of an electrician and the other the papers of a radio-navigator.⁴⁰ The low number of records related to broadcast news is not as surprising overall since broadcasting is still less than one hundred years old and many early, older stations were likely subsumed by the larger companies, particularly the CBC. Those records are most likely residing with those companies. However, as the search for publicly available or at least the publicly acknowledged presence of such records revealed, this is not necessarily a good thing for researchers.

The Provincial Archives of New Brunswick does not appear to be set up to do a general search of its holdings. The headings for the search databases include “Births, Deaths, Marriages,” “Cemeteries,” and “Port Returns including passenger lists, 1816-1838”. It seems largely designed for carrying out genealogical research. It is most likely that in this case, a researcher would need to travel to the archives or hire a researcher to explore the records for editorial records. While onsite research is certainly the ultimate goal for any researcher, in this case, the site is not helpful for doing a preliminary search for possible sources in order to plan such trips.

The Public Archives of Nova Scotia came through with one hundred and sixty-nine results for the newspaper search. Sixteen of those were records that contained something other than clippings. Of these, two were from radio stations: none were newspaper fonds. The fifteen sets of personal papers were largely just that, personal

⁴⁰ AO,
[http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/2078/4/0?SEARCH&ERRMSG=\[ARCHON\]authNo.html](http://ao.minisisinc.com/scripts/mwimain.dll/2078/4/0?SEARCH&ERRMSG=[ARCHON]authNo.html).

papers, or papers related to work life outside of the newsroom. One fonds, the Brenda Large fonds may be interesting mainly because, like the CJFB-TV fonds in Saskatchewan, it relates to a small, short-run newspaper that appears to have been mainly run by Large.⁴¹ The rather generically labelled “admin” files might contain more than just that. The HB Jefferson fonds may also contain some editorial information since it contains material related to wartime censorship rulings carried out while Jefferson was a press censor.⁴²

The television search revealed no records directly related to news although most of the personal papers of the broadcasters did contain newspaper clippings. Radio did not yield much more. While there are a few personal papers that looked interesting in relation to broadcasting, none could be directly related to news.

At the Public Archives and Records Office of Prince Edward Island the search function allows researchers to search other institutions in the area including the Alberton Museum, City of Charlottetown, and MacNaught History Centre and Archives. Since Prince Edward Island is so small, it seemed safe to broaden my search here. All the results I gained were from the provincial archives. For the search for newspapers, there were 149 total results, with twelve being related to news. Three of these fonds or collections were for newspapers but in two cases, they only contained editions of the

⁴¹Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS), Brenda Large fonds, MG 1, vol. 1431-1449; 3672-3675, http://webarchives.nsarm.gov.ns.ca/webcat/request/DoMenuRequest?SystemName=Nova%20Scotia%20Archives&UserName=bosanova+public&Password=&TemplateProcessID=6000_20055_195%20search.BosaNova%20system.1%20xsl.1&bCachable=1&MenuName=BosaNova%20Public%20Search&URI_CS S=/webcat/systems/nova_scotia.arch/css/mainstyle2.css&ControlPer=15&ControlLoc=T [accessed May 2012].

⁴² PANS, H. B. Jefferson fonds, Textual records: MG 1, vol. 484-515, 1224-1228 and Graphic Material; 1992-304; 31.2.1; 43.1.4; 40-4-2, http://webarchives.nsarm.gov.ns.ca/webcat/request/DoMenuRequest?SystemName=Nova%20Scotia%20Archives&UserName=bosanova+public&Password=&TemplateProcessID=6000_20055_195%20search.BosaNova%20system.1%20xsl.1&bCachable=1&MenuName=BosaNova%20Public%20Search&URI_CS S=/webcat/systems/nova_scotia.arch/css/mainstyle2.css&ControlPer=15&ControlLoc=T [accessed May 2012].

newspaper. In the case of the *King's County Advertiser*, there was only one edition of the paper. The third fonds, the *Guardian* newspaper fonds, contains administration and finance material, so it may be a good candidate for editorial records.⁴³ The television search yielded seven results, none of which contain any material related to news. The radio search yielded twenty-seven results, mainly personal collections. One radio fonds that did turn up only contained a one-page history and technical information.⁴⁴

At The Rooms, which houses the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archives, there were 187 results returned for the search for newspapers. One was of interest but not in relation to editorial records. The George Churchill Jerrett fonds describes him as being a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune* in Labrador and member of the "Farthest North Press Club."⁴⁵ This seems a most excellent topic for a research paper on a part of journalism history. Unfortunately, it provides nothing for an understanding of editorial practices. The television and radio searches were equally disheartening, with four and ten results for television and radio respectively. None of the television results were related to news. For radio, the results all contained personal or broadcast material only, including a collection of photos depicting radio antennae.

Library and Archives Canada lists the collection of records of enduring value to Canadians as part of their mandate. On the LAC website, it is possible to search records

⁴³Public Archives and Records Office, Prince Edward Island, (PARO, PEI), *King's County Advertiser* fonds, Acc4200, <http://www.archives.pe.ca/peiain/fondsdetail.php3?fonds=Acc4200>, and *Guardian* fonds, Acc4805, (PARO, PEI), <http://www.archives.pe.ca/peiain/fondsdetail.php3?fonds=Acc4805> [accessed May 2012].

⁴⁴PARO, PEI, Radio Station CHGS, Summerside P. E. I., Acc4491, <http://www.archives.pe.ca/peiain/fondsdetail.php3?fonds=Acc4491> [accessed May 2012].

⁴⁵The Rooms, Newfoundland and Labrador, Provincial Archives, George Churchill Jerrett fonds, MG 28, http://gencat1.eloquent.com/webcat/request/DoMenuRequest?SystemName=The+Rooms+Public&UserName=wa+public&Password=&UniqueID=0&TemplateProcessID=6000_854_854&bCachable=1&MenuName=The+Rooms+Archives&eloquentref=therooms_public. [accessed May 2012].

by fonds/collection, series, file, or item. Searching “newspaper,” “fonds,” and “textual materials” yielded 611 results. While there were some newspapers, most of the results were private records containing newspaper clippings. “Radio news,” “fonds,” and “textual materials” yielded 50 results, including a few for CBC radio, but most of these were for individuals working in radio news, many of whom worked in other areas of news as well. Several were not related to radio news at all except as personalities or groups that appeared on radio such as the Theatre Canada dramatic group, which appeared on several radio programs.⁴⁶ A similar search for television yielded only thirty-two results, many of which are duplicates of the radio results.

As a Crown corporation, the CBC has deposited some records in the LAC. At the LAC, there were forty-one results from my search for the CBC records. Just over half (twenty-one) are non-textual records. Several textual records form part of private (personal) fonds of individuals who may or may not have been part of the CBC Corporation. There are only two record sets from the central registry. These include material related to satellite re-broadcasting, general management, personnel management during wartime, and special events programming. One record set is from the Historical Archive section. The finding aid for the Historical Archive series contains almost a thousand files, most of which relate to programming in general, staffing, and reports. If there is something more definitive that documents past editorial decisions, it is not obvious from the finding aids. Local CBC records can also be found in many of the

⁴⁶Library and Archives Canada, Archives Search,
http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=99527&rec_nbr_list=99527,97982,3680739,2913239,206161,140470,98440,103762,107228,197551
http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=99527&rec_nbr_list=99527,97982,3680739,2913239,206161,140470,98440,103762,107228,197551.

local and provincial archives, suggesting a possible hierarchy of importance dependent on geography.

In phase three, I searched the archives of nine universities that run a journalism program plus one university from each province. The reason for the search of these universities is because the curriculum at these schools includes the teaching of the history of journalism. Since in most of these schools history and ethics related to journalism are part of the curriculum, it seemed a reasonable assumption that there would be an interest in and possibly an active collection program for acquiring archival materials related to the field. Comparing the types of records with universities that do not maintain a journalism program could serve to highlight any strengths or weakness in the collections I might find.

Here is how I carried out this search. First, I created a list of the universities with degree programs in journalism. I went to each university's archives web page and noted its collection policy in relation to the kinds of records it keeps. I was looking for fonds directly related to journalism or news – newspaper, radio, television news records, private records from journalists, or editors working in the news media. Next, where available, I browsed the online finding aids alphabetically and reviewed all the descriptions looking for evidence of possible records related to the production of published news in any format. This involved reading the archival descriptions for biographical/administrative histories and often the scope and content as well. Since so few writers had sourced production or business records, it seemed important to identify, not only records of news organizations, but also any individual who had worked, even for a short time, as an editor or a journalist. For the most part, those who wrote specific types of columns (art, gardening, etc) or who were listed as broadcasters with no other

news reporting or editing job listed were not noted. In cases where an individual's history seemed to meet the right criteria but the description of the records suggested there were no records related specifically to their news work, the fond or collection was included in my research list with the notation that there were no pertinent documents for this thesis. In cases in which a news organization was listed, such as the CBC Newfoundland fonds at Memorial University of Newfoundland, but, based on the description, did not contain production or business records, these organizations were also included on the list with the notation that there were no pertinent documents for this thesis.

To begin, I provide an overview of archival holdings at the university-level journalism schools; next, an overview of the archival holdings at ten different university archives (one from each province); and lastly, a comparison between the two groups. To start, there were nine journalism schools that I reviewed:

Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Richmond, BC; (Coast Capital Library)
 Thompson Rivers University, Kamloops, BC; (TRU Library)
 University of Regina, Regina, SK; (Dr. John Archer Library; Archives and Special Collections)
 Carleton University Corporate Records and Archives, Ottawa, ON; (MacOdrum Library)
 Ryerson University, Toronto, ON; (Ryerson Archives and Special Collections)
 Wilfrid Laurier University, Brantford, ON; (Laurier Library; University Archives)
 Concordia University, Montreal, PQ; (Concordia University Records Management and Archives)
 St. Thomas University, Fredericton, NB; (St. Thomas University Library; Archives) and
 University of King's College, Halifax, NS. (University of King's College Library and Archives)

Of these, the Kwantlen and Thompson Rivers universities do not seem to have an archive on site. Only three universities contain collections specifically related to journalism and news – Carleton (Wilfred Harold Kesterton Collection), Kwantlen (a

collection of newspapers and media transcripts in the library), and Regina (Journalism Collection). Only the University of Regina's collection contains primary source material possibly related to the production of news. All the collections/fonds at Carleton and the University of Regina were private records of individuals who worked in journalism, not records from the institutions themselves. The remaining universities do not have any specific collections related to journalism or news. Several universities have collection policies that seem to exclude collecting materials outside of the university's own records such as Ryerson, King's College and St. Thomas. Concordia and Wilfrid Laurier collect university records and also have several collections relevant to course programming: just not their journalism courses. Ryerson states that their extensive newspaper clippings related to Ryerson are an excellent resource for studying journalism.⁴⁷ Perhaps this is the reasoning as well with the other universities.

There are some collections of news specific holdings but these tend to be published materials such as the newspaper collection at Kwantlen Polytechnic University in British Columbia, which includes a collection of regional and national newspapers, media transcripts and copies of the *Globe and Mail* as far back as 1844;⁴⁸ Ryerson University's substantial clippings file;⁴⁹ and *The Gazette* Collections fonds at Concordia which contains 3,456 World War II photographs.⁵⁰ Overall, there does not appear to be a concerted effort or even a mandate to collect records from any news media outside of published or photographic materials.

⁴⁷ Ryerson University Archives and Special Collections, <http://www.ryerson.ca/archives/research.html> [accessed June 2012].

⁴⁸ Kwantlan University of British Columbia <http://libguides.kwantlen.ca/content.php?pid=313313&sid=2564332> [accessed June 2012].

⁴⁹ It should be noted that these clippings were specifically collected by the university because they referenced Ryerson. <http://www.ryerson.ca/archives/research.html> [accessed June 2012].

⁵⁰ Concordia University Records Management and Archives Department (CURA), *The Gazette* Collection fonds, P076, <http://archives.concordia.ca/en/P076> [accessed June 2012].

Browsing the finding aids did turn up many individuals listed as editors, journalists, or columnists at various newspapers or television news programs. While most of these records contain material not directly related to their news work, some may provide some information or evidence of news production processes, such as the Bill Stewart fonds⁵¹ and the Jack Tietolman fonds at Concordia University,⁵² and the William H. Stevenson fonds⁵³ and the Gladys Arnold fonds at the University of Regina.⁵⁴ As an example, the Gladys Arnold fonds was received over a period of twelve years and is comprised of audio tapes, journals, correspondence, videotapes, research files, photographs and newspaper clippings. Of the approximately five meters of textual material included, only a small portion, fifteen centimeters, can be considered professional correspondence that may provide direct evidence of editorial policies. Her papers definitely are worth a deeper look, but, based on the finding aid, they seem more reflective of her work as a journalist, and less as a source for understanding editorial decisions.

This search suggests that there are fonds and collections available within the private papers of journalists and editors at these particular archives. However, only a small number of those collections may contain material related to the editorial process or

⁵¹ Bill Stewart was a journalist and executive at Canadian Press. One series at CURA, is related to journalism and CP executive work. Bill Stewart fonds, P195/3, <http://archives.concordia.ca/en/P195> [accessed June 2012].

⁵² Jack Tietolman spent over 40 years working as a broadcaster in Montreal. His fonds contains files related to the management of several Montreal radio stations. See CURA, Jack Tietolman fonds, P113, <http://archives.concordia.ca/en/P113> [accessed June 2012].

⁵³ William H. Stevenson worked in London as a reporter for several British newspapers before immigrating to Canada in 1947. Here he worked in newspapers both as a journalist and foreign bureau chief and later for CBC as a producer. University of Regina Archives and Special Collections (URA), William H. Stevenson fonds, 83-7, , <http://www.uregina.ca/library/services/archives/collections/journalism/stevenson.html> [accessed 30 March 2013].

⁵⁴ URA, Gladys Arnold fonds, 98-54, <http://www.uregina.ca/library/services/archives/collections/journalism/arnold.html> [accessed 30 March 2013].

even the business side of the news. Also, considering the number of newspapers and broadcast news programs, and the numbers of journalists, editors, and owners, the number of these types of records is relatively low. They were so small in fact that I believed I had erred, and reviewed all the finding aids and online sources a second time, with the same results.

My next step in this phase was to look at the archives of one university from each province to determine what may be available as a resource for better understanding the news production process. The ten universities I chose are:

University of British Columbia; (Rare Books and Special Collections)
 The University of Calgary; (University Archives)
 The University of Saskatchewan; (University Archives and Special Collections)
 The University of Manitoba; (Archives & Special Collections)
 The University of Western Ontario; (Archives and Research Collections Centre)
 McGill University in Montreal; (McLennan Library)
 University of New Brunswick; (Harriet Irving Library)
 Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia; (Killam Memorial Library);
 University of Prince Edward Island; (Robertson Library and Archives) and
 Memorial University of Newfoundland. (Queen Elizabeth II Library)

Here again, most news production records outside of published news documents (newspapers, audio and visual recordings) or photographs, are contained within the private records of individuals who worked for or owned news organizations.⁵⁵ Most do not appear to contain much material directly related to news production. For the most part, they contain personal papers or research files related to books and articles or columns individuals wrote. There were a few that may contain interesting elements in

⁵⁵ Photographs are listed separately because unpublished photographs were usually printed and generally kept, unlike unused audio and video recordings, which were often erased in order to reuse the expensive medium. With digital photography, there will likely be less and less unpublished still imagery available.

their correspondence, such as the John W. Dafoe fonds⁵⁶ and the Robert M. Scott fonds at the University of Manitoba,⁵⁷ and the Sam N. Wyn fonds at the University of Saskatchewan.⁵⁸

There were some exceptions to the importance of private records, such as the *Manitoba Free Press* fonds at the University of Manitoba, which contains correspondence between editors and material related to a libel suit against John W. Dafoe, editor,⁵⁹ and the *Calgary Herald Union* fonds at the University of Calgary, which contains records for the union and especially of the editors and production staff involved in the 2000 strike.⁶⁰ These exceptions, however, do not seem to contain substantial information about the internal organization of the news business and only serve to highlight the dearth of archival material available for study.

In general, the archival holdings related to universities providing journalism programs and those that do not are very similar. This is a somewhat surprising result. I had anticipated that journalism schools would be very interested in collecting as many records as possible about those who work in the industry and the industry itself. I had also anticipated that universities that did not offer journalism courses would collect fewer news media related records than universities that did. The revelation that most journalism schools do not have a specific mandate to collect media related materials,

[⁵⁶University of Manitoba Department of Archives and Special Collections (UMA), John W. Dafoe fonds, MSS 3, MF 15, <http://umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/collections/rad/dafoe.html> [accessed May 2012].

⁵⁷UMA, Robert M. Scott fonds, MSS SC 143 (A.95-16), <http://umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/collections/rad/scott.html> [accessed May 2012].

⁵⁸ The description of these records is not quite as detailed as that in some finding aids, but these records are of interest because Wyn worked for many years as publisher and editor of one paper. University of Saskatchewan Archives and Special Collections (USASC), Sam. N. Wyn fonds, Fonds 305., <http://sain.scaa.sk.ca/collections/index.php/sam-wynn-fonds;rad> [accessed May 2012].

⁵⁹ UMA, *Manitoba Free Press* fonds. MSS SC, MSS SC 53, MSS SC 79, MSS SC 80.

⁶⁰University of Calgary Archives, *Calgary Herald Union* fonds, UARC2001.001, <http://asalive.archivesalberta.org:8080/access/asa/archaa/display/UOFC-1346> [accessed June 2012].

including those universities that do collect materials relevant to their special fields of research and study, was unexpected.

In a small case study of university archives, undertaken to see whether the general impression (left by the above discussion of online finding aids) of the absence of much material related to the editorial process, I reviewed more closely several files at one such archives -- the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections. The files were from the Simma Holt fonds, John W. Dafoe fonds, E. Cora Hind fonds, and the *Winnipeg Free Press* Collection. I avoided files that were, based on the description, related to family correspondence, newspaper clippings, research files, book publishing, and photographs. These seem a very unlikely source for records related to editorial decisions. For the most part, what remained was listed as correspondence or articles. For both the Simma Holt fonds and the E. Cora Hind fonds I reviewed all the items in all the files titled as correspondence or articles. The Dafoe fonds, on the other hand, has a generous amount of material labeled as correspondence. For this fonds, I reviewed two complete archival boxes of correspondence in no particular order, as well all correspondence between Dafoe and two of his journalists, Chester Bloom and Grant Dexter, as well as correspondence between Dafoe and Sir Clifford Sifton, the owner of the *Free Press*, and E. H. Macklin, the President and General Manager.

Simma Holt worked as a journalist, author, politician, public speaker and educator at various points in her life. Most of her journalistic work was done for the *Vancouver Sun*. The Simma Holt fonds contains 23.1 m of textual material, as well as photographs and audio tapes.⁶¹ The material was donated to the archives by Holt in four

⁶¹UMA, Simma Holt fonds (hereafter as Holt fonds), <http://nanna.lib.umanitoba.ca/icaatom/index.php/simma-holt-fonds;rad> [accessed March 2013].

separate accessions and consists of research files, correspondence, political papers, private litigation files, photographs, newspaper clippings and copies of articles, biographical papers, book publishing papers, and academic material. Most of the material within the 23.1 m of textual material is not related to her work as a journalist. For the material that seemed related to her newspaper work, I reviewed all files listed as “Articles” or “Correspondence”, or that had the name of a news organization on it. Of the eleven files titled as “Articles,” all contained newspaper clippings with the occasional correspondence. The “Correspondence” files were composed largely of letters from readers and from individuals soliciting assistance, although there were some personal letters as well. None of this correspondence, except for one file of correspondence with Marj Nichols of the *Vancouver Sun* (dating from 1984) in which Holt discusses the role of the columnist, has any relation to editing or the editorial process.

There were several files that included the names of various newspapers and the CBC as all or part of the title. Included in these files are contracts for work (CBC and CKWX), administrative papers, copies of papers and articles, union documents, and guild paperwork. One file does contain some material related to the editing process. “Bio. Vancouver Sun Correspondence, 1964-1972,” contains correspondence accompanied by a clipping documenting Holt’s disapproval of rewrites of her work and her editor’s response.⁶² This, however, has to do with the editor’s perceived quality of her work, not with her story choices. Evidence of the editorial process as it relates to story choices is not to be found in the Simma Holt fonds.

⁶²UMA, Holt fonds, MSS 103 A05-53, Box 94, Fd, 4, “Bio, Vancouver Sun Correspondence, 1964-1972”.

The E. Cora Hind fonds is distressingly small for such a renowned journalist. There is less than .5 m of textual material in this fonds.⁶³ The bulk of it contains articles, including articles from English newspapers documenting her trip from the Port of Churchill to Britain in 1932 and 1933. Of the four boxes of material housed at the archives, one box contains one file of correspondence. Most of this correspondence consists of letters congratulating her on her honorary doctorate from the University of Manitoba. There is some correspondence between Hind and various staff at the *Winnipeg Free Press*, especially John W. Dafoe. In these letters, the discussion largely centres on Hind's overseas itinerary (she was in Europe and Asia in the early 1930s to research and report on agricultural trends and politics), her health (Hind was in her seventies at the time), and some social discussion. Where there are editorial comments, they mainly consist of Hind requesting limited changes to her articles while understanding that space was an issue. Dafoe's responses or comments in this area suggest that any changes that were made to her articles was due to space. The Hind fonds does not contain any relevant material regarding editorial choices.

The Dafoe fonds contains 2.5 m of textual material as well as a photograph collection and a tape collection.⁶⁴ The textual material consists of correspondence dating between 1857 and 1948, and documents related to the Rowell-Sirois Commission, the Institute of Pacific Relations, Imperial Conferences, the Paris Peace Talks, the "Union Now" movement, and the Boy Scouts, as well as his diaries from 1918-1923, various speeches, his published writings, handwritten notes and other materials. For this thesis, I reviewed a portion of Dafoe's correspondence files – two complete boxes from various

⁶³UMA, Cora Hinds fonds, MSS SC7, E.

⁶⁴UMA, John W. Dafoe fonds (hereafter as Dafoe fonds), MSS 3 MF 15.

writers to Dafoe and correspondence files between Dafoe and two of his journalists, his General Manager, and the owner of the paper. Dafoe's correspondence was prodigious, both in the length and breadth of content within his letters, as well as in the numbers of people he corresponded with on a regular basis. Scanning two of the boxes of this correspondence, which is foldered alphabetically, Dafoe wrote responses to readers' letters, and to various friends, family members, and colleagues on family genealogy, political topics, the League of Nations, the Canadian National Railway, his books, social news, and Canada's place as an independent nation within the British Empire. Except for some examples that will be explored below, there is nothing here that can be defined as evidence of editorial choices.

In his correspondence with two *Free Press* journalists, Chester Bloom (mainly from Washington, DC) and Grant Dexter (mainly from the Ottawa Press Gallery), owner Clifford Sifton, and President and General Manager, E. H. Macklin, there is some evidence of editorial decision making but it tends to be generalized. For example, in his letters to Dexter, he discusses possible story ideas critical of Arthur Meighen,⁶⁵ the need to pick a stance in relation to pulp and paper and the development of the forest industry,⁶⁶ and the need to edit Dexter's recent articles for space.⁶⁷ The letters also include an impressive amount of information related to ongoing political and economic issues during this period. There is also social gossip and family news in these letters, and queries and responses regarding Dafoe's health and book publishing efforts.

⁶⁵Dafoe fonds, MSS 3 MF 15, Box 2, Folder 2, "Outgoing Correspondence, Dexter, Grant, 1924-1934", letter dated 4 July 1926.

⁶⁶Ibid., letter dated 9 December 1926.

⁶⁷Ibid., letter dated 4 May 1927.

The same sort of blend of social and familial musings, research, and newspaper work can be found in the correspondence between Dafoe and Chester Bloom, with a heavy component of wartime (the Second World War) news and censorship concerns.⁶⁸ Bloom was stationed in Washington during these years and evidently was an “ear” for personnel working closely with the government and the War Department in the United States. What is most telling from these letters, and from those between Dexter and Dafoe, is the large amount of information these men were privy to that never made it to press. In a letter regarding the Canadian Army’s possible role after the war, Dafoe wrote, “As always happens at times like these, a good deal of the best news does not find its way into the paper.”⁶⁹ This is evidence for the element of choice in the selection of what information becomes “news.” Bloom frequently alludes to “off the record” and “on the record” information he passes to Dafoe.⁷⁰ The reasons for those choices are not made clear in these letters.

Dafoe’s letters to Sir Clifford Sifton and E.H. Macklin are even less compelling as evidence for how editorial decisions are made. Sifton’s are less about actual news items and more about editorial alignment with regard to unfolding political events.⁷¹ Macklin’s discussion of paper companies, the Saskatchewan paper “situation,” items for meetings and personal notes contain nothing about news.⁷² Between the two sets of correspondence, the evidence for how or why editorial choices are made is limited.

⁶⁸ Dafoe fonds, MSS3 MF 15, Box 1, Folder 3, “Outgoing Correspondence, Baker-Bloom, 1917-1943.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, letter dated 12 February 1943.

⁷⁰ Dafoe fonds, MSS3 MF 15, Box 6, Folder 4, “Incoming Correspondence, Bloom, Chester, 1942-1943”.

⁷¹ Dafoe fonds, MSS3 MF 15, Box 4, Folder 4, “Outgoing Correspondence, Sifton, Sir Clifford, 1919-1923”.

⁷² Dafoe fonds, MSS 3 MF 15, Box 6, Folder 5, “Incoming Correspondence, Macklin-Maxwell, 1916-1943”.

Within the Holt, Hind, and Dafoe fonds, some evidence for why editorial choices are made can be found. This evidence is fairly scattered within the letters and is not consistent. Holt's and Hind's papers are particularly thin for this evidence. Dafoe's has considerably more but this makes sense in light of his role as editor for the *Free Press*. To be fair, these are personal papers and it does not seem quite right to expect that this kind of evidence would be found here. It is more reasonable to expect to find this kind of material within the records of the businesses themselves. In that light, it is somewhat surprising that Dafoe's papers contain so much of this kind of information and copious amounts of research and analysis on his part and the part of his journalists. The question that begs to be asked is how much, if any, of this material is repeated in the archival records for the *Winnipeg Free Press*?

The University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections also holds the *Manitoba Free Press* fonds. This is a small fonds of .05 m of textual material which includes several histories, pamphlets, and newspaper clippings.⁷³ There is nothing here to indicate how the editorial process at the paper was conducted. Conversely, the *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds contains 243 m of textual materials and photographic materials.⁷⁴ It consists of a massive collection of research or "morgue" files on individuals and topics, as well as over 2,500,000 newspaper clippings. As well as these research files and photographs, the University Archives also holds the *Winnipeg Tribune Documentary* fonds, the Comic Book fonds, and the Printing Plates and Newspaper Collection.⁷⁵ The amount of material related to the *Winnipeg Tribune* is substantial. It

⁷³UMA, *Winnipeg Free Press* fonds, MSS SC52.

⁷⁴ *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds, <http://umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/collections/rad/tribune.html>.

⁷⁵ *Winnipeg Tribune*, <http://umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/tribune/index.html> [accessed March 2013].

does not, however, contain any evidence of the editorial process. It is largely a collection of initial research and the published product. While editing choices can be deduced by comparing research files to the finished product, this material can not provide any evidence for the rationale behind those choices.

This survey, of the online finding aids at the University of Manitoba Archives & Special Collections reveals that while there is some evidence of why editorial choices are made, there is no real indication of how that process is carried out. More importantly, there seems to be no consistent mechanism for tracking what information or stories do not become news. This is a possible shortfall that should be examined more closely.

The lack of obvious available records across Canada at various archives that document editorial decisions hinders those who study the news and the news media organizations. There is no dispute here that published documents, knowledge of developing technology, infrastructures, forms of ownership, and social circumstances are all important for understanding the history of news organizations. My concern is that the lack of editorial and management records renders our understanding incomplete in a vital area. Having these records could go a long way to a more concrete understanding of how internal and external forces impact the choices regarding which stories are ultimately published. It could also give us a fuller awareness of the significance of the finished product.

These records would also provide a brief glimpse of those stories that must necessarily be consigned to the “cutting room floor” based on time and space constraints. Those stories may not be as useful for publishing purposes at the time they originally occur but they may prove invaluable for future history and social researchers

and for those news producers who seek to re-evaluate past decision-making processes to improve their own current work. It may also be the only opportunity for some voices to rise above the silence they have been consigned to due to space and time constraints.

News organizations and people do create and keep records related to news production but these records are inconsistent and generally do not appear to follow any specific records retention program. Also, particularly with early newspapers and broadcast news, journalists and editors, available records often reside in the private papers of former staff in the news organizations. The reasons for this are not clear but should be explored further. This current somewhat ad hoc dispersal through private records does tell us one thing about the organizations that created them. It suggests that there has been limited attention paid to records creation and management policies, both past and present. This has led to the limited archival holdings we find today. The rich history of the Canadian news media outlined in Chapter One is not well reflected in the holdings of Canada's archives.

CHAPTER THREE

MEDIA VIEWS ON RECORDS MANAGEMENT AND NEWS ARCHIVES

A long-standing culture of avoiding editorial record keeping seems to exist in the business of publishing the news. From the earliest Canadian newspapers to modern broadcasting, there appears to be little evidence of attention being given to documenting editorial decisions in the past. If there is little available in the current archival record, as seems to be the case based on the results of the surveys in Chapter Two, it seems likely that today's multi-media conglomerates are continuing the tradition. Until recently, the finished product itself has not always been preserved, so perhaps this is not surprising. This lack of consideration for recording the process behind editorial decisions may well be perpetuated in many ways. This perpetuation will be explored in Chapter Three.

I will review basic course outlines and course descriptions at the journalism schools whose archival finding aids were examined in Chapter Two. I will also discuss existing regulations to determine what the legal requirements are with regard to records management practices in broadcasting and, if possible, in print publishing. Finally, I will highlight several journalism society websites to examine their views on what constitutes transparency and accountability for media professionals and businesses. These three areas are important for understanding why media professionals have not generally considered it important to document editorial processes. In one instance, the schools are training future journalists and editors. In the second, the government has laid out guidelines for expected behaviour that set the tone for what actions are to be taken, (although this is largely limited to broadcast news). And the third case offers an indication of the beliefs of the professionals themselves regarding what steps they must take to facilitate accountability and accessibility to the viewers of the news. These three

areas speak to a well-established professional culture surrounding the creation (or lack thereof) of editorial process records.

Most institutions utilizing websites as part of their communication and marketing strategies include an introductory statement that discusses their ultimate goals and strategies for reaching those goals. This certainly holds true at the ten journalism school websites I visited. Even if they often seem somewhat superficial (it is only an introduction after all), I believe there are hints regarding the perceptions of the media's role in society at large. Nearly all the journalism schools speak to the role that journalism plays in supporting democracy, educating the public, and helping to shape societal discourse and even society itself. Here are two samples: "At the University of Regina School of Journalism, you'll learn to craft stories for all forms of media. Stories that engage. Stories that inform. Stories that empower the public. Stories that build a stronger, smarter and more democratic society;"¹ and "To fulfill their role in the workings of every democracy, journalists should be educated, knowledgeable, thoughtful, analytical, conscious of the responsibility that comes with their job, and equipped with a moral compass to guide their decisions."² What I note missing is explicit reference to the historical context of their work or the need to be accountable for it.

When I refer to historical context in relation to the lack of editorial process records, I am not speaking of these records just as a missing ingredient in news media history. I am also speaking of the lack of recognition that historical research often relies

¹ University of Regina School of Journalism, "School of Journalism", <http://www.uregina.ca/arts/journalism/vision.html> [accessed October 2012].

² Carleton University School of Journalism and Communication, "Journalism", <http://www1.carleton.ca/journalism/> [accessed October 2012].

on published news sources as *primary records*. In these introductions and, as I will demonstrate, in the course offerings, there is little if no attention paid to the role the news media plays in our understanding of our selves in historical context and there is no mention of transparency or accountability to the viewing public.

Of the nine universities I surveyed for course descriptions, two did not make their course descriptions readily available via the web: Thompson Rivers University in British Columbia and University of King's College in Nova Scotia. Thompson Rivers did post a list of the courses so I gleaned what I could from the titles. King's College will not figure in this discussion. While most of the schools teach the history of journalism, there is a limited amount of time allotted for the topic, from the inclusion of a history component in the half-year course titled "Journalism and Democracy" at Wilfrid Laurier University to the maximum of two courses on the history of journalism offered at Ryerson.³ I would like to add a note here that a history of journalism is not quite the same as a history of the news, but the two are intricately aligned in the same way conjoined twins are: they are separate entities but one may not survive the other if separated.⁴ There is also little discussion in these programs of the role of the press agencies. They are used widely by news organizations, with many news outlets using the same major news source. While it is interesting that there does not seem to be a strong interest in teaching the history of their profession to budding young journalists, great

³ Wilfrid Laurier University School of Journalism, "Journalism Program", http://www.wlu.ca/calendars/departments.php?cal=1&d=1058&s=502&y=53#Course_Offerings [accessed October 2012]; and Ryerson University School of Journalism, "2011-2012 Undergraduate Calendar", <http://www.ryerson.ca/calendar/2011-2012/pg2773.html> [accessed October 2012].

⁴ An informative article on the distinction between a history of the news and a history of journalism can be found in Raymond Joad, "The history of newspapers and the history of journalism: Two disciplines or one?" *Media History*, 5:2, 223-232, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13688809909357961> [accessed January 2012].

importance is attached to the role of the news media in Canadian society and the ethics and principles that guide its work.

For the most part, while there seems to be a great variety of courses offered and in how those courses are structured, all the schools devote time to ethics and theories of media and communication. Some specify “news”, such as Kwantlen, which offers “Introduction to news: how we inform ourselves,” and “News Media and Influence,” and Ryerson which offers a course titled “The Culture of News.” Others, such as Wilfrid Laurier University offer courses on theories and ethics related to journalism or the media without explicitly discussing “news.”⁵ I believe this is an important omission as there are differences between news and journalism: the first is the product itself, and the second the process of defining and creating that product. While most of the universities make mention of the media’s role as a watchdog and social commentator, none discuss the role of published media in historical and sociological studies. Considering how widely used it is in both those areas, some attention should be paid to it.

Only one university appears to discuss the process of choosing which stories make it to the published news. St. Thomas University offers three courses that specifically address how stories are chosen for inclusion in the published news: “Television Journalism I: Telling the Stories of Today,” “Radio Journalism I: Telling the

⁵ Kwantlen Polytechnic University School of Journalism, “Course Requirements” <http://www.kwantlen.ca/calendar/2012-13/arts/journalism-deg.html> [accessed October 2012]; Ryerson School of Journalism, “2011-2012 Undergraduate Calendar”, <http://www.ryerson.ca/calendar/2011-2012/pg2773.html> [accessed October 2012]; and Wilfred Laurier School of Journalism, “Journalism Program”, http://www.wlu.ca/calendars/departement.php?cal=1&d=1058&s=502&y=53#Course_Offerings [accessed October 2012].

Stories of Today,” and “Print Journalism I: Telling the Stories of Today.”⁶ Based on the description, only the course description related to print states that the aim is to discuss how to decide which stories make it to print. It is not clear if there is any discussion of the importance of that decision-making process. Each of these courses has a part two: “Telling the Stories of Tomorrow” but they have more to do with covering in-depth and long-running stories.⁷ Most alarmingly, there seems to be no discussion in any of the courses related to managing records beyond the journalists' own research files created while producing the news. While a structured course for majors in journalism is not the place for in-depth training in records management, some sort of introduction at least to the notion of taking the same care in creating records of their working processes seems appropriate for a profession that considers it a duty to hold others accountable for their records.

Previously, I surveyed online websites for various media companies and outlets to determine if there are any references to records management and the accessibility of editorial records. For this chapter, I surveyed several online websites for journalistic organizations in Canada and the US to determine if there are any similarities or differences between journalists and owners in their discussion of the role of the news media and its responsibilities regarding records. Of the ten Canadian association websites I surveyed, only four were primarily devoted to the pursuit of news. There is a great deal of difference in discussions of the role of the business but little difference in discussions of transparency. Creating profit for shareholders was described as the

⁶ St. Thomas University School of Communication and Journalism, “Journalism and Communications – Courses”, <http://w3.stu.ca/stu/academic/departments/journalism/courses.aspx> [accessed October 2012].

primary responsibility of the business at higher levels in the organization; at the working level – journalists and editors - service to the public in some form was listed as the primary responsibility.

The Canadian Association of Journalists' "Ethics guidelines" are quite extensive. They deal with accuracy, fairness, right to privacy, independence, conflict of interest, transparency, promises to sources, diversity, accountability, and special issues in digital media.⁸ While there is a detailed list of points for each area the guidelines cover, there is no mention of records management issues or about deciding what news stories to publish. Most of what they cover under transparency and accuracy refers to issues dealing with the accreditation of sources. The spirit of accountability to the public is there, however. Under "Independence" and "Accountability," it is stated that journalists "serve the public interest." The guidelines clearly state the need to be honest and open about how they conduct their activities. While they may not overtly direct story choices in their positions as journalists, they most likely do have subtle effects based on how they carry out their research. So while the guidelines are extensive, they are not complete.

The Editors' Association of Canada website is entirely lacking in discussions of accountability. Their "Professional Editorial Standards" defines an editor as "an intermediary who must skilfully and tactfully balance the interests of the employer or client, the author, and the audience."⁹ The standards themselves deal exclusively with how to create the finished product, in this case for print or web publishing. There is a

⁸Canadian Association of Journalists, "Ethics guidelines", <http://www.caj.ca/?p=1776> [accessed October 2012].

⁹ Editors' Association of Canada, "Professional Editorial Standards", http://www.editors.ca/resources/eac_publications/pes/introduction.html [accessed October 2012].

small section under A5 in the “Fundamentals” chapter that deals with legal and ethical issues but these largely pertain to copyright and offensive materials.¹⁰ There is no mention of any need for records management or discussion of the editors’ role in determining story choices. This is an important omission.

Newspapers of Canada, in their online “Statement of Principles,” also clearly state who they are accountable to in their work:

The newspaper has responsibilities to its readers, its shareholders, its employees and its advertisers. However, the operation of a newspaper is a public trust and its overriding responsibility is to the society it serves. The newspaper plays many roles: a watchdog against evil and wrongdoing, an advocate for good works and noble deeds, and an opinion leader for its community.¹¹

There is a short description of various areas of concern such as freedom of the press and independence but there is no discussion of accountability and transparency. Those words are not present in the principles and neither is a discussion of records management.

RTDNA (Radio Television Digital News Association) is The Association of Electronic Journalists.¹² It is a forum for supporting, educating, and advocating for members who work in broadcast and Internet media. Its Code of Ethics [lists] fourteen articles that describe the standards members should follow when researching and broadcasting the news. These articles cover issues such as transparency, accuracy, respectful conduct, and the use of confidential sources. None of them discuss any aspect of records management or records creation for documenting their work.

These four examples not only suggest that the importance of records management is not acknowledged at any organizational level in the news industry, but

¹⁰ Editors’ Association of Canada, A5: “The Fundamentals of Editing”, http://www.editors.ca/resources/eac_publications/pes/fundamentals.html [accessed October 2012].

¹¹ Newspapers of Canada, “Statement of Principles”, <http://www.newspaperscanada.ca/about-newspapers/statement-principles> [accessed October 2012].

¹² The Association of Electronic Journalists, “Code of Ethics”, <http://www.rtndacanada.com/ETHICS/codeofethics.asp> [accessed 30 May 2013]

also that the perceived importance of transparency and accountability is lower the higher up in the organization you look. It becomes apparent that a possible reason for the lack of importance attached to editorial records may be that there is little importance attached to the records of day-to-day news-making in general. What is also missing in any of these discussions is the relevance of the published news for future generations. While it is understood that the daily business of publishing news is fast paced and time sensitive with little room for continued reflection during the work day, there needs to be some acknowledgement of this overlooked aspect of the use of news. It not only gives readers today's information, it can tell future generations about us. And having a better understanding of what is not in the news is just as important as seeing what is.

In United States, the Society of Professional Journalists posts an ethics guideline similar to the Canadian Association of Journalists. Their main headings are "Seek Truth and Report It," "Minimize Harm," "Act Independently," and "Be Accountable."¹³ Like the Canadian group, while there is recognition of the importance of news for public enlightenment and promoting democracy, no notice given to its role in historical studies. While they recognize their duty to "give voice to the voiceless" – those without power in society – they do not mention their duty to those whose voices or stories they do not have time to publish. The American Society of Newspaper Editors recognizes a special duty to the public under the American First Amendment right to freedom of expression.¹⁴ In their "Statement of Principles" they discuss the role of news under the articles "Responsibility," "Truth and Accuracy," "Impartiality," and "Independence,"

¹³ Society of Professional Journalists, "Code of Ethics", <http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp> [accessed October 2012].

¹⁴ American Society of Newspaper Editors, "Statement of Principles", <http://asne.org/content.asp?pl=24&sl=171&contentid=171> [accessed October 2012].

but as with the other associations, they do not discuss the historical uses of the news. While they do discuss the requirement to be open and transparent, there is no discussion of the need to document their decision-making processes. In this regard, both these groups are very similar to their Canadian counterparts.

In some ways it is not surprising that there is lack of consideration of the record of process when it comes to Canadian journalism, media organizations, or end products of their work. The CRTC Broadcasting Act 1991, c.II B-9.01 states that “This Act shall be construed and applied in a manner that is consistent with the freedom of expression and journalistic, creative and programming independence enjoyed by broadcasting undertakings.” There is no mention of the role of media in society, nor of their need to be accountable to the public in that role.¹⁵

In Part II of the Act, “Objects and Powers of the Commission in Relation to Broadcasting,” there is a small reference to records under “General Powers – Regulations generally.” It states,

- 10. (i) requiring licensees to submit to the Commission such information regarding their programs and financial affairs or otherwise relating to the conduct and management of their affairs as the regulations may specify;
- 10. (j) respecting the audit or examination of the records and books or account of licensees by the Commission or persons acting on behalf of the Commission;¹⁶

Here is a glimmer of hope for an archivist wishing to pursue the potential for greater accountability and understanding of the ubiquitous voice of the media.

Part III discusses the CBC. The CBC is required to report annually on financial affairs, auditor’s report, objectives met in the fiscal year, performance standards, and

¹⁵ Government of Canada Justice Laws Website, “Broadcasting Act (S.C. 1991, c. 11)”, <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/showdoc/cs/B-9.01> [accessed October 2010].

¹⁶ Ibid.

any other financial information.¹⁷ While there is recognition of the importance of finances and standards, there is no requirement for tracking editorial or creative processes or for determining the journalistic truth for the day's programming.

The Television Broadcasting Regulations, 1987 (SOR/87-49) do lay out a log or record-keeping procedure for licensees under the Broadcasting Act. In Section 10, the regulation is fairly specific in the type of information to be documented and when that documentation is to be forwarded to the Commission. It also requires that the stations hold their audio-visual productions for a period of four weeks before destruction, and that if the Commission requests those records they are to be made available. Most of these record-keeping requirements seem to be for accountability in the form of complaints over content or format. As well, the information requested in this regulation relates to the actual programming that goes on air – air time, time of commercials, length of commercials, name of the program, etc. There is no mention of a requirement for management records or process records that pertain to the creation or choice of programming.¹⁸

This seeming lack of required documentation for the editorial and creative decision making that goes into broadcast media programming seems very much at odds with journalists' own stated beliefs about the role of their profession as the voice for democracy and the people. It is somewhat at odds with CBC's stated role as bearers of culture and history. These are the people and organizations, trusted more or less by the public, to appraise, acquire, describe, and present (and dispose of) information that is

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Government of Canada Justice Laws Website, "The Television Broadcasting Regulations, 1987 (SOR/87-49)", <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-87-49/20091023/P1TT3xt3.html> [accessed October 2010].

relevant to our understanding of ourselves and the world we live in. Not only are they doing this for us, they are doing this for future generations. In the same way that archivists are responsible for their actions and decisions regarding their part in the creation of the historical record, so should media organizations and their professionals be held accountable for their part in that creation as well.

There are of course, concerns over the freedom of the press and the protection of privacy for individuals who speak to the press. There could be the perception that the government is actively trying to interfere with the journalistic process and force the press to reveal confidential sources in an unseemly fashion. This fear is understandable in light of recent attempts to do just that through the courts, as in the Maher Arar case in January 2004 when police raided the home of *Ottawa Citizen* reporter Juliet O'Neill,¹⁹ and the 2008 Court of Ontario decision ordering *National Post* editor-in-chief and investigative journalist, Andrew McIntosh, to turn over his records of a confidential informant in the Shawinigate scandal.²⁰ The *National Post* appealed that decision on the grounds of infringement of press freedom. It believed that if the RCMP succeeded in obtaining these records, the ability of the press to hold governments accountable would be undermined.²¹ In light of this, any hesitation on the part of the news media to create

¹⁹ CBC News, "Police, state secrets, and media", <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/arar/policestatesecretsmedia.html> [accessed December 2012].

²⁰ CBC News, "National Post loses secret source case", <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2010/05/07/shawinigate-confidential-sources-protection-cp.html> [accessed March 2012].

²¹ It is important to note that according to the Canadian Association of Journalists, there is no legal protection of privacy for confidential sources. Dean Jobb backs up this claim in his journalism text and cautions that there is no blanket provision protection for journalists' records and that cases where authorities are demanding records are decided on a case-by-case basis. Judges in these cases must balance the right to privacy with the public's right to know, and journalistic integrity with the needs of the justice system. He does note that judges generally do not assent to "fishing expeditions" by authorities and will generally only press for disclosure if it can be proven the records have a direct and immediate bearing and a current case. Dean Jobb, *Media Law for Canadian Journalists*, (Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications Limited, 2006), pp. 307-312.

or make available more records that may inhibit their ability to do their job is understandable.

This, however, does not preclude the media from the responsibility for doing so. There are ways to manage these forms of records so as to protect both journalists and sources from unwarranted exposure. Human resources records, meeting minutes, and other sensitive forms of business records are afforded special restrictions in order to protect legitimate personal and business interests. They can be restricted from public view for a period of time before becoming available. The same is true for census records and medical records, both of which contain very sensitive personal material. All have proven valuable both from an historical standpoint and for other forms of studies. In the conclusion, I will discuss ways in which to research this issue further in order to provide possible solutions.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION: THE WAYS FORWARD

In summary, the research carried out for Chapter Two and Three of this thesis suggests that there exists a shortfall in the archival record for media industries, and that this shortfall is being perpetuated in the present and into the future by the current record-keeping and record making environment. This shortfall is in the area of editorial records. There appears to no evidence, or requirement to create evidence, to document a crucial component of making the news – choosing news stories to publish or broadcast. I came to this conclusion based on an examination of the current archival record and an examination of the current culture and regulations about editorial records.

In the survey of existing archival records, I reviewed the websites for the media owners as well as those for newspapers and television news for any evidence of their records management policies as they relate to editorial records, and their archival holdings. There is little evidence of records policies except as they pertain to finances and intellectual property and, except for the CBC, archival holdings that are available or described are limited mainly to personal collections and published or recorded news. I surveyed the online finding aids of provincial archives, Library and Archives Canada, nine universities that provide journalism programs and one other university archive from each of the provinces. LAC and the provincial libraries all contain records related to the media, both in various institutional records and the personal records of former journalists, editors, and publishers, but most of these contained clippings, recordings, photographs, and research files. In the case of individuals' fonds or collections, the holdings also included personal papers unrelated to the media. In many cases, the individuals' fonds contained no material related to the media.

Of the universities whose finding aids I surveyed, all had records related to the news media. Some were, in fact, quite substantial. However, the descriptions and file lists suggest limited offerings related to editorial records. This was substantiated by a case study of five fonds held at the University of Manitoba, especially the John W. Dafoe fonds and the *Winnipeg Tribune* fonds. Both these fonds are quite large but, except for some intriguing passages in the midst of Dafoe's prodigious correspondence files, they contain no editorial records. Most importantly, most of the universities that teach journalism do not appear to have an archival collection mandate or even archival holdings focused on media records. Most of those universities certainly do have records related to the media, but they are not generally highlighted thematically in their archival holdings. What these findings suggest is that there is little evidence of the editorial process currently available in the archival record, both within public and private institutions, and what is there seems to be buried in personal and professional correspondence. While a search of online finding aids is limited to a certain extent, what is notable is the consistency of the findings.

As part of my examination of the culture of record-keeping in the media industry, I surveyed the course outlines of the universities offering journalism programs. I found that few courses discussed in their outlines the act of choosing stories to publish or broadcast; some discuss the history of journalism; and there seems to be no discussion of the uses of published and broadcast news by historians, genealogists, or other researchers. None of these topics can ever be a main focus in any journalism program but they do deserve greater attention than they seem to receive. The journalism association websites that focused on the role and work of journalists detail their journalistic responsibilities in ethics codes that include the need to protect sources and to

admit mistakes and make corrections, and some include the need to be transparent and accountable. While all mention the responsibility to be true to the facts of any story, and the responsibility to remain unbiased, none mention the importance of making choices about what stories make the news or of documenting how they make those choices. Again, this cannot be the main focus of a code of ethics but it is an aspect of the profession that warrants some attention. Past and current legislation regarding the media tends also to overlook this aspect of the news industry. The focus with regard to records is financial records. Based on the findings in these three areas, the current culture surrounding media records does not appear to support the documentation of the editorial process. I think this can and should be changed but this requires a deeper exploration of the situation.

I propose a two-pronged archival research and activist approach. First, more research should be done to locate and list all the archival resources related to the production of news with a focus on editorial records. Second, a records creation pilot project should be carried out at university papers, radio stations, TV stations and Internet sites that feature news. This project could examine the editorial process and test a record making process that could then be presented to professional news publishing entities. These two steps could be carried out concurrently or consecutively and would give both researchers and archivists and those in the news media industry a better understanding of the importance and value of editorial records. To start, I will describe the type of research project I think is required.

The research could be done either with one central team leader managing several groups or it could be handled regionally by interested parties. Regardless of how the work is managed or led, it should be carried out by teams that include students of

journalism, history, and archival studies. The first order of business would be an extensive annotated bibliography of books and essays about the Canadian news industry, journalism, and communication, divided according to those headings. This bibliography should also include collections of research papers, such as Minko Sotiron's annotated bibliography of works on daily newspapers at the Alberta Archives, and current research in the field. The bulk of the research would focus on what material is currently available for study and how available it is. There would need to be a separate focus on both a detailed survey of material available in public archives and what may be available at the creating institutions.

Students and academics would carry out the archival research at the public institutions. While there is evidence and information regarding possession of archival documents available in the online finding aids for public institutions I searched, without viewing these materials our understanding of what they are is limited. Also, it should be noted that many archival repositories only have a portion of their finding aids available online. And what is available is widely divergent in levels of description. Research at creating institutions should not start until a search for their publicly available archival materials is completed. This would assist with the completion of a questionnaire designed to introduce them to the concern of the research and determine how they would like to respond. Hopefully, they would be open to further research in their more current records maintained by them.

Some important questions to ask when formulating the project could be: what type of journalism/news counts? – investigative, daily news, documentaries; what type of news story counts – events, politics, social life, arts, sports, etc; what are the most effective search terms? Regarding the profession of journalism, would it be important to

note how many journalists became politicians, educators, writers etc.? Is a columnist a journalist and do you include columnists in the search? What is the distinction between a reporter and a journalist and do we examine the records for both? It would be vital to determine exactly what the search parameters would be. It would also be vital to determine what the preferred end product would look like. A searchable database widely available, monitored and updated seems most beneficial but who would manage it and what information do we want in it? The answer to this question could determine how the work is carried out and how the findings are organized. What kind of statistical information do we hope to glean and how will it be presented? How do we deal with topics or ideas that we had not considered when they arise from the research? When I started my research, I foolishly did not consider the wide variety of occupations a single person working in the news industry might have, both within and without, and was not certain how relevant that information might be. Ultimately, I was not consistent in tracking this type of information but further researchers should be. It may be highly relevant to know the trends in journalists moving into other professions such as public relations, politics, and education. But this is for future researchers to decide.

The second part of the project, the study of the records creation process could start with a similar but smaller focus of archival research specific to university news organizations with a report on the holdings provided to the editorial staff. Their archival records would most logically be on site at their parent university and available for a more immediate and local focus. Students on the archival research project could interact with students with the news entities to share findings and brainstorm possible methods for addressing the issue. Showing the creator the uses to which their previous material can be used may provide incentive to look at their current practices in a more long-term

manner. It would also provide archival researchers an opportunity to experience, on a small scale, the problems associated with news production and the way in which current records are made. This could lead to a greater understanding of the archival collections they are researching and critiquing.

The particular type of record that I believe will provide the kind of transparency that the decision-making process requires is a list. What information or stories were considered for publishing with a brief explanation, where possible, to note why certain stories were not published. The reason I suggest a list for the documentation process is that a list is a simple tool that can be used on various forms of media – paper or electronic. It can be easily shared and updated over the course of a news day. It would preserve journalist integrity with regard to confidentiality for sources. Within reason, more than one person could update it. A list of the possible stories which included those that did not make the cut, could, in future, be compared to the day's news. Researchers and historians could use it when examining news trends and events. Those within the business could use the list to help them determine the strengths and weaknesses in their decision-making processes.

Once the research and pilot projects are completed, the results would be reviewed to generate a letter to send out to creating institutions that would apprise them of a summary of the research results and a summation of the archival and general concerns related to their current records management practices. A questionnaire could also be created to glean more information about the current practices and to ascertain interest at the institutional level in addressing concerns. It would be hoped at this point that working groups would meet to generate solutions. I believe that there are trends in the news media industries that suggest that they may be more receptive than we may

give them credit for. There is more information now made available to the public about how the news is [made. See, for example, Global News' website "Open Data," which lists the records Global accesses as part of its research for news stories, and CBC's website "Inside the News with Peter Mansbridge," where Mansbridge answers question regarding the effects and amount of news coverage, as well as work behind the scenes.¹ The CBC also has a link at its website to its ombudsman, who replies to the public's concerns about CBC reporting. There is also a link to CBC's journalistic standards and practices.² These show an awareness of and a willingness to address the public's concern over news coverage.

There are several books that address the issue of improving institutional records programs with an archival point of view. A recent book is *Leading and Managing Archives and Records Programs: Strategies for Success*, edited by Bruce W. Dearstyne.³ In it, various authors discuss the importance of setting up such programs and leadership strategies for bringing them to fruition. They suggest several reasons why good records, both current and archival, benefit business institutions. A text on archival standards of record keeping for a very different field of work also has practical suggestions. *Preserving Field Records: Archival Techniques for Archaeologists and Anthropologists*, published by the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania lays out a basic

¹ Global News, "Open Data," <http://globalnews.ca/tag/open-data/> [accessed 25 June 2013] and CBC News, "Inside the News with Peter Mansbridge," <http://www.cbc.ca/newsblogs/petermansbridge/2013/08/peter-mansbridge-on-a-storys-impact.html> [accessed 25 June 2013].

² CBC News, "CBC Ombudsman," <http://www.ombudsman.cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/> [accessed 25 June 2013].

³ Bruce W. Dearstyne, ed., *Leading and Managing Archives and Records Programs: Strategies for Success*, (New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers, 2008).

strategy for setting up an archivally sound records making practice.⁴ The book focuses in large part on the more practical aspects of records management (best paper, best film, etc). The various authors also suggest, however, that one of the first steps should be to find a collecting institution for the material created. These institutions will often assist with helping the creating institution with organizing their records in such a way as to expedite their addition to collections and their eventual availability to researchers.⁵ In the case of news, those educational institutions which teach journalism seem the most obvious place to house those records which document the creation of published news, including those materials we have often most associated with news “archives,” photographs and published documents.

Christopher L. Hives notes in his M.A. thesis, "Business Archives: Historical Developments and Future Prospects," that businesses focus on the present and that archivists need to point out how their historical records can be useful to them.⁶ In his thesis, he describes strategies for how a business archivist can encourage better care and development of archival collections in businesses. Most of his examples of use centre on how corporate archives have been used to defend the business from litigation, but he also notes that “By exploiting the information maintained in the corporate archives, business executives can determine how problems were dealt with in the past thus enhancing the quality of current decisions.”⁷ If we replace “corporate archives” with “editorial records,” we have provided journalists and editors with a use and a reason to consider documenting their editorial decisions. This would be an additional step toward

⁴ Mary Anne Kenworthy, et al., *Preserving Field Records: Archival Techniques for Archaeologists and Anthropologists*, (Philadelphia: The University Museum of University of Pennsylvania, 1985).

⁵ Mary Elizabeth Rawell, “Introduction,” in *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁶ Christopher L. Hives, “Business Archives: Historical Developments and Future Prospects,” (Master’s Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1981), pp. 47-48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

the transparency already being offered to the public in the examples listed above. It would help provide some insight into the selection of the stories that are published.

Archivists and archival institutions can do their part to help increase awareness of and interest in media records by including them in thematic listings of collections. Most archival websites list various themes and provide a link to those fonds and collections related to those themes. More might be done to highlight media records. This can be helpful for narrowing down searches for researchers and helping them find sources they may not have been able to find, but it also serves to advertise those holdings. Creating thematic lists can seem like a privileging of particular records but considering how prevalent the media voice is, a little more privileging of its records is reasonable.

There is no question that the growing acceptance of audio and visual media programming as a legitimate and valuable archival source for historical research is a very good thing. And it is definitely a benefit to society and to the news industries that they are more proactive in preserving and promoting their “archived” published materials. But we cannot overlook the value of knowing the processes that go into creating that documentary record. The media very much treats news stories in an archival way. They research or learn about events and people of interest; they gather stories about these people and events; they edit those stories, focusing on certain aspects, perhaps putting aside other potential stories; and in the end, some of those stories are presented while the rest are tossed away. This is a grim necessity of both professions. What needs to change is the recognition and documentation of that process. We need to know and understand the internal process of creating the finished news product, not just the corporate structure and the financial bottom line or circulation numbers. A better

record-keeping system to document the editorial processes may prove beneficial to the media organizations themselves, while at the same time, making them more transparent and accountable to the public. It may also help preserve some forgotten voices for tomorrow.

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