

Constructing Local Culture in a Near Media Monopoly

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Faculty of Sociology
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**In Fulfillment for the
Master of Arts Degree**

**by
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Abstract

The main objective of this thesis is to examine how the local radio news media in Thunder Bay construct local culture. Two paradigms are used to explain this process: instrumentalism and structuralism. Although other theories can better explain how audiences interpret messages, this study was not intended for that purpose. The goal was to determine how local culture was constructed by the media despite their organizational limitations. Since this study looks more at the internal structure of these radio news media, it is necessary to review their history and to analyse the governmental policies that influence the creation of 'local news'.

Two hundred and four newscasts were recorded and transcribed from local radio stations CBQT, CKPR, CJLB, and CJSD. Each story was classified geographically and thematically indicating trends and differences between publically and privately owned media. Many themes rank similarly between the public and privately owned media, however, there is greater duplication of stories on the privately owned radio stations, raising questions about governmental policies that attempt to maintain diversity in the news. To address these issues, there is an in-depth historical analysis: (1) to review policies concerning the stations' commitment to local news content, and (2) to provide a context for understanding how the governing body has contributed to a monopolistic media setting in this region. This research concludes that journalists appear to construct local culture based on a predetermined set of stereotypes. The media construct local culture as a predominantly white, heterosexual population that beholds a 'pioneering' spirit towards the region.

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Chapter 1: Theoretical and Methodological Orientations

“If a small number of publishers [media], all with the same special outlook, dominate the marketplace of public ideas, something vital is lost to an open society”.
-Ben Bagdikian

Introduction:

The aim of this project is to describe and analyse how historical, social, political and economic factors influence the way in which radio broadcast media portray the local community in Thunder Bay. This will be achieved through content analysis and by reviewing governmental policies that relate to local broadcasting affairs.

Radio is pervasive because it is portable. The average amount of radio listening has remained stable over the past 15 years; Canadians listen to radio approximately 20.3 hours per week (Statistics Canada 2001). Ninety-five per cent of all people in Canada listen to the radio while performing other activities (Statistics Canada 1990, p. 1). This figure implies that audiences usually do not scrupulously monitor radio broadcasts; rather the medium provides ‘background noise’ in which people absorb broadcast material (Bredin 1990). Radio is unlike any other form of media because from it we do not perceive direct visual images; it is a ‘blind medium’ (Crissell 1994). However, through the effective use of words, sounds, music and silence, people create reflections. Andrew Crissell (1994) claims this results in the listener becoming part of the medium. Because radio strives for interpersonal communication (it acts like a friend reporting partially), and due to the fact that it is unidirectional, John Vivian and Peter Maurin stipulate that

“radio is the most pervasive medium available” (1997, p. 109).

When Canadians were surveyed to indicate why they listened to radio, nearly 81 per cent aged 16 and over reported that it provided them with information on current events, government issues and public affairs (Statistics Canada 1996, p. 1). Not only does radio supply provincial, national and international news, but it also provides ‘local news’. Some people argue that this ‘desire’ for local news, keeps smaller media unique because they have the ability to offer a product that the large agenda-setting media cannot (Seuret 1998).

Local media institutions are a primary source of information for citizens in smaller communities. They provide ideas and imagery about the nature and well-being of the local community and in so doing, help produce and reproduce the values and sentiments of the local culture. A large amount of literature now exists that shows that regardless of the intentions of particular journalists, cultural, social, political and economic forces influence the media’s representation of society (Herman & Chomsky 1988; Gans 1979; Hall et al. 1978, pp. 53-138). Much of this research focuses on the large, agenda-setting news institutions such as national newspapers, television and radio stations that determine the international and national daily news for smaller media (Herman & Chomsky 1988). There has been little research conducted on local news from smaller non-metropolitan media. It can be argued that local news and local radio may offer unique perspectives in relation to larger metropolitan media. However, local radio operates within a field of cultural, political and economic forces that means it is not

necessarily more democratic or pluralistic in its perspectives. This thesis investigates the workings of local radio in a near monopoly setting.

News Theory:

Robert Park and Earnest Burgess (1967, pp. 80-98) propose that the news is a substitute for the local town barker, who would provide citizens with information on important community concerns. In this respect, it seems that local radio is a more advanced form of the town crier. For citizens, being aware of communal issues is crucial because it is the start of providing people with an opportunity to express their views. Gaye Tuchman begins her book, *Making News*, by asserting, "News is a window on the world. Through its frame, Americans learn of themselves and others, of their own institutions, leaders and lifestyles, and those of other nations and their people" (1978, p. 1).

In Canadian news analysis, instrumentalist and structuralist theories have been analysed to determine how news is created (Silva 1995; Hackett 1991; Stone 1989). Both theories are relevant when trying to understand the forces that influence the production of local news. In some respects, the theories oppose each another, however, each agrees that the main goal for owners is profit. These paradigms differ in respect to what accounts for biases in news content. Instrumentalists emphasize that the mass media are tools used to maintain the positions of the media's powerful owners (Silva 1995, pp. 13-14, Clement, 1975; Porter 1965). In this case, the owners, advertisers and politicians use

the mass media to gain profit, improve support, or spread a particular ideological viewpoint. Silva (1995) states, "This position sees the bias in the news as reflecting the financial, political and social interests of the papers' managers and advertisers. In effect, the news generally, and routinely, reports the world from this essentially elitist and upper-middle class perspective" (p. 14).

In an early version of instrumentalism, John Porter (1965) recognizes that ownership provides owners with a greater opportunity for presenting their ideologies and beliefs. "Although the ideological elite [people that own the mass media] does not have the control over human and non-human resources that the economic elite has, it does have some power over men's minds" (Porter 1965, p. 460).

In his instrumentalist analysis of the mass media, James Winter (1997) states that the news media reflect culture. News content has an impact on our convictions: "...the news media are essential to the formation of attitudes, opinions, beliefs and values in our society. They play an essential role both in reflecting our culture to us, and in creating that culture itself" (p. 1). This premise is also relevant locally. In markets where various types and owners of mass media exist, there is an opportunity for diversity of news content. However, in Thunder Bay, the locale of this study, almost all the electronic media are owned by one individual. Thus, one must question what impact this has on the community's access to diverse sources of information and opinion.

News does not tell people how to think, but rather it tells us what to think about (Magder 1997; Stone 1989; Ericson et al. 1987; Tuchman 1978). Locally, this is

important because there are only a few news sources that supply citizens with local information. The result is a limited range of perspectives and, perhaps, a limited range of issues that are covered.

The current trend in mass media ownership is toward cross-media monopolies. This is when a corporation or individual owns various types of media outlets and, thus, monopolizes news content. Addressing the impact of cross-media monopolies on news ideology, Robert Hackett, Richard Pinet and Myles Ruggles (1996, p. 263) report that this recent trend of integrating news gathering resources from various media has enormous financial benefits for owners, at the consumer's expense. Locally, there is a loss of quality and diversity of news information, the media barons strengthen their power and prestige in the community, and the implications of cross-media newsrooms influences the quality of journalism as competition is lacking. In short, the result of cross-media monopolies is that less information is broadcast and journalist's lose their 'journalistic freedom' as the number of media employers in the community declines. Furthermore, as John Porter (1965) recognized more than three decades ago, in Canada concentration in media ownership prompts reporters to broadcast news content unfairly because of informal social constraints developed by owners and enforced by management. Journalists, as a result, are forced to conform to these 'rules', or risk becoming unemployed. American scholar, Ben Bagdikian (1987) unveils similar trends in the American media in his book, *The Media Monopoly*. Bagdikian states (1987, pp. 111-114), journalists provide the audience with a version of a story that will not upset

owners, hence, stories are presented from a homogeneous, 'conservative' viewpoint.

In *Democracy's Oxygen*, James Winter (1997) demonstrates how Canada's major newspapers are controlled by eight newspaper chains. He argues that the board of directors for these media corporations influences the dominant ideologies in the media based on their political relationships, ideologies and their interwoven positions on other major corporate boards. Winter also reveals how relationships between media corporations and high rank political officials affect the news media, and the nation's broadcast regulator: the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (hereafter, CRTC). Winter (1997) and Porter (1965) agree that the authoritative position and powerful corporate relationships that owners have, gives them the ability to control news content through a system of hiring, firing and promotions. Since most journalists do not belong to associations that offer the journalist occupational safety, owners have the privilege of swaying the reporter's 'journalistic freedom'. Winter refers to this indirect process of manipulating the news as 'trickle down theory'.

“News becomes largely a management product...Far from being independent-minded professionals, most journalists are employees who do the job the boss wants in return for a pay cheque. They have virtually no professional protection...none of the academic freedom...[and] Like the rest of us, they have spouses and kids and mortgages, and they want to keep their job” (Winter 1997, pp.139-140).

Consequently, Winter reasons, the views that the news media are dedicated to informing

the public in an unbiased manner, are a myth.

The instrumentalist approach is relevant in a city like Thunder Bay where there is a high concentration of mass media ownership by one entrepreneur and, as this study will reveal in chapter two, radio owners in Thunder Bay have had relationships with political officials. Barbara Shecter (1995, p. 7) reveals that Fraser Dougall owns two radio stations listed under the corporate name of CJSJ Incorporated, the two local television stations and a weekly newspaper (CRTC, Decision 89-136, p. 1). In “Licenced to Make a Killing”, Shecter (1995, p. 7) states that the daily newspaper in Thunder Bay and these other mass-mediated news sources have occasionally joined forces to control when a news story was presented. This clearly indicates how ‘local news’ can be guided by those in powerful positions. However, since Shecter’s article, further concentration of ownership has occurred in high power radio (see Appendix A).¹

Newcap Incorporated owns the only other high power privately controlled radio station in Thunder Bay (CJLB-FM). But, under the terms of a Local Radio Management Agreement (LMA), Newcap Inc. and CJSJ Inc. are allowed to combine their sales, administrative and technical departments (CRTC, Decision 95-204). Since the news departments of these radio stations are in the same newsroom when news is being created, one can assume the stations collectively share news stories. The result is that the citizens of Thunder Bay are not presented with a diverse range of news content or sources for validating newsworthy affairs.

¹ High-power radio stations have a broadcast power greater than 50 watts. On August 30, 2002, Fraser Dougall bought CFNO in Marathon, Ontario (CRTC, Decision 2002-58).

This was one concern the Honourable Member of Parliament, Ian Angus addressed to the CRTC in 1989, prior to the creation of the LMA (CRTC, Decision 89-136, p. 5). Because of the monopolization of the media in Thunder Bay, the public is left with one alternative for English news, CBC Radio One for Thunder Bay and Northwestern Ontario (locally known as CBQ). The result of cross-ownership and corporate relationships is that the citizens of Thunder Bay are presented with a limited range of perspectives regarding the definition and interpretation of local issues, and there may be greater opportunity for those in the 'monopoly-like' situation to influence the public's opinion on what is important to the local community. Even though the instrumentalist perspective is useful in explaining how ownership influences news content, it cannot be used to explain structural problems in the developmental process of news. In order to analyse this, the structuralist perspective is more suitable.

Supporters of the structuralist approach agree with instrumentalists that the media owners' main goal is to improve profits. Structuralists, however, assert that organizational roles and the principles of marketing limit the extent of ideological control by owners, lobbyists, or advertisers (Knight 1998; Silva 1995; Hall 1985). Rather than direct control from these interest groups, structuralists believe bias occurs in the news organization itself. "The key reason for rejecting such 'instrumentalism' is that it reduces many layers of 'socially constructed' organizational roles and all manner of market dynamics to an elite's more or less direct ideological manipulation and profit maximization" (Silva 1995, p. 176).

Structuralists believe that the principles of marketing influence what is considered to be news because the media seek audience popularity (Hackett et al. 1996, p. 258). As a result, the media seldom broadcast untraditional values for their audiences because it decreases the audience's participation or familiarity with the broadcaster. By broadcasting content with values that are similar to their audience, the media establish commonalities between the audience and broadcaster, thus creating a basis for a 'friendship' between the two parties. Structuralists, therefore, speculate that audiences are a harmonious force that has the same interests and values (Hackett et al. 1996).²

According to structuralism, the mass media usually reinforce the status quo. As Hackett, Pinet and Ruggles (1996) reveal, journalists tend to emphasize numerous values which endorse "...individual liberty, free enterprise, rights of property owners, patriotism, representative governments, and pursuit of individual self-fulfilment" (p. 258). Structuralists recognize occasionally different views do occasionally leak into the news, however, in order to penetrate journalists' organizational roles, this is usually strategically and consciously planned by lobby groups relying on the momentum of an important, short-lived social movement (Stone 1993, pp.377-400). In other words, journalists' organizational roles give priority to news content that focuses on proven social values. As a result, to this approach, bias occurs in the news because it is 'inherent' in the process of making news.

Using a structuralist perspective, Guye Tuchman (1978, pp. 15-39) reveals that

² Speculations regarding the homogeneity and common interests of audiences are also contradicted by contemporary audience research.

journalists determine news content by defining: (1) topics, (2) locations, and (3) what associations are involved. This preconceived definition of news is a result of practices in the news organization and it increases the chance that journalists will gather information from certain 'hot topics'. For instance, if policing issues are identified as important to the community, the journalists will regularly monitor the latest occurrences at the police station. Since the news organization allocates the resources for a reporter to oversee the events at the police station, there is an expectation that the reporter produces news content from this location. As a result, there is greater likelihood that a police story, which may not necessarily be considered 'newsworthy', will occasionally appear in the news.

To help decide potential newsworthiness of a story and when determining what factors influence journalists when identifying what comprises local news, Sharon Dale Stone (2001) utilizes the PSSST (personalized, sensationalized, simplified, stereotyped and thematized), formula. Stone relies on the structuralist perspective to develop the PSSST formula. This formula indicates that a story is more likely to be printed or broadcast if: (1) the reader/viewer can personally relate to it, (2) it contains sensational qualities, (3) it is simple to communicate to the audience, (4) it conforms with the current stereotypes, and (5) it is a theme that has previously occurred. The more PSSST elements that a story contains, the greater likelihood that the story will be broadcast or printed.

Advocates of structuralism contend that occupational limitations make it difficult

for owners, lobbyists or advertisers to influence the news as a number of occupational convolutions exist (Hackett et al. 1996; Silva 1995). For example, owners, lobbyists and advertisers have little control over: (1) interaction amongst employees, (2) journalist's objectivity, (3) daily staffing affairs that arise unexpectedly, and (4) technological difficulties. These elements are internal structural complications that change on a daily basis and their effect on news information prevails over the demands from owners, lobbyists or advertisers.

Lastly, structuralists contend that owners, lobbyists and advertisers are powerful groups that compete against each other because of conflicting ideologies (Hackett et al. 1996). In contrast to instrumentalism, structuralists believe that there is no concentration of power because they regard power as a volatile and fluctuating force. As a result, no single interest alone has control over news content.

Theoretically, instrumentalism and structuralism are the two dominant theories for determining news production. Although each theory agrees that monetary gain is the primary goal for owners, fundamental differences exist concerning how news content is manipulated and whose interests are reflected in the content. These theories can be applied to a range of levels of news production, including local affairs.

This thesis emphasizes the instrumentalist perspective, however, a number of structuralist elements such as marketing strategies, journalists' organizational roles and the PSSST formula have been included to determine how the local broadcast media define local culture. When analysing the data from an instrumentalist perspective, the

data suggest that ownership, through explicit or implicit forces, may influence news content (see chapter four). Furthermore, one could argue that because the privately owned stations share many identical news stories (see Appendix C.7), concentration of ownership does not serve the community's best interest. The data, as a result, raise questions about government policies surrounding broadcast affairs and the repercussions of these policies.

Structuralism indicates how marketing and journalists' organizational roles impact news. The data in chapter three and four, reveal that there are a number of organizational restraints that influence news content. For example, understaffing, a journalist's professional development and the emphasis on technology. These are a few elements that influence the creation of news. The PSSST formula is also used in this study to identify why journalists consider particular stories important to the local community. By including both of these theories in this study, it provides a comprehensive analysis of how local culture is constructed by the news media.

Methodology:

Research Question: *Based upon a reading of radio news broadcasts in*

Thunder Bay, how is 'local culture' constructed by the news media?

This research question will be answered using content analysis. Holsti defines content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by systematically and *objectively* [original emphasis] identifying special characteristics and messages" (1968, p.

608). Content analysis is suitable for analysing explicit and implicit messages and it is a valid technique for determining the perspectives of the messenger (Berg 1998, p. 225). In essence, by evaluating message content, one is provided with a qualitative tool suitable for identifying underlying presumptions. In order to examine messages, Berg (1998, pp. 223-244) proposes that the researcher must distinguish what is being studied, utilize a clear sampling technique, determine the basic categories for analysis and establish a format for examining data.

‘Local news’ was gathered from four radio stations by random selection over a two-month period. The data were collected twice each week between January 15, 1999 and March 15, 1999. The days picked varied depending upon which days were randomly selected from a hat. From each day selected, three newscasts were recorded based on the largest sized audience in the morning, early afternoon and late afternoon. The total amount of radio newscasts collected was 192.

In order to determine which newscasts had the largest audiences, the 1997 Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM) ratings book was used (Appendix A). Even though many persons within the industry argue the BBM ratings book is not a true reflection of the listening audience, each station subscribes to and reflects upon the ratings book to determine where improvements or changes in programming should occur. For this reason, it was used to select the most popular news broadcasts.

News content from CBC Radio One for Thunder Bay and Northwestern Ontario (CBQT-FM 88.3), CKPR-AM (580 CKPR), CJLB-FM (KIXX 105.3), and CJSD-FM

(ROCK 94.3) was recorded, transcribed and analysed. Although there are six English radio stations in Thunder Bay, CBC Radio Two was not included in the study because its newscasts are simultaneously broadcast on CBQ (Grand 1998).³ This simplified the amount of data recorded, as the news broadcasts are the same on the two public stations. CJOA-FM (CJOA 95.1) was also excluded from the study because it is a low-power, non-profit religious oriented station which does not broadcast news content.

Due to format differences between radio media facilities, newscasts broadcast nearest in time to the maximum audience was used. For instance, CBQ broadcasts only local news at 5:30, 6:30, 7:30 and 8:30 a.m. The newscasts at 6, 7, 8, and 9 a.m. are 'blended' and primarily contain provincial, national and international affairs (Grand 1998). Therefore, as the study is concerned with the construction of 'local culture' by examining local news, the largest audience from the half-hour newscasts was selected. As indicated in Appendix A, the greatest morning audience for the local newscasts on CBQ is at 7:30 a.m.

CBQ's noon news broadcast is a 'blended newscast' and it usually consists of one local or regional story along with provincial, national and international stories. Although, little local news may be included in this broadcast, the local and regional stories were

³ At the time of the study there were six radio stations in the market. Since then, two low power commercial stations can be reached in Thunder Bay. Low power stations are permitted by the CRTC to broadcast a maximum of 50 watts of power (approximately 24-33 kilometres in diameter). Each station's coverage area will vary depending on the height of the tower, landscape and weather conditions. CJUK-FM (Magic 99.9) is owned by Big Pond Communications Incorporated and scarcely broadcasts throughout the city. The second radio station is just outside Thunder Bay in a region called Kaministiquia. CFQK-FM is owned by Northwest Broadcasting Incorporated. Although each station provides full service radio, each is highly dependent on automation. These stations will be discussed more in-depth in the next chapter.

recorded, analysed and compared against the private broadcasters news stories. The newscasts at 4 and 5 p.m. are 'blended' once again for CBQ, but, the news broadcasts at 4:30 and 5:30 p.m. are solely comprised of local content. The greatest audience between these two time slots is at 4:30 p.m. (Appendix A), and as a result, this newscast was used for the study.

In contrast to the public broadcasting facility, all the newscasts for the private radio stations in Thunder Bay contain local, regional, provincial, national and international events. The CJLB and CJSD rating sheets in Appendix A, indicate that the greatest audiences occur for their 8 a.m., 12 and 4 p.m. newscasts. CKPR has its largest audiences, according to the BBM ratings book, for its 'major newscasts' at 8 a.m., 12:30 and 5 p.m.

The newscasts were recorded and transcribed using a common format. This process allowed the newscasts to be compared based on content and the amount of time designated to specific stories. The stories were classified into six categories: (1) local, (2) regional, (3) provincial, (4) national, (5) United States, and (6) international news. The data were classified based on the following definitions of local and regional.

For lack of a more suitable method, these categories were based on political borders. For instance, according to the 1991 Census report, Thunder Bay includes the city of Thunder Bay, the Conmee, O'Connor, Oliver, Paipoongne, Neebing and Shuniah Townships (Statistics Canada 1994). Collectively, the city of Thunder Bay and these townships defined local in this study. The regional news category consisted of stories

from the three districts in Northwestern Ontario which included: the District of Kenora, the District of Rainy River and the District of Thunder Bay. The remaining categories consisted of stories which focussed on provincial, national or international issues.

This research provides both qualitative and quantitative data. Some key questions that will be answered from these data are: Who or what sources are used? In what order are the stories presented? How diverse are the views or opinions presented in the story? How much broadcast time is allocated to 'local news'? The answers to these questions plus the categorization of news by origin will reveal how private and public radio news broadcasters define local news, and thus, construct 'local culture'.

Within the five geographic classifications, various categories were constructed to help identify what journalists at the radio stations feel are important to the citizens of Thunder Bay. For instance, stories on crime, politics, the economy and social issues (such as, education, health care, and the environment) were categorized. This information uncovers what the journalists identify as significant to the community and reciprocally, deem as the community culture. Furthermore, this will allow an opportunity to observe from what perspective these stories are presented. For example, a story may be presented from an expert's, a politician's, a journalist's or from a community member's point of view; each perspective will affect the audience's opinion differently. It is hypothesized based on the LMA, that the three private stations will present similar stories from a uniform standpoint, thus providing less diversity of perspectives on local stories. In other words, the lack of diversity insinuates that the journalists define local

culture as a homogeneous entity.

Plan of Thesis:

This thesis will take the following approach to reveal how the local news media construct local culture. Chapter two contains a historical analysis indicating how the media setting developed in Thunder Bay. This chapter reviews the impact that CRTC's rules, regulations and decisions have had on constructing local news. This chapter is significant for two reasons: (1) because the public has the perception that the CRTC's primary goal is to protect the community members best interests, however, this is not the bureaucracy's mandate, and (2) it provides a context for understanding how owners can develop economic and political power which could influence the news. Chapter three discusses the study's sampling procedures and examines the data collected. Graphs and charts indicate what topics are 'favoured' by reporters on the private and publically owned radio stations, and the chapter reviews these data to determine if the community is receiving a diverse range of perspectives. Chapter four provides an in-depth analysis of a number of local news stories, and this chapter defines how the radio news media construct local culture. Lastly, chapter five summarizes all the material and discusses the impact of media consolidation and the power ownership can have over news content.

Chapter 2: Building Local Media Homogeneity

*“Freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one.”
- Abbott Joseph Liebling*

Introduction:

Gaye Tuchman states that the “News is a window on the world. Through its frame, Americans learn of themselves and others, of their own institutions, leaders and lifestyles, and those of other nations and their people” (1978, p. 1). The media, by prioritizing and emphasizing topics, creates an agenda which the public comes to regard as important (Shaw & McCombs 1977, pp. 2-5). Not only does this happen through the large international mass media, but it also happens at the local community level. The news has a powerful effect on community members’ understanding of their social environment. Citizens, therefore, are entitled to a wide range of information from a variety of sources. This will maximize their ability to make decisions for themselves. Radio should play an important part in this process by providing diverse coverage for community members. However, when radio stations with different ownerships share resources in the news (as allowed by the CRTC), fewer diverse perspectives may be presented.

The instrumentalist approach for analysing the media argues that news is influenced by ownership interests (Silva 1995). Contracts between radio broadcast companies (called Local Radio Management Agreements or LMA’s) put owners’ economic viability ahead of news quality and diversity. The CRTC, by approving these

agreements, therefore, contributes to the homogenization of news. In large centres where a variety of mass media exist, the amalgamation of broadcast companies may be a legitimate strategic tool to help preserve the financial viability of the industry. However, in a 'monopoly-like' media setting, the unification of radio media could serve to restrict what and whose views are heard through the news. This is especially crucial in relation to politics. In Thunder Bay, for instance, political associations between politicians and private broadcasting entrepreneurs are common.

The goals of this chapter are threefold: (1) to chronologically explain the history of radio broadcasting in Thunder Bay, (2) to identify affiliations between Thunder Bay's broadcast entrepreneurs and various political representatives, and (3) to illustrate how CRTC regulations combined with entrepreneurial power have led to a 'monopoly-like' situation with regard to local news in the community. The historical analysis familiarizes the reader with the context for understanding how the current ownership structure formulated, strengthening the instrumentalist approach. Although this study is primarily concerned with the medium of radio, in order to identify how prominent the 'monopoly-like' situation is in Thunder Bay, this chapter will include significant details from different broadcast media in this Northwestern Ontario city. The narrative is presented in a chronological fashion. It begins in the 1920's and ends in the present.

Prior to the Thirties:

CKPR-AM, owned by James Playfair of Midland shipping fame, first aired in

Midland, Ontario in 1927 (Trembley 1984, p. 48). Norman Paterson and Hector Dougall, two Fort William businessmen, purchased the AM station in 1931 for \$500 (Dougall 1999; "CFPA", 1973, p. 1).⁴ This was the first for-profit station in the Lakehead region (which included the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William). The only other station was a not-for-profit ham (amateur) station. Norman M. Paterson, a well-known and influential businessman and future Liberal Party Senator, had political connections at local and national levels. Paterson, president of N.M. Paterson and Company, owned approximately 100 elevators spanning western Canada and a fleet of 32 vessels for transporting grain (Anderson 1991, pp. 164-165).

In 1928, Paterson and Dougall joined forces to begin a business partnership. Paterson, invested \$2,000 and Dougall invested \$3,000, to form a car dealership (the Dougall Motor Car Company) in conjunction with the General Motors Acceptance Corporation (Trembley 1984, p. 48; "Hector", 1960, p. 1). Dougall was president of this company, which managed the operations of McLaughlin Buick and Pontiac ("Souvenir", 1929, p. 10). In its first year alone, it sold over \$50,000 worth of cars. E.B. Sutherland and Bertram O'Donnell joined the ownership structure in 1930 (Trembley 1984, p. 48). The capital provided by the new partners allowed the company to expand. The Dougall Motor Car Company was able to sell cars, operate a garage department, operate a taxi service, manage an auto body shop, and expand its portfolio to include the Refrigeration

⁴ Although many newspaper articles credit Hector F. Dougall for bringing the radio station to Thunder Bay with monies borrowed from Norman M. Paterson, Trembley (1984, p. 48), in his book about the Paterson's, attributes the purchase of CKPR to Norman Paterson, which he placed under the operations of the Dougall Motor Car Company.

Sales Company and CKPR radio (Trembley 1984, p. 48).

The Thirties:

The 1920's were prosperous years for the Dougall Motor Car Company, but the company encountered difficulty in the 1930's. When purchased in 1930, CKPR consisted of a 50-watt broadcast transmitter, which came to Fort William with engineer Tom Ross, and announcer Ralph H. Parker (Masters 1999; Hunter 1996, p. B2). Dougall felt the station's original call letters, CKPR ('PR' standing for pioneer radio) suited the region because radio was entering a new and harsh geographical territory (Dougall 1999). Though set up in Fort William, the broadcast facility was also intended to serve the neighbouring city of Port Arthur. For the next 18 years, CKPR's studios were located on the Shuniah Mezzanine floor in the 'twin cities' most elegant hotel, the Royal Edward ("Paterson", 1934, p. 1). This made fiscal sense because Norman Paterson was a major shareholder and president of Fort William Hotels Limited, the company which owned the Royal Edward Hotel (Paterson 1999; "Paterson", 1934, p. 1). It was also a convenient site. The reciprocal relationship between the two businesses provided the radio station with a luxurious setting and the hotel received publicity as people often went to the studio to watch how broadcast technology worked. As CKPR was intended to serve both cities, the Dougall Motor Car Company leased a piece of swamp land centrally located between Port Arthur and Fort William for the transmitter site. As more roads developed and the two cities grew geographically closer, the transmitter eventually became centrally located

in the city of Thunder Bay at 980 Memorial Avenue (Masters 1999; Monteiro 1991, p. E1).

On Monday February 23, 1931 CKPR was successful in its first broadcast test, and the station officially began its broadcast schedule on Friday February 27, 1931 (“Radio”, 1931, p. 1; “Local”, 1931, p. 1). Having a radio station was an important development for the Lakehead cities because it acted as a unification tool in two ways: (1) the broadcast frequency transcended rivalries between Fort William and Port Arthur, helping residents identify commonalities between the two cities, and (2) the radio station helped create a national sense of identity as it provided residents with *immediate* coverage of national events, something previously unattainable by newspapers. Many residents credited Paterson for the feat. For example, an article in the weekly newspaper the *Stirring Giant* stated, “When local resident Norman Pattersen [sic] decided it would be a good idea for the Lakehead to have a radio station, he shopped around and purchased CKPR” (“CFPA”, 1973, p. 1). The *Daily Times-Journal* newspaper concurred and declared that “...[Norman Paterson] was instrumental in securing the radio station for the district” (“Local”, 1931, p. 2), and as an honorary speaker at CKPR’s grand opening ceremony the newspaper stated, “He [Norman Paterson] touched upon the benefits to be gained by using radio as a means of commercial communication. Mr. Paterson declared that the future of radio in this area was much greater than commonly realized, and would play a leading part in district development” (“Local”, 1931, p. 2).

CKPR’s initial programming consisted of local and national broadcasts from the

Canadian National Railway (CNR) radio network (“CFPA”, 1973, p. 1). In May of 1932, the Canadian Radio-Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) purchased the CNR’s broadcast operations (Nash 1994, p. 95).⁵ This was developed into a publically owned broadcast facility called the Trans Canada Network. Like the CNR, the CRBC continued to lease air-time from privately owned stations across the country. The owners of CKPR radio frequently contacted the broadcast authority to ask the Commission for financial assistance. At the very least, the company was seeking permission to change their broadcast frequency (from 730 on the dial), to remedy unfavourable broadcasting conditions caused by signal interference from distant radio stations (Norman M. Paterson Correspondence (hereafter NMPC), 1932a; NMPC, 1932b).

The same year, the businesses that the Dougall Motor Car Company owned were affected by the depression. Sales plummeted and lenders often approached Paterson with the hopes that he would force Dougall to make outstanding bill payments (NMPC, 1932a). CKPR, on the other hand, thrived and the station’s success during this time helped keep the Dougall Motor Car Company afloat (Trembley 1984, p. 48). The radio station’s earnings, for example, between May 1 and August 31, 1932 were \$3,028.11 and

⁵ The federal government established the Canadian Radio-Broadcasting Commission (CRBC): (1) to establish a national radio network to provide Canadian citizens with educational programming, and (2) to monitor and regulate private broadcasting. Over the years, the authority’s name has changed a number of times in an attempt to eliminate influence from the political party that held office and to coincide with the federal government’s vision of what the broadcast agency should be (Nash 1994). Prior to the CRBC, the Minister of Marines and Fisheries (1909-1913 and 1922-1931) and Department of Naval Service (1914-1921) regulated broadcast affairs . Following the CRBC (1932-1936), the authority became the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) (1936-1958), Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) (1958-1968), the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC) (1968-1976), and lastly, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) (1976-present) (Peers 1979; Peers 1969).

the amount of money loaned to the Dougall Motor Car Company Limited by CKPR was \$3,320.83 (NMPC 1932b, Radio Statement of Earnings and Expenses). Other entrepreneurs foresaw CKPR's potential for profit earning in this remote region. In September 1932, H.I. De Latmater inquired about the purchasing price of CKPR (NMPC 1932b, September 26: personal letter). After discussing the issue with Hector Dougall, Norman Paterson stated that CKPR could be purchased for a 'reasonable' price of \$20,000 (NMPC 1932b, September 26: personal letter).

During the depression, the CRBC recognized that radio could serve an important function by creating a sense of national identity in communities away from major metropolitan centres (Nash 1994, pp. 65-89). Even though the 'twin cities' had a modest population, Port Arthur and Fort William were considered to be remote locations because of their distance from the metropolitan centres of Southern Ontario. Furthermore, since the Northwestern Ontario region was sparsely populated, it was not economically sound to develop many radio stations. American radio stations and the occasional transmission from CKY in Winnipeg (depending upon weather conditions), were the only other stations available to local listeners outside CKPR. Unquestionably, CKPR played an important role in helping establish a national identity in this region. It provided a portion of the population in Northwestern Ontario with local and national information hence, from the CRBC's view, decreasing the threat of American imperialism. The station also filled an important link for the CRBC's national radio network (the Trans Canada Network) which spanned the nation between Halifax and Fort William, and Winnipeg

and Vancouver (Nash 1994, p. 99). For this reason, CKPR was pivotal in making the cross country radio network a reality.

The alienation and isolation had the potential to affect the quality of radio programming in the Lakehead region because the costs of operation would have been high leaving less money available for programming. However, this seclusion favoured the owners from a regulatory view. For example, in a March 17, 1933 letter from F. Hugh Keefer to E.B. Sutherland of N.M. Paterson and Company Limited, Keefer explained that the CRBC was adopting a policy to establish radio stations in small markets. But, due to CKPR's isolation, Keefer warned Sutherland not to worry.

The commission [CRBC] is adopting the principle of having stations go on the air outside the settled centres which will give better broadcasting and reception and I think they are right as to this. So far as to CKPR, your station, is concerned, you have nothing to worry about and I would say enjoy a specially advantageous position being as isolated as you are. I satisfied Mr. Charlesworth [sic] [Hector Charlesworth was the chairman of the CRBC] as to this as well as to ownership, loyal Canadians and all that bunk you know (NMPC 1933, March 17: personal letter).

In another instance, a personal letter from Dougall to an employee revealed that the radio transmitter was scattered on the floor of the building which sheltered it for eight months, with no one taking the incentive to put it back together again. Dougall stated,

If the Radio Commission ever finds it [the transmitter] that way they would raise

the drive [for CKPR to increase its power output], might even insist on a newer type [of transmitter] being put in complete. The studio is also in very bad shape, the studio was erected and completed by the Hotel and has been maintained by them, in its present shape it is a disgrace to the station (NMPC 1933, May 5: personal letter).

These quotes illustrate how CKPR's physical detachment from its southern counterparts, benefited the owners: (1) they were removed from the watchful bureaucratic authorities, and (2) the expansive geographical distance provided the Dougall Motor Car Company with the opportunity to emphasize the importance of the region's only radio station, with the hope of receiving economic gain in return. While the CRBC did enforce broadcast policies for CKPR, a sympathetic voice always listened to the plights of this particular station because it was located in what was viewed as a relatively unpopulated and brutal landscape. In fact, this geographical isolation was often used by the owners of CKPR as a mechanism to receive greater funding from the broadcast governing body.

Throughout 1933 and 1934, Dougall and Paterson petitioned the CRBC for financial assistance, even though the station's financial ledgers continuously showed profits throughout this period. Most of the programming for the Trans Canada Radio Network was produced in the broadcast facilities that the CRBC owned in Moncton, Ottawa and Vancouver. However, in order to develop a national broadcast chain, the public broadcaster leased air time from privately owned stations such as CKPR. Then in September 1933, Dougall asked Hector Charlesworth, the head of the CRBC, for more

national programming to replace local shows (NMPC 1933, September 25: personal letter). Replacing local shows would mean lower production costs for the radio station and greater revenue, as the CRBC would have to lease more air time from CKPR. The CRBC replied that this was not feasible as it was under tight financial constraints itself and that the station should strive to improve the quality of their local programming.

Paterson also requested more funding from the CRBC. For example, he wrote the CRBC to explain that while he wanted to increase CKPR's power output to improve service to the people in the Lakehead, this was not economically possible given the station's current financial position (NMPC 1934, July 17: personal letter; NMPC 1933, October 4: personal letter). He suggested that CKPR collect about half of the radio listeners licensing fees between Schrieber and Atikokan (the fees were \$2 for each radio per year, and this would have provided the Dougall Motor Car Company with \$5,000). Paterson stated that this appeal was reasonable given the remoteness of the area and the importance of the services CKPR provided to the region (NMPC 1933, November 10: personal letter).

In addition to an increase in power output, Paterson also wanted the CRBC to approve his request for the station to accept advertising for the news programme. He said people in the region seemed to enjoy it and, he argued, the extra revenue created by the advertisements would allow CKPR to more effectively serve people in the remote communities in Northwestern Ontario. Both of his requests were denied. Nonetheless, the petitioning served a purpose as it informed Mr. Charlesworth and the CRBC of

CKPR's financial constraints. In the reply from Mr. Charlesworth, it was noted that, as the head of the Commission, he would do his best to assist Paterson and Dougall even though their applications for financial assistance were late (NMPC 1933, November 10: personal letter). That particular letter stated that the CRBC may not be able to assist the owners of the Lakehead station that specific year, however, they were reassured they could likely receive federal funding the following year. This funding, the CRBC hoped, would go towards programming or technological improvements.

Even though they were aware of financial constraints, the CRBC encouraged all radio stations to provide the highest quality of broadcasting possible and it urged low power privately owned stations to purchase new, more powerful equipment for two reasons. First, the distance over which the station could broadcast would improve, thus providing people with a Canadian station in addition to the American ones. Second, local radio listeners would receive a clearer signal. CKPR, with a 50-watt transmitter was no exception and the CRBC regularly urged Dougall and Paterson to increase their broadcast power (NMPC 1934). When Paterson and Dougall approached the CRBC asking for help purchasing a new transmitter, however, the CRBC rejected the invitation, stating it had its own financial affairs to consider (NMPC 1934, September 14: personal letter). Nonetheless, over the next three years, the owners of CKPR continued to look for a higher power transmitter.

After numerous complaints from Paterson and Dougall to the CRBC about CKPR's poor signal, the Commission finally approved a frequency change from 730 to

930 AM in the mid 1930's. However, radio stations from Montreal and Nuevo Laredo, Mexico interfered with the transmission. On November 26, 1935, Paterson suggested changing to the 910 A.M. frequency for a week to see if the reception would improve (NMPC 1935, November 26: a personal letter). Lieutenant Colonel W. Arthur Steele, one of the CRBC's three Commissioners, granted the change under the condition that the station strived to reach a broadcast power of 1,000 watts. Paterson neglected Steele's comment about increasing the broadcast power of CKPR temporarily, replying that the 910 frequency was not suitable because residents of Schrieber and Atikokan experienced night time interference from CKY in Winnipeg. Ideally, Paterson stated, he wished for CKPR to be located between 600 and 650 because they would encounter little frequency interference within this range (NMPC 1935, October 30: personal letter). Finally in 1939, CKPR received notification that the station could settle on the 580 frequency, which it remains to till this day.

On February 28, 1936, Paterson finally addressed Commissioner Steele's demands that CKPR strive to install a 1,000-watt transmitter. In a personal letter, Paterson indicated that while CKPR was planning to install such a transmitter, they were apprehensive about the project because they were uncertain about CRBC's financial commitment to private radio stations (NMPC 1936, February 28: personal letter). Paterson argued that shareholders would feel more reassured if they were guaranteed \$750 a month for five years to help with the expenses of providing programming from Sudbury to Winnipeg. In response, Commissioner Steele explained that CKPR would not

receive more resources from the CRBC to assist in the acquisition of a new radio transmitter. Steele, however, did reassure Paterson that unlike every other station in the nation that year, the Commission's budget for CKPR would not decrease from the amount allotted in 1935 (NMPC 1936, personal letter). This was positive news for the Dougall Motor Car Company because it guaranteed CKPR financial assistance in a time of uncertainty while the federal government was restructuring the CRBC.

Together, the owners of CKPR radio had various political associations with the Government of Canada and the federal Liberal Party. Paterson was very active with the local federal Liberal Party and knew Clarence Decatur Howe, a well known grain elevator engineer from Port Arthur. In 1935, Howe, became the Liberal Representative for Port Arthur (Bothwell & Kilbourn 1979, p. 59). Fort William's Liberal candidate, Reverend Dan McIvor, a gentleman that Howe recommended campaign for that constituency and a close friend of Hector Dougall, was also elected that same year (Masters 2000). Howe would eventually become known as 'Minister of Everything' for Prime Minister McKenzie King but in 1935, during Howe's first term of government, he was appointed Minister of Transportation - the governing body responsible for broadcast affairs (Bothwell & Kilbourn 1979, p. 82). In March 1936, Howe introduced a motion in the House of Commons that prompted the birth of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Later in 1936, the CRBC dismantled and the CBC was granted authority over broadcasting operations (Nash 1994, p. 17).

As the depression was ending in 1939, other entrepreneurs became interested in

starting their own profitable radio station in Port Arthur and Fort William. M.P. Jackson of the Maurice Music Salon was one such individual. He presented a proposal to the CBC to develop his own radio station in Fort William. His application was denied because the CBC Board of Governors felt CKPR covered the area sufficiently (CBC¹ 1939, p. 220). That same year, Hector Dougall bought Paterson's shares in CKPR radio (Masters 1999; "Hector", 1960, p. 1). He became the sole owner of the operation as the station entered a new decade.

To summarize, throughout the '30's, CKPR was licenced to the Dougall Motor Car Company Limited. Norman Paterson, Hector Dougall, E.B. Sutherland and Bertram O'Donnell owned this Fort William based company at the time CKPR radio was purchased. CKPR's studio was located in the Royal Edward Hotel. Paterson, was president and investor of the controlling company of the Royal Edward Hotel, Fort William Hotels Limited. Initially, CKPR's programming was from the CNR radio network. However, as a public model of broadcasting gained support from Canadian citizens, the federal government's broadcasting authority (CRBC) purchased the CNR's radio network. The Dougall Motor Car Company's business plummeted in this isolated geographical region during the depression, but CKPR thrived. The alienation and remoteness of the region benefited the owners because it allowed them to emphasize the importance of the service (with the expectation of receiving greater financial assistance). The area's remoteness also meant less scrutiny from the CRBC. Both Dougall and Paterson had, or had made political connections during this period, giving them access to

politicians when desired. In 1939, Paterson sold his shares of CKPR to Hector Dougall, giving Dougall sole ownership of the broadcast facility as it entered the 1940's.

The Forties:

In the 1940's, the popularity of radio flourished, due to World War 2. Radio provided Canadian citizens with immediate information. Consequently, a number of companies applied for broadcast licences in both Port Arthur and Fort William. Only one licence, however, would be granted. In 1941, M.P. Jackson applied for the second time to the CBC for a broadcast licence to start his own private commercial radio station (CBC¹ 1941, p. 383). His second application was initially deferred because the CBC wanted a full report on the applicant's intentions from the Radio Inspector of C.D. Howe's Department of Transport. In a meeting held on April 1, 1942, however, the CBC once again denied Jackson a licence because the broadcasting regulator believed the region was thoroughly served by CKPR (CBC¹ 1942, p. 395).

Eight months later, in December 1942, the Dougall Motor Car Company applied for a second licence for a radio station to serve Lakehead (CBC¹ 1942, p. 443). The CBC rejected this proposal because it felt the area was adequately covered by CKPR. Furthermore, the governing body stated "except in the most unusual circumstances, no one shall hold more than one licence" (CBC¹ 1942, p. 443). Hector Dougall would not have to wait long to get a licence for a second station though, because just six years later the broadcasting authority changed its policies allowing one party to own both an AM

and FM station in the same market.

A second AM radio station was in fact approved in January of 1944. CFPA-AM, with an output power of 250 watts and a dial location at 1230 gained the CBC's approval. As the regulator stated "...it is the Board's opinion that the community has need for more local service, which can only be provided by a second station" (CBC¹ 1944, p. 555). These comments were released by the Board not even two years after M.P. Jackson's second application for a radio station was denied.

The licensee of this Port Arthur station was the R.H. Parker company owned by Ralph H. Parker. He was a former announcer who had worked for CKPR since it began in Midland, Ontario in 1927. The call letters of this station were CFPA ("PA" for Port Arthur), and it was located across from Port Arthur's city council chambers in the Wayland Building at 34 North Cumberland Street (now the Thunder Bay Hydro Building) ("CFPA", 1973, p. 1). Although Hector Dougall would not be a licensee of CFPA, he had substantial involvement with this station. Dougall followed the proper governmental procedures and through his contacts actually found CFPA's transmitter, a task which was not easy during World War 2 (Dougall 1999). In addition, because of the scarcity of metal during the war, Parker managed to negotiate a deal with Dougall which allowed CFPA's transmitter to be connected to CKPR's broadcast tower, a technological feat which developed the first 'twin tower' anywhere in the world (Dougall 1999; "CFPA", 1973, p. 1).

CFPA-AM became an affiliate station to CBC's second national radio network

(the Dominion Radio Network), and the station's broadcast schedule began at 12:30 p.m. on September 3, 1944 (Ryerson 2002). CFPA later moved north to 230 Cumberland Street. Realistically Parker became a competitor of Dougall's, but their business relationship flourished until the early 1960's and they often cooperated with each other (Dougall 1999).

In July 1944, the CBC changed the maximum power that Canadian radio stations could broadcast. Thirty-four radio stations, including CKPR were granted the option of increasing their wattage from 1,000 to 5,000 watts. There was one stipulation: if stations increased their power, in no way was the public broadcaster obligated to continue feeding the privately owned stations network programming (CBC¹ 1944, p. 619-620). CKPR chose not to increase its broadcast power and continued to provide Lakehead residents with the CBC's Trans Canada Networks programming.

In 1945, the CBC made another ruling concerning Port Arthur and Fort William. An application for a radio station came from the Fort William newspaper, the *Times-Journal* (CBC¹ 1945, p. 748). The *Times-Journal* proposed to establish a 250-watt radio station, feeling a third station was economically feasible. The CBC did not feel the area could support a third radio station and the request was denied (CBC¹ 1945, p. 748). Two years later, however, the CBC granted a licence to Hector Dougall for a FM radio station (CBC 1947, p.4). The same year, he also purchased the 'swamp land', where CFPA and CKPR's transmitters were located (Piovesana 1999).

In 1948, the CKPR studio moved into 'Radio Hall' in the Canadian Steamship

Lines (CSL) building (Dougall 1999; Masters 1999). This same year, Fraser Dougall (1999) said his father's "pioneering spirit" encouraged him to develop Lakehead's first FM radio station, CKPR-FM (now CJSD) with a 94.3 frequency. The quality of FM radio was far superior to that of AM, and for this reason, the CBC was encouraging the development of FM radio in Canada. But, because FM radio was still relatively new and there were no other FM stations in the area to encourage residents to buy FM receivers, CKPR-FM simultaneously broadcast CKPR-AM's programming (Masters 1999; "FW", 1962, p. 1). In addition to sustaining the operations of his own broadcast facility, Ralph Parker managed to help engineer this new 250-watt station for his 'rival'. Ralph Parker and Hector Dougall's business relationship would intensify as they entered the 1950's. This was also the era when the broadcasters introduced television to the Lakehead region ("CFPA", 1973, p. 1).

The Fifties:

In January 1951, the CBC approved structural changes to CKPR's ownership: ownership was now under H.F. Dougall Company Limited, instead of the Dougall Motor Car Company Limited (CBC² 1951, p. 1531). Although control and ownership of the AM and FM radio stations remained the same, the name change could be seen as a significant event because it was an overt display of Hector Dougall's prestige in the community. The new company named after Hector Fraser Dougall Sr. showed his intentions of establishing a small media empire for his family. This empire would soon

also include television. In December 1953, just one year after CBC-TV began broadcasting, Parker and Dougall joined forces to bring television to the Lakehead region.

On December 4, 1953, the CBC Board of Governors studied two applications proposing to establish a CBC-TV affiliate station in the twin cities (CBC³ 1953, pp. 1981-1999). One application was from Mr. Donald A. Clark and the other from Ralph Parker (CBC³ 1953, pp.1981-1999). Clark's proposal included financial assistance from entrepreneurs who operated a station in Kingston, Ontario (and they also filed an application to establish a television station in Peterborough, Ontario). Parker's application was filed by Ralph H. Parker Limited, a company created by investors Ralph Parker and Hector Dougall (CBC³ 1953, pp.1981-1999; "Supported", 1954, p. 1). The minutes of this CBC meeting report that Clark, Parker and Dougall came before the governing body to persuade the authority of each party's interest. Hector Dougall's friend, local Liberal Member of Parliament (MP) representing the Fort William riding, Reverend Dan McIvor, favoured the Parker/Dougall application and MP McIvor, publically supported the Ralph H. Parker Limited application that proposed a Port Arthur television station ("Supported", 1954, p. 1). In fact, the previous November, MP McIvor rose in the House of Commons to draw attention to the Parker/Dougall television application. It was, therefore, no surprise when he attended the CBC Board of Governors meeting and spoke in favour of the Ralph H. Parker Limited request (CBC³ 1953, p. 1982). In this meeting, Ralph Parker also changed the name of CFP's licensee from

R.H. Parker to Ralph H. Parker Limited to coincide with the title of the licensee of the television station (CBC³ 1953, p. 1993). However, ownership and control of the radio station did not change.

The Ralph H. Parker Limited application was accepted over Clark's for three reasons (CBC³ 1953, pp. 1996-1999). First, the Parker/Dougall proposal stated that the station would be owned and operated solely by local community members. Second, the endeavour would be housed in CFPA-AM's building, thus lessening the costs. Third, the technological outline was comprehensive and accurate. In contrast, Clark's proposal only had 50 per cent local ownership (the remainder would have been controlled by out-of-town entrepreneurs). It was apparent that the Commissioners intended to protect the communities' local identity through local ownership.

Local ownership, it appeared, was favoured over actual news quality; news quality would be higher and more diverse if there were different owners of media. If, for example, the CBC had awarded the licence to the Clark party, the broadcasting authority could have ensured that the company's local requirements were fulfilled through rules and regulations. Local residents would have had a greater range of sources supplying local news information. By granting the television licence to Parker and Dougall, however, the CBC gave these two entrepreneurs a greater stake in local broadcast news content.

Television was introduced to the Lakehead on October 5, 1954 (Dougall 1999). Parker purchased a fire hall (on 87 North Hill Street), and converted it into a studio for

the city's first television station CFPA ("CFPA", 1973, p. 1; "New", 1972, p. 6; "Supported", 1954, p. 1). Shortly thereafter, the CBC decided that radio and television stations could not have the same call letters; Dougall and Parker agreed on CFCJ-TV, which was based on the first initial of the given names of the owners' children (F=H. Fraser Dougall Jr., C=W. Christopher Dougall and J=James Parker) ("CFPA", 1973, p. 1). At this time, Hector Dougall also distributed a number of CKPR radio shares to his two sons Hector Fraser Jr. (Fraser) and William Christopher (Christopher) between 1955-1956 (CBC³ 1955, p. 2300; CBC³ 1956, p. 2417).

Dougall and Parker approached the CBC in January 1957 to change the name of the television licensee to Thunder Bay Electronics Limited. The state body granted the change and with it, Dougall assumed the presidency position while Parker became the general manager ("Thunder", 1973; CBC³ 1957, pp. 2489-2500). This change in ownership would give Dougall greater control of the company and the television station. At the same time, H.F. Dougall Company Limited applied to the CBC to increase the wattage of CKPR radio from 1,000 to 5,000 watts (CBC³ 1957: p. 2538). The authority deferred answering the request until the Board's next meeting in April at which time, George D. Jeffrey (manager of CKPR) attended the hearing and endorsed the request, satisfying the CBC and obtaining permission for the change. Through these changes, Hector Dougall ensured his place as a powerful businessman within Lakehead's broadcast industry.

Not only was Dougall a powerful businessman, but he also had remarkable

political connections with many politicians, including Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent's right-hand man, C.D. Howe (Bothwell & Kilbourn 1979, pp. 327-328). During the June 1957 federal election, Howe's campaign committee made the mistake of not purchasing any television advertising - taking the riding for granted. As the election came closer, Howe's campaign committee sensed he did not have enough support to win. In a last minute attempt, Howe's supporters managed to get the television station to extend their broadcast hours. Bothwell and Kilbourn indicate in their book *C.D. Howe*,

Fisher [the local CCF candidate in Port Arthur] was able to march down the street...and pre-empt the best spots on the local TV station. It was owned by a friend and supporter of C.D. Howe's, but the Liberals were not bidding on television time, and the owner saw no reason not to sell where he could...Howe's supporters forced the local station to remain open longer than usual, in order for Howe to broadcast a last-minute message to the voters of Port Arthur (1979, pp. 327-328).

Douglas Fisher's (the Port Arthur CCF candidate) campaign committee anticipated this strategy and combatted it, leading to Howe's defeat. However, one must wonder if the broadcast hours would have been extended for a candidate from another party.

As Parker no longer was president of CFCJ-TV, he once again focussed on CFPA. In June 1957, Parker transferred his shares of CFPA from Ralph H. Parker Limited to a new business entity entitled Ralph H. Parker (CBC³ 1957, p. 2563). This company was owned and controlled by Parker alone. In September, shares were

redistributed in H.F. Dougall Company Limited from Hector Dougall to his sons Fraser and Christopher (CBC³ 1957, p. 2595). Some shares were also issued and redeemed from Hector, his wife Clara, his sons Fraser and Christopher and one from long time employee, Tom Ross.

In February 1958, Robert Paul MacGowan, a former employee of CFPA, attended a CBC hearing to inform the Board of Governors of his intent to apply for a radio station licence (CRTC 1972, p. 106; CBC³ 1958, p. 2647). Parker, Dougall, George Jeffrey and Mr. J. Shapira (an out-of-town entrepreneur) intervened and opposed the application. The latter two individuals asked the Board of Governors to defer MacGowan's application in order to grant Jeffrey and Shapira enough time to develop their own AM station proposals. MacGowan proposed to establish a new 1,000-watt broadcast station with a dial frequency at 800 kilocycles under the ownership of a company yet to be incorporated (CBC³ 1958, p. 2652). The CBC agreed with Jeffrey and Shapira and deferred MacGowan's application for a year. This gave the Commission enough time to study whether a third radio station in the two cities was economically feasible (CBC³ 1958, p. 2652). However, during this postponement, Jeffrey and Shapira withdrew their applications (CBC³ 1958, p. 2652). That summer, Parker appeared before the Board to increase the power of CFPA from 250 watts to 1000 watts (CBC³ 1958, pp. 2725-2734). MacGowan challenged this request at the hearing, asking the Commission to delay approval of CFPA's proposal until the CBC made a ruling concerning his application. The Commission deferred their decision till October, then it permitted CFPA's power

increase (CBC³ 1958, pp. 2753-2760). In the remaining months of 1958, the CBC lost its authority to regulate broadcasting affairs. The new governing body appointed by the newly elected federal Tories was the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) (Nash 1994, p. 17).

Early in 1959, the BBG granted MacGowan an AM broadcast licence. On December 15, CJLX-AM began broadcasting from a Miles Street building in Fort William. Its transmitter was located southwest of Fort William in the Neebing District on Loch Lomond Road (Dougall 1999). CJLX was registered to Lakehead Broadcasting Company Limited. MacGowan was president and general manager. Others with interests in the Lakehead Broadcasting Company were Lawrence E. Potts, Tom Jones, Bob McKinnen and Walter J. Clemens (Dougall, 1999). MacGowan and Clemens were reported to have been the main investors in Lakehead Broadcasting (CRTC, Decision 1972). Clemens was involved in the community. He left a family grocery store business in Fort William to become commercial manager and eventually vice-president of CJLX. Of the minority shareholders, Jones and McKinnen were also local residents of the twin cities. Lawrence Potts was a national sales executive for a national grocery chain based in Southern Ontario. As time went on, the Commission became aware that Potts' involvement was much greater than what was originally reported (CRTC, Decision 73-19; CRTC 1972).

A number of changes concerning media ownership occurred during the 1950's. In radio, Hector Dougall made his power and influence explicit, by changing the licensee of

CKPR to H.F. Dougall Company Limited. The CBC granted the television station to Ralph H. Parker Limited, in which both entrepreneurs had executive roles. Awarding the licence to Parker and Dougall, reveals that the CBC chose to neglect the quality of news, instead opting to consider where owners resided. The Board stated,

In the opinion of the Board the application is satisfactory; and the station would extend national service coverage as well as providing local service. In deciding on this recommendation, the Board particularly noted the following concerning the two applications for this area: Ralph H. Parker Limited is entirely locally owned and operated and is associated in this project with the licensee of the AM station in the sister city of Fort William. Half the control of the Donald A. Clark application would be held by interest participating in the television station being established at Kingston, Ont. and in another television station at Peterborough, Ont. The operating management of the company proposed in the Clark application would be provided by persons connected with these interests...(CBC³ 1953, pp. 1996-1997).

This decision allowed Parker and Dougall to have control over the news content presented on the cities' electronic broadcast media. In 1957, Thunder Bay Electronics Limited became the licensee of CFCJ-TV; with Hector Dougall assuming presidency and Parker stepping down to the general manager role. Consequently, Parker changed the licensee of CFPA to Ralph H. Parker. A third radio station was introduced to Lakehead in December 1959, by R.P. MacGowan, former station manager of CFPA. The company

formed by MacGowan was Lakehead Broadcasting Company Limited; licensee of CJLX. The BBG hoped, by introducing this station into the market, that residents would receive greater variety for the coming decades.

The Sixties:

In June 1960, Parker's association with Thunder Bay Electronics Limited was terminated and Mr. G. Conger was appointed the station manager ("Thunder", 1973). Parker sold his company shares to Hector Dougall to focus on developing CFPA. CFCJ-TV had its first local news and sportscast in September 1960 ("Thunder", 1973). Jack Masters, a former broadcaster with the station who eventually became its general manager, a MP for the Thunder Bay/Nipigon riding and subsequently, Mayor of Thunder Bay, recalls that local historic event. He remembers it clearly because at the time Ontario Hydro had an economist in town and the utility wanted to create some awareness of this event. Masters (1999) admits, although the topic was not really news related, the station felt obligated to cover the event and this started a weekly business profile series which still exists today.

On October 4, 1960, Hector F. Dougall Sr. passed away unexpectedly, at the age of 62. His wife, Clara Dougall assumed the presidency and general manager positions of both Thunder Bay Electronics Limited and H.F. Dougall Company Limited ("Thunder", 1973). Mrs. Dougall took control of the companies because her children were out of town completing their education. Fraser and Chris were in Winnipeg, attending the

University of Manitoba and St. John's Ravenscourt respectively and Brenda Isabelle was attending school at the University of Toronto ("Hector", 1960, p. 1). Although Mrs. Dougall was not very familiar with the broadcasting business, she managed it well with the help of loyal employees (Masters 1999). Shortly after acquiring the executive role, Mrs. Dougall decided to change CFCJ-TV's call letters.

In 1961, the BBG allowed radio and television stations to have the same call letters (unlike the CBC), and CFCJ-TV switched to CKPR-TV ("Thunder", 1973). CBC radio amalgamated its Trans Canada and Dominion Networks in the fall of 1962. Only one radio broadcaster was then needed to broadcast CBC programming in Port Arthur and Fort William (Nash 1994, p. 217; "CFPA", 1973, p. 1). CFPA managed to retain affiliation with the CBC and increased its output power to 1,000 watts. CKPR, on the other hand, became an independent broadcaster for the first time in the twin cities.

At a hearing on February 6, Mrs. Dougall asked the BBG for permission to move the radio studios of CKPR-AM and FM to the television studio building on 87 North Hill Street ("FW", 1962, p. 1). Economically, the move would prove beneficial for the radio stations as H.F. Dougall Company Limited planned to develop programming independent of the CBC radio network the following year. Several letters of complaint were received by the BBG from Lakehead residents ("FW", 1962, p. 1). Since it began, CKPR-FM had simulcast the programming from CKPR-AM and the BBG wanted to know if Mrs. Dougall had plans on making CKPR-FM an independently programmed station from CKPR-AM. Mrs. Dougall did not feel this was an immediate concern of the H.F.

Dougall Company. Lakehead Broadcasting also attended this meeting. Lakehead wanted to increase the power of CJLX from 5,000 to 10,000 watts and MacGowan stated that the power boost would improve the signal within their broadcast range rather than expanding it ("FW", 1962, p. 1). The BBG deferred both requests, until their next meeting, at which time both applications were endorsed ("CKPR", 1962, p. 8). Thus, CKPR-AM and FM moved into the television studio's building and as a result of the power increase, CJLX became the most powerful station in the city.

After completing his studies at the University of Manitoba in 1962, Fraser Dougall became president of Thunder Bay Electronics and H.F. Dougall Company ("Thunder", 1973). During the mid '60's, the BBG no longer allowed CKPR-FM to repeat its sister station's programming (Masters 1999). In 1967, CKPR-FM was subsequently renamed CJSD because its programming was independent of CKPR (Dougall 1999). One year later, the BBG was dismantled by Liberal Prime Minister Lester Pearson and the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC) was created as a replacement (Nash 1994, pp. 376-383).

In addition to owning CKPR and CJSD, Fraser Dougall acquired interests in Border Broadcasting Limited in 1966, as well as, gained ownership of Woodlands Broadcasting Limited. Border Broadcasting Limited owned CFOB-AM in Fort Francis, Ontario (CRTC 1969, p. 133). Fraser and Chris Dougall, Mr. P.G. McBride (CFOB's station manager), station engineer Gerhard Huodon and Mr. G. Jeffrey (manager and National Sales Director for CKPR radio in Port Arthur), were the company's

shareholders. Fraser Dougall also acted as president of Woodlands Broadcasting Limited, licensee of CKDR-AM in Dryden, Ontario and CJRL-AM in Kenora, Ontario (CRTC 1969, pp. 133-159). Dougall now had control of every English language radio station between the Manitoba border and the Lakehead region.

One of the principal tasks of the BBG was to ensure quality news broadcasting. Their decisions, however, ignored this purpose in lieu of focussing on improving the financial efficiency of the stations. Thus, while the BBG was aware of Fraser Dougall's small Northwestern Ontario media empire, the Board seldom opposed his requests. In short, when the BBG and its former bodies were required to make decisions which sacrificed news quality for economic feasibility, as long as the proper documentation was filed, it appears, the Board favoured economic viability over improving news quality.

On April 11, 1968, Fraser Dougall, his wife Elizabeth Christine and Mr. John Burton (CFRW's manager) purchased 92 per cent of Radio Winnipeg Limited's shares for CFRW-AM and FM in Winnipeg (CRTC 1969, p. 103). Fraser Dougall controlled the shares. As Radio Winnipeg was in bankruptcy, Dougall began managing the company on April 25, 1968, prior to receiving CRTC approval for the sale (CRTC 1969, pp. 103-115). At a February 1969 hearing, Dougall stated that all the appropriate documentation was filed with the CRTC and its predecessors. Since the governing body was in a state of transition, Dougall argued, the regulatory body's conversion took longer than expected, so, he acquired management prior to the Board's approval. The CRTC never did approve the share transfer from Radio Winnipeg Limited to Fraser Dougall.

They felt the transfer would not solve CFRW's problems, nor would the acquisition be in the best interest of broadcasting from Thunder Bay to Kenora, where Dougall owned numerous stations (CRTC, Decision 69-339). As a result, Dougall was forced to withdraw from the agreement.

CKPR's licence was due for renewal in early February 1969. At the renewal hearings the CRTC revealed that it had knowledge that H.F. Dougall (Fraser), his wife Elizabeth and Mr. G.D. Jeffrey had minority ownership interests in CJLX, Fort William (CRTC, Decision 69-76). Tom Jones (1999) stated that the shares were purchased from him and according to CRTC's ownership policies, this constituted a conflict of interest. The CRTC's regulations stipulated that an individual could not hold shares in more than one AM broadcast licence serving the same area in the same language. Dougall, in effect broke that rule; nonetheless, CKPR received a two-year licence extension as long as it met the specified programming conditions. In its decision, though, the CRTC demanded that the Dougall interests must immediately dispose of their minority holdings in radio station CJLX (CRTC, Decision 69-76).

H.F. Dougall Company Limited underwent numerous ownership changes in the 1960's. Early in the decade, Hector Dougall passed away, leaving his wife Clara, as an executive. The CBC combined its two radio networks with CFPA becoming its sole affiliate. CKPR, on the other hand, became an independent broadcaster. Fraser Dougall took over H.F. Dougall Company in 1962 and expanded its ownership portfolio to include radio stations in Dryden, Fort Frances and Kenora. Owning these stations gave

Dougall a radio broadcast monopoly between Lakehead and Winnipeg. Furthermore, in 1968, Dougall tried to purchase two radio stations from Radio Winnipeg Limited, a company that was in bankruptcy. Although, Dougall obtained management of the company, the CRTC refused to transfer the shares, preventing the take-over. The following year, the CRTC learned that Dougall had purchased minority interest in Lakehead Broadcasting. For concealing his illegal involvement in CJLX, this would cost Dougall. CKPR, would only receive a two-year licence extension. CJLX, on the other hand, would pay greatly in the following decade for not revealing its true owners. Through his personal relationships, or financial investments, Dougall had control of, or contacts to all of the radio stations between the Manitoba border and the 'twin cities'. However, in the '70's, Dougall would sell his shares in companies outside of Thunder Bay, to focus entirely on that market.

The Seventies:

The '70's began with grief for the Dougall family as Mrs. Clara Dougall, former president of CKPR Radio and Television and mother to Fraser, Christopher and Brenda, passed away at the age of 57 ("Former", 1970). At a CRTC hearing in January 1971, five months after Mrs. Dougall's death, Fraser Dougall expressed his desire to acquire his brother Chris' shares of Thunder Bay Electronics and H.F. Dougall Company (CRTC, Decision 71-100; CRTC, Decision 71-101). Fraser Dougall also announced that the Dougall interests wished to sell their shares in Border and Woodlands Broadcasting to

Donald Austin Fawcett, Eloise Pearl Fawcett and Fordon Alexander McTaggart (later to become Fawcett Broadcasting) (CRTC, Decision 71-98; CRTC, Decision 71-99). The CRTC approved both transactions, feeling each agreement would improve the quality of public service in the communities.

As Fraser Dougall acquired the radio and television stations, the political affiliations with Canada's two main political parties continued at national and provincial levels. In May 1972, Progressive Conservative Premier, Bill Davis, announced that Dougall successfully acquired a Northern Ontario Development Corporation (NODC) loan for \$660,000 in an attempt to enhance the regional broadcast service in Northwestern Ontario ("New", 1972, p. 6). The money was to be used for the development of a CTV television affiliate station to serve the city of Thunder Bay. Not only did this loan help provide Dougall with enough capital to establish a second television station, but about half of the amount was a forgivable loan as long as the station met the CRTC requirements which would be outlined later that summer.

In June, Thunder Bay Electronics Limited applied for its second television station, an affiliate to the CTV network (CRTC, Decision 72-259). The proposal was approved for a trial period of one year in July. This was the first broadcast operation in Canada which had two national stations affiliated with one local broadcast company (labelled a 'twin-stick' operation). Dougall felt there was a need in Thunder Bay for the second television station at the time; he was awarded the licence because no other party was interested in filling the void in the market (Majeed 1999). The new CTV affiliate station

for Thunder Bay began programming at 8 p.m. on October 14, 1972 (“New”, 1972, p. 6). The call letters for this new station were CHFD-TV (“HFD” representing Hector Fraser Dougall). Five days later, the television station began colour coverage and on October 30, Dougall’s other television station, CKPR-TV, began broadcasting its programming in colour. The result of colour programming would cost advertisers dearly though as advertising rates for these stations increased by approximately 25 per cent (“New”, 1972, p. 6).

One requirement that Dougall and the regulatory body agreed upon in order to provide diverse news coverage was that each television station must have two separate newscasts (“New”, 1972, p. 6). The Commission attempted to regulate news so that diversity and various perspectives would not be suppressed. In reality, however, the CRTC overlooked one critical factor: Dougall himself. Was it possible for one businessman, with a diverse range of business connections locally, provincially and nationally, to influence local broadcast news content through his power and prestige? It appears this issue was not raised by the CRTC. Critics of awarding the second television licence to one licensee may have been familiar with the CRTC’s history, understanding that the Commission very seldom took away a broadcast licence. Instead, the regulatory body preferred (and still does prefer) to impose restrictions forcing owners to conform to the outlined policies. As a result, it was likely the licence would remain with Dougall following the test period and the first ‘twin stick’ operation established by Thunder Bay Electronics, would serve as a television ownership model for many small communities

across the country.

On November 21, 1972, Lakehead Broadcasting approached the CRTC at a hearing to renew its licence, which would expire on March 31, 1973 (CRTC, Decision 73-19). The renewal was denied because,

The Commission has concluded, on the basis of the documents and other evidence submitted at the Public Hearing, that Robert Paul MacGowan and Lawrence E. Potts, shareholders and directors of Lakehead Broadcasting Company Limited...failed to disclose fully and accurately the ownership of the shares of Lakehead in the original applications for an AM radio licence to serve the Thunder Bay area and in various other application and returns made to this Commission and its predecessor bodies... (CRTC, Decision 73-19, p. 203).

In short, Robert MacGowan and Lawrence Potts had worked out a side deal to the 1959 application of which the BBG was unaware. Potts did not want his name to appear as a majority shareholder in the company because this may have conflicted with his other business interests (CRTC 1972). According to Frank Foster (1982, pp. 366-368), Potts registered the shares under the name of Robert Paul MacGowan and intentionally attempted to conceal his involvement in the company (CRTC, Decision 73-19). It appears that 51 per cent of MacGowan's shares were owned by Potts, but the investors of Lakehead Broadcasting only reported Potts as holding one share in the company. In addition, at the hearing it became known that Potts occasionally expressed his views to MacGowan with the intention of influencing the operations of the company (CRTC

1972). This caused concern for the CRTC because according to the licensing documents, MacGowan was to have control and ownership of the station and in reality, he did not.

To make matters worse, share transfers took place amongst the directors without the CRTC's or the predecessor body's approval (CRTC 1972). The Commissioners at the CRTC stated that it seemed that "Potts may have conceived a plan, whereby he could get a licence for a broadcast station indirectly..." (CRTC 1972, p. 203). Rejecting the renewal of a broadcasting licence was a drastic measure for the broadcast regulator. Usually, if regulations were broken, the governing body outlined a number of criteria that the applicant must meet in order to receive a full licence renewal term. However in this case, the penalty was severe because MacGowan and Potts had the intention of undermining the state's authority (CRTC, Decision 73-19; "Licence", 1973, p. 1). At the same meeting, an application which proposed an 83 per cent Lakehead Broadcasting share transfer (3,150 shares) from MacGowan to Mr. Potts (2,250) and Mr. Walter J. Clemens (900) was withdrawn. On February 13, 1973, the CRTC issued a public notice that they were accepting applications for radio stations to serve Thunder Bay at the frequency of 800 kilocycles (Foster 1982, p. 366; "Local", 1972, p. 2). In Thunder Bay, the only alternative in broadcasting, to Dougall's media empire, was CFPA.

On January 16, 1973, Thunder Bay Electronics applied to renew CKPR-TV and CHFD-TV's broadcast licences (CRTC, Decision 73-83). The company also wanted to increase the broadcast power of CHFD-TV, as instructed by the broadcast authority a year earlier. To address the CRTC's concern of maintaining separate programming on

the two television stations, Thunder Bay Electronics proposed creating two independent public advisory councils. This would ensure that community members had an 'independent council' to approach if citizens had programming concerns and to guarantee that separate programming was maintained on each station. An 'independent council' advisory committee is a great opportunity for citizens to voice their opinions concerning broadcast affairs, however, few details were initially provided to the CRTC. Who would chair the committee? Who would its members be? What was its role? How often would they meet? These were questions that required answers. Nonetheless, the CRTC approved the recommendation based on CHFD-TV and CKPR-TV's performance from the previous term, as a result, both stations' licences were renewed for the maximum period of five years. The power increase was also approved because it allowed CHFD to serve an additional 12,000 people.

In February 1973, Fraser Dougall was selected as the Jaycees 'Outstanding Young Person' in Thunder Bay and would be awarded with a plaque and a chance to appear at the Canadian finals in Toronto ("Fraser Dougall selected", 1973). On March 6, in front of a panel made up by CBC's Peter Gzowski and four other prominent judges, Dougall and four other distinguished citizens of Canada beat dozens of competitors to become the Jaycees five outstanding Young Canadians (Whitelaw 1973). This national award recognized and honoured young men and women between the ages of 18-39, who made significant contributions to their community, province and country. As an article in Thunder Bay's *Chronicle-Journal* indicates, "Judges were interested in the areas of

involvement including personal improvement, politics or government service, community leadership and social improvement to major contemporary problems” (Whitelaw 1973). Dougall’s accomplishments would not stop there however, and his broadcast empire would continue to grow.

In June 1973, the CRTC held a hearing to determine who would be awarded the vacant frequency caused by CJLX’s closure (CRTC, Decision 73-334). The applicants were the National Dream Corporation Incorporated, Ralph H. Parker Limited and the CBC. The National Dream Corporation was a company owned by Richard George Andison, Alden E. Diehl, F. Baxter Ricard and Walter J. Clemens. Ralph H. Parker Limited applied for this licence to change CFPA’s frequency, power output and antenna site. CBC proposed to establish an English AM radio station to be amalgamated with CBC’s national network, helping build a regional network across Northwestern Ontario. The CRTC granted the licence to CBC Radio. It felt the station would provide citizens throughout the region with an opportunity to express their opinions concerning Northwestern Ontario issues (CRTC, Decision 73-334). Subsequently, CFPA would no longer carry CBC network programs, freeing the station to develop an independent programming schedule. In short, the benefits were twofold: (1) residents of Northwestern Ontario would have a ‘regional voice’, and (2) CFPA-AM would become an independent commercial outlet.

CBC Radio One (CBQT, but referred to locally as CBQ) first aired on December 17, 1973. This was also CFPA’s first broadcast day as an independent radio broadcaster

(Guttormson 1994, p. C1; “CFPA”, 1973, p. 1). Advertising was initially permitted on CBQ, but, in the spring of 1974, the CBC radio network became commercial free. Later that year, CJSD’s licence was only extended for two years (as opposed to the typical five-year extension): the CRTC wanted to review the FM licence in the context of the upcoming FM broadcasting policy (CRTC, Decision 74-410). A second request to raise CJSD’s output power to 95,000 watts from 46,000 was granted by the authority, but, the Commission stated, “The application proposes the use of automated equipment. Such equipment should not be used to reduce staff, but to liberate personnel for more active preparation and production of programming” (CRTC, Decision 74-411). The CRTC was concerned about the impact new technology would have on the quality of news content. In March 1979, CJSD was approved for a five-year licence renewal (CRTC, Decision 79-84). The CRTC’s scepticism towards computer automation changed, as it would become the norm for improving efficiency in broadcasting just 20 years later.

At the November 15, 1977 hearing, Thunder Bay Electronics applied to the CRTC to renew the television station’s licences and to gain permission to amalgamate the station’s independent newscasts (CRTC, Decision 78-141). Combining newscasts, they felt, would enable them “to cover more stories, shoot more unduplicated film coverage, free manpower for more television specials of a public affairs or backgrounding nature” (qtd. in CRTC, Decision 78-141). The goal of combining newsrooms was to improve the quality of news content. Although the maintenance of separate newsrooms was a crucial component when Thunder Bay Electronics was awarded the ‘twin-stick’ licence five

years earlier, permission was given under the condition that a commitment was made to improving local and regional news and in-depth investigative coverage. The CRTC did not, however, state how this would be monitored and enforced. As such, if the quality of information was not closely monitored, the move would only serve to be economically beneficial to the owners. In failing to study the quality of the news content, the Commission was unaware if combining news departments served public interest or economic goals.

The CRTC does 'audit' stations by gathering daily journals of programming, audio and visual records and financial data, but, this material does not address the quality of news information. The news content itself is not scrutinized, hence, the CRTC's policies can only ensure the presence of news in the medium. Since, the broadcast regulator does not monitor the quality of the news content, the joining of newsrooms only served the corporate goals of economic gain.

In addition, the monitoring of financial information can be particularly misleading as high expenses do not necessarily coincide with a better quality product. Sparsely populated regions such as Northwestern Ontario, have higher news gathering costs because the communities are separated by great distances. The economic costs may be above average for a similar size city in a more densely populated region, for instance, in Southern Ontario.

As a result, the most important measure the CRTC has for monitoring the quality of news content is public opinion which can be expressed through grievances. This

technique is also of limited value, as citizens views are affected by a number of factors unique to the region, including the information they receive through the media. The alienation and isolation of the region from the southern metropolitan centres could also have deterred people from reporting concerns. Residents of Northwestern Ontario may have regarded themselves as fortunate to have access to a second local station, a station which no other entrepreneur was willing to build (Majeed 1999; Dougall 1999). By voicing their concerns to the CRTC, the authority could have denied the second television broadcast licence, further alienating the citizens of Northwestern Ontario from the rest of the nation. Undoubtedly, the geographic location and Dougall's political associations provincially and nationally would prove beneficial, as in 1978, Premier Bill Davis' office announced that Dougall was appointed to the Ontario Economic Council ("Fraser Dougall appointed", 1978).

The '70's was a decade of triumph and sorrow for Fraser Dougall. The decade began with the death of his mother Clara, but his power, prestige and economic capital flourished under Bill Davis' provincial Tories. Dougall sold Border Broadcasting and Woodlands Broadcasting to Fawcett Broadcasting. Reciprocally, Dougall asked the Commission to approve his purchase of his brother Chris' shares in H.F. Dougall Company Limited and Thunder Bay Electronics Limited, giving Fraser total control of the two companies. After the transfer of shares was approved by the CRTC, Dougall applied for and received a \$660,000 loan from NODC. Half of the loan was forgivable, as long as the money would be used to establish a law abiding CTV affiliate station in

Thunder Bay. One company owning two affiliate television stations is known as a 'twin-stick' operation and Thunder Bay Electronics, the first twin-stick operation in Canada, became a role model for other small market centres. In 1972, CJLX was denied renewal of its licence, making the frequency available for a local CBC Radio station (CBQ). This allowed CFPA to become an independent programmer. Thunder Bay Electronics combined both CHFD-TV and CKPR-TV's newscasts in 1979, leaving residents with no alternative for local television news. In the next decade, concerns surrounding the control over news in Thunder Bay, particularly local content, would be expressed by New Democrat MP, Iain Angus.

The Eighties:

In 1980, former station manager of CKPR television, Jack Masters, was elected as a Liberal MP for the Thunder Bay/Nipigon Riding and he immediately took interest in broadcast affairs in Thunder Bay. In September 1980, the CRTC's approved the sale of CFPA (owned by Parker), to Leader Broadcasting Corporation Limited (Leader) owned by Harry McIntyre and Ray Erickson (Ryerson 2002; CRTC, Decision 80-674). The owners were also involved in the daily operations of the station as McIntyre acted as CJLB's general manager and Erickson was the station's news director. Three interventions in support of the take-over were expressed by three individuals at the Commission's hearing. These were: Fraser Dougall, Paul G. Fox of Thunder Bay and MP Jack Masters. Dougall supported the sale, but, he expressed concerns about Leader's

proposed musical format and the stations new call letters CJLB (“LB” standing for Leader Broadcasting) (“City’s”, 1980, p. 1). The Commission felt the take-over would be positive for the city and noted that the change in call letters was a matter between the owners and the Department of Communication. More importantly, the broadcast regulator agreed with the applicant that the station’s greatest priority should be news service (CRTC, Decision 80-674). On November 17, 1980, Leader debuted its new call letters and in January 1981, CJLB held its grand opening in the former CFPA building on Cumberland Street (Reid 1981, p. 15; Mason 1980, pp. 1-2).

CJLB’s co-owner and general manager, Harry McIntyre, announced Leader’s intention to apply for a broadcast licence for a 24-hour FM country radio station in September 1983 (“2”, 1983, p. 3). This licence was denied by the CRTC. After the rejection, Leader strived to increase CJLB’s broadcast power and two years later, the Commission approved Leader’s application to increase the stations power from 1,000 to 4,000 watts (CRTC, Decision 85-728). This extended broadcast coverage and improved the signal for listeners in the Thunder Bay area. Furthermore, in 1985 former Liberal MP Jack Masters was elected Mayor of Thunder Bay, a position which he held until 1991.

In November 1986, the CRTC approved Leader’s application to rebroadcast CJLB’s programming under the FM frequency of 96.3 to the communities of Nipigon and Red Rock (by using a repeat transmitter) (CRTC, Decision 86-1137). In granting CJLB the licence to serve these two communities, the CRTC did not require the station to broadcast more news content from these communities but rather, suggested that CJLB’s

news coverage for Nipigon/Red Rock increase. Broadcasting into the area allowed advertising to reach these communities, however, the station was not forced to make a commitment to the listeners by providing local news content from Nipigon and Red Rock. As a result, the CRTC allowed economic factors to prevail over the station's commitment to the communities that it serves.

Global Television and Thunder Bay Electronics submitted applications for a third private television station to serve Thunder Bay that same month (Frood 1986, p. 11). Global Television wanted to rebroadcast a 24-hour television station, with some programming determined by local market conditions. Global felt a third station would improve program selection rather than provide duplicate programming. Similarly, Tony Seuret, vice-president of CHFD-TV and CKPR-TV said that a third television station owned by Thunder Bay Electronics "...would 'dramatically increase the amount of good Canadian TV programming' as well as address programming gaps that have been noted by the CRTC and TBT's [Thunder Bay Television's] local advisory council" (qtd. in Frood 1986, p. 11). Seuret, however, felt the citizens of Thunder Bay would benefit greater if the station was owned and operated by Thunder Bay Electronics. Shortly after this announcement, the two companies terminated their applications. Dougall reached a compromise with Global Television which resulted in a business deal between the two parties. Thunder Bay Electronics would depart from its national sales agency (an agency responsible for selling syndicated television programs), to buy programming from CanWest Global's advertising subsidiary: CanVideo Television Sales (Shecter 1995, p.

7). From a business perspective, both parties achieved their goals; Dougall maintained his television monopoly, and Global now received money from this region.

In a CRTC hearing in February 1988, Leader Broadcasting announced that it wanted to sell CJLB to Newcap Broadcasting Limited (Newcap) (CRTC, Decision 88-295). A representative on behalf of Leader explained that the owners decided to sell the company due to operational difficulties caused by the illness and death of the station's co-owner, Ray Erickson (CRTC, Decision 88-295). Newcap, owned by the Newfoundland Capital Corporation Limited, was initially involved in the transportation sector but had expanded its business to include radio broadcasting (see Appendix B).⁶ Once approved, the transaction would give Newcap control and ownership of CJLB for \$2.4 million. Newcap was the chief contender for the purchase because the company wished to fulfill Leader's commitment to the community. Ultimately, the CRTC had the final decision on whether the sale of CJLB was in the public's best interest and in order for the maritime-based company to acquire the broadcast facility, it had to persuade the governing body that the transaction was in the best interest of the community. In April, the CRTC (Decision 88-295) announced that it supported Newcap's acquisition of CJLB because the authority was: (1) satisfied with the monetary amount of the transaction, and (2) impressed with the company's commitment to the community. Furthermore, the CRTC was pleased that Newcap intended to expand its local news coverage to include the Nipigon/Red Rock districts, fulfilling Leader's responsibility. Over time the

⁶ CRTC 2000.

company's commitment would dissipate as the licensee pursued monetary objectives. Once again, the CRTC did not reveal how it would ensure that CJLB's commitment of news coverage for Nipigon/Red Rock was met, leaving it solely to the broadcaster to fulfill their obligations.

In November, Iain Angus, a New Democrat Member of Parliament (MP) representing the Thunder Bay-Atikokan riding, intervened at a CRTC hearing in support of Thunder Bay Electronics licence renewal for CHFD-TV and CKPR-TV under several conditions (Majeed 1999; "City", 1988, p. 3). First, Angus proposed that owners of the 'twin-stick' operation should be required to prove that it is not economically viable for another party to own one of the affiliate television stations at each licence renewal period. Angus stated that owners "should prove that the local market is not mature enough to support independent and separately owned stations' by disclosing full financial information" (qtd. in "City", 1988, p. 3). This would allow the CRTC to determine if it was profitable enough for a competitor to establish a local news operation in the hopes of creating a greater assortment of news.

Second, Angus suggested leasing airtime from one of the television stations to an independent news production group as another alternative which would provide an opportunity for more diverse local news coverage (CRTC, Decision 89-136, p. 5). These alternatives were an attempt to provide Lakehead residents with some variety in local news content, but Dougall responded that under the Broadcasting Act, he is responsible for all television programming and would have "great difficulty in just abdicating or

delegating [this responsibility] to a special interest group beyond my control” (qtd. in CRTC, Decision 89-136, p. 5). The CRTC opted to renew CHFD-TV and CKPR-TV’s licence’s for five years and ignored Angus’ suggestions. However, Angus did succeed in drawing attention to Dougall’s domination of the electronic broadcast media in Thunder Bay.

In December, CBQ received approval to relocate to 88.3 on the FM band with a total output power of 23,700 watts (“CRTC”, 1988, p. 13). This switch would cancel CBQ’s AM licence. Furthermore, the CRTC began calling for proposals from interested parties in establishing a new radio station to serve the Thunder Bay, Nipigon, and the Red Rock regions (“CRTC”, 1988, p. 13; Ferguson 1990, p. 17). This announcement went out because an application had been submitted by Newcap to create a new FM station.

Three companies indicated interest in applying for a FM broadcast licence in Thunder Bay (Baughman 1989, p. 17). The interested parties were Newcap, Thunder Country Radio Incorporated, and Mid Canada Communications of Sudbury. The latter party later withdrew. In a hearing on October 24, the CRTC heard proposals from the other two (CRTC, Decision 90-91). Both companies proposed to establish a 100,000-watt country-oriented station with a frequency of 105.3. Newcap intended to create a second station in the city for itself, and Thunder Country Radio was a group of five investors from the Thunder Bay area. Stephen Spencer Bell, the owner of CFNO radio from Marathon, Ontario, was one of the entrepreneurs involved in forming the latter (CRTC, Decision 90-91; Baughman 1989, p. 17). The CRTC’s decision concerning this

matter would not be released until the following year.

The Nineties:

On February 12, 1990, the CRTC (Decision 90-91) released its decision concerning the two applications for a new FM radio station in Thunder Bay. Both were denied. The CRTC argued that the number of full-time employees suggested by Newcap was insufficient to meet its obligations in the news and programming departments and that profit estimates were not adequate to maintain a high broadcast standard. Similarly, Thunder Country Radio's proposal was rejected because: (1) its staffing commitment was too low in order to meet programme specifications, (2) Thunder Country Radio's projection of \$5,000,000 over five years was an exaggeration for this small market, and (3) the company underestimated the start up costs of a broadcast facility (CRTC, Decision 90-91, p. 3-6).

Although Newcap could not attain a FM licence, it benefited from the CRTC ruling by being allowed to decrease its commitment to news content (CRTC, Decision 90-860). Newcap's news programming was drastically reduced to 4 hours and 15 minutes per week, from 13 hours and 25 minutes. Lakehead residents would be affected by this decision in a number of ways. First, residents would receive less news variety because the station had less time to designate to newsworthy topics. As a result, journalists would only cover the obvious newsworthy issues. Second, a drop in investigative reporting would result as the company placed less emphasis on news, and

used financial resources for other programming manoeuvres. Lastly, fewer news stories would be presented from Nipigon and Red Rock because there would be fewer reporters with less time to designate to out-of-town events. Since Thunder Bay has a greater population than the rural communities surrounding it, it is the station's core market (audience), therefore, issues relating to Nipigon and Red Rock would become secondary. Nonetheless, the CRTC renewed the licence for the Nipigon/Red Rock broadcast frequency until August 1994.

On May 25, 1992, the CRTC approved 'intra-corporate reorganization' at the CKPR and CJSD radio stations ("CRTC", 1992: A3). Fraser Dougall still controlled and owned both stations, but the shares were transferred from H.F. Dougall Company Limited to CJSD Incorporated (see Appendix B).⁷ On November 2, 1994, Newcap was allowed to develop a 100,000-watt FM station, however, the licence only allowed CJLB to switch to 105.3 FM and not to develop a new broadcast facility (CRTC, Decision 94-842). With 100,000 watts, this station would span a great area in Northwestern Ontario and reach a large audience. But to maximize its profits the station entered into a Local Radio Management Agreement (LMA) on February 28, 1995 with its former rival, CJSD Inc. (this agreement will be discussed in the following section).

In 1996, Dougall's company purchased Algoma Publishing, the company that owned the Thunder Bay Post community newspaper (formerly Lakehead Living) and the Thunder Bay Guest magazine. In this acquisition, Dougall purchased a community-

⁷ CRTC, Decision 92-307.

oriented newspaper whose news stories would eventually become supplied by the reporters at Dougall's television and radio stations. Printing the newspaper is a costly process, therefore, each issue was printed weekly at Thunder Bay's daily newspaper facility: the *Chronicle-Journal*. In October, Dougall was chosen "Executive of the Year" by the Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce (Mills 1996, p. 21). Dougall's connection with the Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce has always been a close one. He briefly directed the organization and employed former president Rebecca Johnson on a part-time basis as she hosted a locally produced community feature. This relationship with the Chamber of Commerce gave Dougall the opportunity to keep 'in touch with' the latest business developments occurring locally and regionally. One such development was the provincial government's establishment of a number of charity casinos throughout Ontario.

During 1997, the Progressive Conservative provincial government decided to build a number of charity casinos throughout Ontario. In Northern Ontario, permanent casinos were to be established in Thunder Bay, Saulte Ste. Marie, Sudbury, North Bay and Ottawa, and seasonal casinos would be located in Fort Frances, Marathon and Timmins (Kelly ¹ 1997, p. A1; "Let", 1997, p. A3). The government had a number of applicants who wanted to be awarded the licences, but the two finalists were Klondike Casino of Sudbury and CHC North Incorporated of Thunder Bay. Klondike Casino was familiar with the gambling industry as the company had been responsible for a roaming charitable casino for 14 years throughout Northern Ontario and employed approximately

200 employees (Kelly ² 1997, p. A1). CHC North Inc. was a partnership that consisted of CHC International Inc., which operates Carnival Cruise Lines, 75 hotels and manages Casino Rama in Orillia, Fraser Dougall's businesses and individuals Tom Jones and Sylvio DiGregorio who each own large construction firms that operate throughout Northwestern Ontario (Kelly ² 1997, p. A1).

The licence for the new permanent casinos was awarded to CHC North Inc. on September 26, 1997. Dougall, acting as president of this company, denied his political connections had anything to do with his being awarded the licence for this venture ("Let", 1997, p. A3). Many disagreed, however, since in June 1997, Dougall was golf partners with the Minister who was in charge of awarding the casino contracts, the P.C. Member of Provincial Parliament David Tsubouchi, at a Tory fund-raiser in support of the Fort William Progressive Conservative Party Association ("Let", 1997, p. A3).

In October 1998, a charity group called Thunder Bay Christian Radio received approval to develop a low-power radio station: CJOA-FM (CRTC, Decision 2000-403). Initially, the station was to be located at frequency 93.1, but, it is now located at 95.1 (Ehrkamp 1998, p. A2). This station is a non-commercial, Christian-music-oriented medium with no local or national news coverage. A representative on behalf of the group stated that the station would provide more diversity in the community. This was true on a musical level, however, with regards to improving the diversity of local news content, this station was insignificant.

On July 8, 1999, CJLB and CKPR received only a one year licence renewal

because the CRTC was in the process of reviewing its LMA policies (CRTC, Decision 99-165). A few months later, CJSD Inc. would intervene in a hearing because of Big Pond Communications 2000 Incorporated's (Big Pond) application to develop a commercial radio station. Big Pond applied for an English broadcast licence to construct a low-power commercial FM station to serve Thunder Bay (CRTC, Decision 99-485). This request was denied because the CRTC thought the proposal relied too heavily upon automated programming. In order for Big Pond to accept local advertising, the Commission explained that at least one-third of the station's programming must originate locally. Furthermore, the Commission felt the applicant's intention of hiring two part-time staff would not be sufficient to meet high quality local programming.

CJSD Inc. also opposed the proposal because it claimed that another station in Thunder Bay would have a negative financial effect on the existing commercial radio stations (CRTC, Decision 99-485). CJSD Inc. felt that Big Pond was attempting to minimize its expenses and produce the greatest revenues (which it felt were grossly exaggerated). Big Pond lacked a commitment, according to CJSD Inc., to cover local news, sports, weather or public affairs. In short, the rival felt that Big Pond's reliance upon automation would not create any relationship with the community. Furthermore, Dougall insisted that the purpose of using a small 50-watt transmitter allowed the applicant to designate the broadcast facility as a low-power station (a low-power licence is easier to attain than a high-power licence), yet allowed the company to serve 80 per cent of the Thunder Bay market (CRTC, Decision 99-485). CJSD Inc. argued that the

application from Big Pond went against CRTC's intentions for establishing low-power broadcast facilities that are made available to special groups (like the Christian charity group which is responsible for CJOA) with the intent of promoting their interests.

To recap, the CRTC denied Newcap and Thunder Country Radio's proposals for creating a FM station early in the '90's. Shortly after this decision, Newcap was permitted to significantly decrease its amount of news content prior to switching over to a FM frequency. H.F. Dougall Company Limited was renamed to CJSD Inc. in 1992, and this company is responsible for CJSD-FM and CKPR-AM till today. In 1995, Newcap and CJSD Inc. entered into an LMA (which relies heavily on computer automation), in an attempt to improve the efficiency of the three stations. Big Pond Communications 2000 Inc. tried to take the use of computer automation one step further by establishing a fully automated low-power radio station. The opposition from CJSD Inc. and the CRTC was immense and as a result, Big Pond was denied a broadcast licence. This left the residents of Thunder Bay and the rural communities with two alternatives for radio news: the CBC Radio One affiliate (CBQT-FM) and the three privately owned radio stations which share resources through a LMA (CJLB-FM, CKPR-AM and CJSD-FM).

Thunder Bay as a Case Study of LMA's:

An LMA is a contract that allows two or more radio broadcast companies to share resources (staff, buildings, vehicles, etc...) in an attempt to cut expenses. Companies are allowed to enter a LMA if one party is experiencing financial difficulty, but each licensee

is obligated to control its station (CRTC, Public notice 95-204). The licensee technically must maintain distinguishable news voices and they must ensure that the station's programming and news services are separate entities from the 'competitors' (CRTC, Public notice 95-204). LMA's permit one party to manage the 'competitor' "...for a series of transfers of assets" (CRTC, Public notice 95-204, p. 1). For example in Thunder Bay, Newcap employs a program director and a news director who supervise the programming of CJLB (Doetzel 1995, p. 2; Shecter & Boast 1995, p. A1-A2). On an economic level, CJSD Inc. has financial authorization over CJLB and as a result, CJSD Inc. has indirect control over programming through its fiscal responsibilities (Shecter 1995, p. 7).

On February 28, 1995, CJLB moved into the CJSD Inc. building on 87 North Hill Street. Within a matter of hours, CJLB released 23 employees and moved into its new studio next door to CKPR and CJSD-FM. Although 12 of these employees managed to gain employment at CJSD Inc., these individuals lost their seniority and were placed on a six month probationary period (Doetzel 1995, p. 2; Shecter & Boast 1995: p. A1-A2). Due to the LMA, nine people lost their jobs from CJLB and two from CKPR (Shecter & Boast 1995, p. A1-A2).

Dougall now had direct involvement with each privately owned radio station, the two television stations and a weekly newspaper. The only alternative media for the unemployed workers would have been CBQ (at which time the CBC was laying off employees), or the Thomson owned sister newspapers which were also under fiscal

restraints. This 'monopoly-like' situation, left the former employees of CJLB with few job alternatives within the field of broadcasting in Thunder Bay. Therefore, they held little power to negotiate with Newcap or CJSD Inc. for compensation. If any of the employees had challenged the merger, they would have difficulty finding employment at the other privately owned broadcast media in the city. Furthermore, the rivalry among media on which many journalists thrive, no longer existed. Decreasing the journalist's personal satisfaction in their work ultimately results in a loss of motivation for gathering news stories (Shecter 1995, p. 7). Journalist's who lack motivation to perform in-depth investigations of stories do not serve the public's interest because the news is simply presented from 'official' viewpoints.

In relation to local news, this agreement is significant because all the privately owned radio stations in Thunder Bay share journalists and news content. Because of the physical proximity of the reporters, journalists may develop a more homogenous interpretation of the news and share news stories, resulting in fewer perspectives being presented. When the LMA was implemented in Thunder Bay, three reporters were fired from CJLB (Shecter & Boast 1995, p. A1). As a result, there were fewer reporters covering the same number of 'newsworthy' topics for a greater number of stations. This provided journalists with less time to critically investigate stories. The aspect of competition also becomes minimized as reporters share news resources. Since there is no true competition in the traditional sense, management places less emphasis on getting a 'scoop', or approaching an issue from an unique perspective which the rival may have

neglected. In short through LMA's, the quality of news declines and the capitalist concerns with economic efficiency and profit overshadow the community member's demand for high quality news information.

At this point it is important to consider how power was a significant factor in legitimizing the business arrangement. In "Licenced to Make a Killing", Shecter (1997, p. 7) states that management at the local newspapers (the *Chronicle-Journal* and *Times-Daily News*, owned by the Thomson Corporation), and Fraser Dougall have occasionally joined forces to control the presentation of news stories. For instance, prior to public notification of the LMA, Fraser Dougall approached Colin Bruce, the publisher of the city's two daily newspapers, concerning the alliance of the radio stations. In her article, Shecter states that Bruce recalls Dougall asking him to hold off on the announcement until the press conference. Through Dougall's power and influence, the public did not become aware of the transaction until CJLB's relocation was complete, thereby preventing public intervention from destroying the transaction. This example indicates how 'local news' can be shaped by those in powerful positions, in order to maintain their interests.

Company presidents, Fraser Dougall and Bob Templeton, asserted that the consolidation was required so all three radio stations could raise \$1,000,000 to buy automation equipment to help 'compete' (Shecter & Boast 1995, p. A1-A2). First, it is questionable who these companies intended to compete against since there are no other private radio stations in the city. The only alternative radio news source was CBC radio

which, as will be discussed in chapter three, has a different mandate from the privately owned stations and as revealed in Appendix A, has a small percentage of the total radio listeners in Thunder Bay. Second, by endorsing the use of LMA's, the CRTC changed its earlier pessimistic stance towards automation. By accepting LMA's, the bureaucracy became more of a regulatory body which monitored corporate activities, rather than an enforcement agency which strived for the community's best interest. For example, CRTC spokeswoman, Marguerite Vogel said,

... losing an editorial voice has historically been an issue when business consolidations affect the media. But she said the CRTC's interpretation of ownership and control is very literal. 'It's possible to do what they have done without ownership and control, in a legal sense, being affected at all' (Shecter & Boast 1995, p. A2).

Traditionally, when administrative roles changed for electronic broadcast media, an application would have been submitted to the CRTC for its approval prior to the party's entrance into an agreement. In this case, "Dougall said CRTC approval isn't necessary for what's been done, but the agreement was submitted to the regulator before it was announced" (Shecter & Boast 1995, p. A1-A2). Historically, notification of an agreement to the CRTC prior to the transaction, allowed the Commission to invite public reactions concerning the broadcast alteration. This provided community members with a chance to voice any concerns they had towards the application. But this process did not occur, and the residents of Thunder Bay had no choice other than to accept the

acquisition. Regardless of whether the agreement was submitted one month or one day prior to the move, in a community with only two Thomson-owned newspapers, and a CBC radio outlet separate from Fraser Dougall's media empire, an opportunity to raise concerns about the transaction would have been precious. The CRTC's awareness of the local resident's views would have allowed the Commission to make the best possible decision for the community, prior to the stations' amalgamation. Alerting citizens of the business manoeuvre before the transaction (November 30), could have provided community members with optimism that their views at least potentially would have some impact on the deal (CRTC, Public notice 1995-204).

Apparently, this was not a unique situation, as five other radio stations across the country had entered LMA's by this time (CRTC, Public notice 1995-204). But as the CRTC increasingly allowed companies to enter these agreements, it allowed economic forces to prevail over the public's interest in quality news programming. Newcap president Bob Templeton addressed quality in Dougall's *Thunder Bay Post* weekly newspaper stating, "By pooling talent and resources we enhance the quality of the product...we also cut overhead cost of duplication" (cited in Doetzel 1995, p. 2). In theory, this statement is logical because it appears that there would be more employees working on a variety rather than duplicating coverage of the same news stories. Indeed, by sharing administrative duties, the overall programming quality, or sound of the station should improve because the company has more capital to allocate towards production costs. But, considering that a number of journalists were released by Newcap and that

reporters were now required to share news information, the end result may be fewer perspectives in local news content and a narrower understanding of what is considered to be newsworthy for local people. Templeton's idea of quality does not engage the issue of improving the quality of information. In sum, with regards to news programming, LMA's serve to improve corporate economic efficiency by reducing costs but neglect the quality of news content presented to the public.

Twenty-first Century:

Two new low-power radio stations were introduced to Lakehead residents during 2000: (1) CFQK-FM, and (2) CJUK-FM. Initially, CFQK was licenced to Northwest Broadcasting, a company to be incorporated by Joel Virtanen. On July 4, he filed an application to form a new low-power radio station (50 watts with a frequency of 104.5) in the suburbs of Thunder Bay in Kaministiquia, Ontario. On September 15, the CRTC approved Joel Virtanen's application (CRTC, Decision 2000-387). Dougall's CJSD Inc. once again objected to the development of a low-power station in its coverage area, citing that the station would have a negative effect on the services of CKPR and CJSD-FM. Joel Virtanen, replied that the new radio station would not be directed at Thunder Bay. The Commission was satisfied with this response and approved the application for a new broadcaster - the first to be approved for the Lakehead area in approximately 30 years. Northwest Broadcasting had one year for the radio station to start broadcasting. During this year, Dougall's CJSD Inc. would object to yet another low-power radio application

filed by Big Pond Communications 2000 Inc.

On September 18, at a CRTC hearing, Dougall's CJSD Inc. intervened on a second application filed by Big Pond Communications 2000 Inc., owned by Bill Baziuk and Dennis Landriault (former station manager of CJLB and CJSD Inc.) (CRTC, Decision 2000-740). In their second application, Big Pond corrected the negative features addressed by the Commission in their previous application. Computer automation, however, would still be utilized for news, weather and sportscasts. CJSD Inc. objected to the formation of a new station because it would have a negative financial impact on the existing radio stations in Thunder Bay. The Commission indicated that profitability in the Thunder Bay radio market has exceeded the Canadian and Ontario average over the past four years (CRTC, Decision 2000-740). Furthermore, the Commission believed CJSD Inc. would not experience any financial difficulty because of CJUK-FM (Magic 99.9, located at 99.9), therefore, the application was approved.

At the same CRTC Public Hearing, a company called Superior Information Radio applied to the CRTC to establish CITB-FM, a low-power radio station (1.3 watts at 97.1 MHz) that would broadcast tourist information in Thunder Bay and its repeat transmitter CIPR-FM Pigeon River. This station would not broadcast any news programming. The licensees of Superior Information Radio were Thunder Bay's Ray and Bonnie Gauthier (CRTC, Decision 2000-742). On August 3, 2001, one of the other low-power radio stations, Northwest Broadcasting Inc.'s Joel Virtanen, applied for a time extension to get CFQK-FM operational (CRTC, Decision 2001-471). The CRTC granted the request and

gave Northwest Broadcasting Inc. until March 15, 2002 to complete the project.

On September 11, 2001, both CJUK-FM and CFQK-FM began broadcasting. The CRTC approved CFQK's transfer of ownership on September 14 to Ari Lahdekorpi, president of Real-TV Realty in Thunder Bay (Ari Lahdekorpi is a close acquaintance of Fraser Dougall's both personally and professionally) (CRTC, Decision 2001-587). On March 5, 2002, in a downsizing effort, the broadcast companies controlled by Dougall laid-off 13 employees, with CJLB-FM releasing its two news reporters: director George Rutherford and reporter Laura Zaina (Ketonen 2002, p. A1). Multimedia journalist Tony Prudori, who reported for television, radio and Dougall's Thunder Bay Post was also dismissed. As a result, fewer reporters are now left to cover local news in these media. On April 26, 2002, further concentration occurred in Thunder Bay's radio broadcasting as the specialty tourist information channels (CITB-FM and CIPR-FM) were purchased by Northwest Broadcasting Inc., owned by Ari Ladekorpi (CRTC, Decision 2002-117).

Conclusion:

Norman M. Paterson and Hector Dougall established CKPR-AM radio in the Lakehead. With the help of various political connections, the owners of this radio station made it very profitable. In return, CKPR served two purposes: (1) it connected Western and Eastern Canada, allowing messages to be broadcast instantaneously throughout the nation, and (2) it helped create a national identity in the region, preventing the threat of American imperialism. Over time, however, radio would become an important source of

local information. From its news broadcasts, citizens would learn about international, national, provincial and local affairs. These news broadcasts provide information which journalists think is important to the local community.

Ownership, especially concentration of ownership, may affect diversity of news coverage and editorial opinion. Not only is this true for large national and international media, perhaps even more so at the local level. This chapter is intended to provide the reader with a greater understanding of the media context in Thunder Bay, reinforcing the instrumentalist approach. Instrumentalism alone, however, cannot account for organizational limitations in the media. Nonetheless, it does raise questions concerning power and political relationships involvement in ownership structures, and the ability of these elements to transcend local news content. Here is a case study from 1999 of a near monopolistic media ownership setting in Thunder Bay.

Chapter 3: Constructing the “Local” in News Coverage I:

Quantitative Content Analysis of the News in Thunder Bay.

“Media that truly compete with each other produce more variety and innovation and they monitor their competitor’s business practices more closely.”
- Ben Bagdikian

Introduction:

News is essential for providing information to the public. In addition to informing citizens of the day’s top issues, news acts as a powerful institution that can be an effective ‘watchdog’ in society.⁸ In a democratic state, this ‘supervisory role’ is critical because comprehensive, thorough and fair reporting affects the quality of the public’s knowledge (Nash 1998, p. 53). When the news organization focuses on entertainment values, news becomes less of an educational tool, thus hindering public awareness. As the world becomes more globalized, it is important that the public receives both international and local news content, to help create awareness of global events and local community issues. However, as media entrepreneurs engage in cost cutting strategies, the local news media are turning towards reporting global news (which is cheaply purchased from foreign owned news agencies (i.e., Broadcast News Wire

⁸ Knowlton Nash (1998, pp. 51-52) uses three phrases to explain the different stages journalism has passed through. The first phase, is ‘lapdog journalism’. It existed between the Second World War and the John F. Kennedy assassination. In this stage, journalists were used as a propaganda tool to help establish the dominant Western ideology. The second stage, is referred to as ‘watchdog journalism’. During this stage, journalists were sceptical of people with powerful positions of authority, and Nash insists that this period existed between the Vietnam War, and Nixon Watergate scandal. The third and current phase of journalism, according to Knowlton Nash, is ‘junkyard journalism’. Nash argues, in this phase, journalists emphasize entertainment values over in-depth investigative reporting.

Service, etc...), at the expense of costly in-depth investigative reporting and local news production. The result of this attempt to maximize profit evolves from a concentration of ownership and hence, a less diverse range of perspectives in local news. In radio, for instance, owners have been allowed to amalgamate facilities to share the costs of producing local news. In this case, it is the quality of local information that is jeopardized and in return, public awareness. As the intensity of globalization and the drive for economic gain continue to grow, the public must question what the news media define as local news? This chapter will use content analysis to examine data identifying how the radio stations in Thunder Bay construct local culture.

Research Question: *Based upon a reading of radio news broadcasts in Thunder Bay, how is 'local culture' constructed by the news media?*

Content Analysis in Media Research:

Content analysis is one of the most common methodologies used to evaluate and develop an understanding of messages presented in the broadcast media (Hackett et al 1992; Wurtzel 1985). According to Holsti, content analysis is “any technique for making inferences by systematically and *objectively* [original emphasis] identifying special characteristics of messages” (1969, p. 608). In other words, content analysis scrutinizes explicit messages in the broadcast media, exposing those topics that journalists consider to be ‘newsworthy’. However, as Berg (1998, p. 225) indicates, content analysis is not only a valid technique for determining explicit messages, but is also useful for revealing

implicit messages. In short, by evaluating the content of messages quantitatively and qualitatively, the researcher is capable of identifying which topics are considered to be important, revealing the underlying presumptions of the stories.

Content analysis uncovers the manifest and latent messages which penetrate news content (Berg 1998, pp. 225-227). Bernard Berelson (1952, pp. 18-20) states that manifest content is the overt or blatant messages that can be identified through the news (the message that the journalist is trying to convey to the audience). Categorizing the themes of news stories and calculating their frequency, reveal which issues the media consider to be newsworthy. The messages of news stories, however, are not always obvious to the audience. The media are capable of delivering subtle messages and content analysis is also a suitable tool for this form of analytical investigation.

Latent content is meaningful information that is derived from in-depth analyses of data (Berg 1998, pp. 225-227; Wurtzel 1985, p. 7). In other words, latent content consists of the underlying messages in news stories that can be identified through critical analysis. Although content analysis cannot be used to identify absolute values, this method is useful because it helps interpret the values of news organizations and their gatekeepers (Carroll 1985, p. 50). As Carroll explains "This interpretation could be considered an analysis of network ideological bias, but it illustrates that content studies can also address the implication of what is not given attention in the news" (1985, p. 50). Content analysis, therefore, is useful for quantitative and qualitative research as it unveils manifest and latent messages.

The discovery of implicit messages provides an opportunity to identify conscious or unconscious predispositions in the news media. To recognize these implicit messages, however, the data must be examined closely for elusive details. Contrary to what criticisms suggest, the researcher's insights do not impede the results of the study, but rather improve its reliability (Berg 1998, p. 242; Bell 1991, pp. 212-216; McPhail & McPhail 1990, pp.11-12). In fact, Alan Bell states that "It [content analysis] is best when supplemented by other methods or a researcher's own qualitative insights..."(1991, p. 213). In this case, the researcher's personal insights add valuable information regarding what is local and how is it constructed in a small market. This is important because much of the literature that exists focuses on the international media (for example see Herman & Chomsky 1988; Gans 1979). In short, content analysis is useful for revealing subtle messages in the news and the validity and reliability of the study improves with the addition of the researcher's personal insights.

Manifest and latent messages draw public attention towards certain issues and ignore others. By prioritizing issues, the news media influence the public's awareness and knowledge of certain events (Shaw & McCombs 1977, p. 5; McCombs & Shaw 1972, p. 176). Swaying the public's awareness and knowledge, could affect community policies and decisions. In this case, the news media do not tell people what to think, but they tell people what to think about (Magder 1997; Stone 1989; McCombs & Shaw 1972).

Since the media have the ability to restrict information and direct attention

towards certain issues, its capable of creating an agenda. Agenda-setting is important in communities with few alternatives for local media because often residents have few options for local information. For instance, in Thunder Bay, three of the five high-power radio stations share news facilities. The other two stations, CBC Radio One and CBC Radio Two are publically owned and broadcast news simultaneously. Therefore, there are actually only two distinct high-power local radio news suppliers.⁹ Fraser Dougall, owns two of the privately run local radio stations and controls the third (CJLB) through an administrative agreement. Dougall also owns two television stations and a weekly newspaper; leaving a daily newspaper as the only alternative source for news (that is privately owned).¹⁰ This media concentration could influence both the diverse range of messages presented in the news and the journalist's attitude towards reporting a story.

Sampling Procedure:

To examine messages in the news media, Berg (1998, pp. 223-224) proposes that the researcher must: (1) identify what is being studied, (2) utilize a clear sampling technique, (3) determine the basic categories for analysis, and (4) establish a format for examining data. The purpose of this study is to identify how local culture is constructed, but first, to clarify what local news is, the data collection technique must be explained.

⁹ Recently, a low-power station opened in Thunder Bay. It provides some local news, but its broadcast range does not cover the whole city.

¹⁰ As Shecter (1995, p. 7) points out, the radio stations and newspaper have withheld information from the public at times, depending on what the issue was, and who it was related to.

Newscasts were recorded through a random selection process over a two month period from four of the six English radio stations in Thunder Bay.¹¹ The data were collected two days each week, between January 15, 1999 and March 15, 1999, depending upon which days were randomly selected from a hat.¹² In short, the data for this study were gathered from 16 days over a two month period totalling 192 newscasts.

On each day chosen, three newscasts were recorded for each radio station with the largest audience in the morning, early afternoon and late afternoon as indicated by the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM) ratings book from 1997 (see Appendix A).¹³ The BBM is a reliable source for this information because its primary purpose is to measure the audience over 15 minute intervals. Many broadcasters indicate that the BBM does not reveal much about the radio station's 'true' audience (because only a fraction of the people reply to the BBM survey's); however, each of the four radio stations subscribe to it and use it to determine their programming strengths and weaknesses in comparison to their 'competitors'.¹⁴

¹¹ One of the radio stations is a religious community station and does not broadcast news affairs (CJOA-FM (CJOA 95.1)), hence, it was omitted from the study. CBC Radio 2 was also omitted from the study because its newscasts are simultaneously broadcast on CBC Radio 1 (CBQ).

¹² The only exception was the week of February 15, 1999. Only one day was recorded during this week because the journalists at CBQ did not broadcast local news on the second sample day (February 19). The journalists, supported the corporations technicians in a labour protest. To accurately compare and analyse news stories between the stations, the day was omitted from the study. This does not affect the study's results though, since the sample period is large enough to be a valid indication of radio news.

¹³ At the time the study was being done, the most recent BBM book accessible was the September/October 1997 edition.

¹⁴ I hesitate to use the term 'competitor' in this market because there truly is no radio competition in Thunder Bay for news programming. Through a local radio management agreement (LMA), the private

News content from CBC Radio One for Thunder Bay and Northwestern Ontario (88.3 CBQT-FM), CKPR-AM (580 CKPR), CJLB-FM (KIXX 105.3), and CJSD-FM (ROCK 94.3) was recorded, transcribed, and analysed. As revealed in the Full Coverage-Total 12+ column of the BBM Survey (Appendix A), the newscasts nearest in time to the greatest audiences in the morning, early afternoon and late afternoon were used. For instance, CBQ broadcasts local news only at 5:30, 6:30, 7:30 and 8:30 a.m (Grand 1998). The newscasts at 6, 7, 8 and 9 a.m. are 'blended' and primarily contain provincial, national, and international affairs. Since this study primarily focuses on 'local news', the greatest audience for a local morning newscast on CBQ is at 7:30 a.m. (an audience of 10,400). The 12 p.m. newscast contains a blend of news information with content from various locations. CBQ's newscasts at 4 and 5 p.m. are national, but, the news broadcasts at 4:30 and 5:30 p.m. mostly contain local content. The greatest audience for the local newscasts between these two time slots is 4:30 p.m.

In contrast to the public broadcast facility, all the newscasts for the private radio stations contain local, regional, provincial, national and international events. CJLB and CJSD-FM's ratings chart (Appendix A), indicates their largest news audiences occur at 8 a.m., 12 and 4 p.m. CKPR has its largest audience for its 'major newscasts' at 8 a.m.,

radio stations are all managed by one company, CJSD Inc. Newcap Broadcasting owns CJLB, but, the LMA allows the radio newsrooms for these two companies to be consolidated. As this study will identify (based on the amount of news stories that are repeated on all three of these stations), CJLB's newsroom is not a separate entity, and CBQ's goals and coverage area are vastly different from the private radio media; hence, not truly competing with them. In addition, since the two local television stations and a local weekly newspaper are owned by the same individual who controls CJSD Inc., there is even less competition amongst the news media. The only form of 'competition' that could exist would be between the daily newspaper the *Chronicle-Journal*. At times, however, the management of these companies have joined forces to minimize public attention towards particular issues (Shecter 1995, p. 7).

12:30 and 5 p.m. Management in radio broadcast media is aware that they have the largest audiences at these times. Therefore, one may assume they include stories that are in their opinion most important and interesting to the local population at these given times. The next section reveals the categories analysed and explains the procedure used to determine what local news is and how the radio news media construct local culture.

Format for Examining Data:

To comprehensively answer the research question, quantitative and qualitative methods are required. Each newscast was transcribed in a standard format. This provided a script of each story broadcast on the four stations. Following transcription, the newscasts and stories were timed indicating the amount of time designated to each story. The stories were then classified according to three variables: (1) story theme, (2) the territory the script was directed/aimed at, and (3) the duplication of the story on another station. This information provided quantitative data that would help answer how the radio media in Thunder Bay construct local culture through their news coverage and it provided the necessary information for qualitative analysis.

Quantitative Analysis:

To create an understanding of what the local media decide is of importance to local residents and what concerns and values it assumes are central to local culture, a simple technique was used to analyse the newscasts. First, the stories were timed, and

then they were classified according to the theme and the area with which they were primarily concerned (see Appendix C.1). By thematically and territorially coding stories, the research exposes what topics the media suggest are important to local residents and from where these stories 'originate'. For example, the time by territory category in Appendix C.1, indicates the amount of emphasis placed on a particular topic for a region on that particular day. On the whole, these measurements indicate the amount of time designated to specific themes and regions.

Fifteen dominant themes were identified and each story was categorized accordingly (Appendix C.1). Dominant themes were determined on the basis of the amount of time devoted to them. Although each story often contained a number of themes, only the most dominant theme was recorded.¹⁵ Not only did this single classification system make it easier to count the total number of stories broadcast, it also prevented the impossible task of assigning time to the various themes within a news story.

Six territories were identified in order to help determine the region the news stories were primarily concerned with. The six territories, were 'local', 'regional', 'provincial', 'national', 'United States' and 'international'. Occasionally a story's focus would involve more than one location, for example how policy changes for the city of Toronto would affect the city of Thunder Bay. In this case, the more predominant

¹⁵ With this single classification system, categorizations could differ depending upon the researcher's personal views. However, if the researcher is consistent with his or her scheme, the end results should not be skewed.

location in the story, determined how the story was classified. The obvious political borders defined provincial, national, United States and international stories; however, there is no clear feature that distinguishes local and regional territories. For the purpose of this study, the local territory was identified according to the 1991 Census of Canada definition of the local metropolitan area. In this manner, the local territory includes the city of Thunder Bay, the Conmee, O'Connor, Oliver, Paipoonge, Neebing and Shuniah Townships (Statistics Canada 1994). The 'regional' territory, refers to stories which 'originate' in the Northwestern Ontario region. This region is made up of the Districts of Kenora, Thunder Bay and Rainy River. It was important that this territory be defined, as CBC Radio One for Thunder Bay and Northwestern Ontario (CBQ) broadcasts throughout these three districts. One of the public broadcaster's objectives is to create a sense of unity throughout Northwestern Ontario, and as a result, there should be more news content on CBQ from these regions (Grand 1998).

The sources of the stories were also classified to determine if there were a variety of viewpoints and to distinguish whose views were considered newsworthy. Graham Knight (1998, pp. 114-118) states that there is a hierarchy of news sources and these may be classified as either primary or secondary. According to this model, primary news sources provide 'official' or professional viewpoints to news stories. Secondary sources are 'unofficial' news sources that primarily gain media attention through disruptive behaviours. Knight claims that the primary source's views and opinions are perceived as being more legitimate, therefore, they are more abundant in the news media than

secondary sources. Initially, this definition of news sources was utilized. However, during the pre-test it was discovered that this was not the most suitable method because the categorizations were too broad to distinguish if the local media supplied a diverse range of perspectives from various sources. Questions also arose concerning which views were 'official' and which were 'unofficial'. For instance, a labour union leader has an authoritative role, therefore, could be considered a primary source. On the other hand, the position could also be classified as 'unofficial' (as Knight has done) because the role involves gaining media attention through what is perceived as 'deviant' behaviour (Knight 1998, pp. 114-118). In this case, a more suitable method was to create six categories for identifying news sources.

The first category contained the number of times corporate representative's or entrepreneur's opinions were included in the news stories. The second, consisted of views from political and bureaucratic officials. Viewpoints aired from community and labour organizations formulate the third category. The fourth contained the number of opinions from victims and residents of the community. The fifth category included situations in which a journalist provided the facts of the story, or relied on another journalist to do so. The sixth, and last, category related to times when specialist's and expert's 'actualities' or 'voice clips' were utilized as a source.

The final variable recorded was the number of times a story was reported, and on which station it was presented. The CRTC's Commercial Radio Policy Guide, outlines that it is the CRTC's objective to "preserve the availability of distinct news voices in a

community” (CRTC 1998, p. 9). This final measurement, reveals if there is indeed an assortment of radio news voices in Thunder Bay.¹⁶ A story was qualified as a ‘duplicate story’ if it met the three following criteria: (1) aired more than once on the same station, (2) aired on multiple stations with identical ‘voice clips’, and (3) was indistinguishable structurally (if the script wording was identical). In this case, two paraphrased stories even though they may have contained the same content, were not recorded as duplicates. However, if a major portion of the story was rehashed without a clear alteration, the story was considered to be a duplicate. Wording changes in the structure of the story had to be more prominent than announcer ‘slip ups’ or preferential word changes. This definition of ‘duplicate stories’ was used because it is the simplest format for identifying repeat stories. Utilizing this method allows one to determine if the Thunder Bay audience is receiving a diverse range of information from various perspectives.

The quantitative data answer a number of questions: (1) What topics received the greatest amount of local, regional, provincial, national, United States and international coverage? (2) What sources are utilized for news information? and (3) Are there a variety of ‘news voices’ or perspectives present in the Thunder Bay broadcast media? In order to understand, however, why the media define local news the way they do and to identify how local culture is constructed, qualitative analysis is necessary to determine subtle

¹⁶ At a very literal sense, distinct news voices could simply mean separate reporters broadcasting the news. This will be noted; however, the policy was interpreted as questioning if a variety of perspectives were presented in the news. In order to measure this, the number of times a story was repeated word for word on another radio station was recorded as a ‘repeat story’. This category reveals if residents in the community gain exposure to a variety of reporters interpretations.

messages.

Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Techniques:

Journalists define local in a particular way. How they interpret local news, is a behaviour that is learned through experience in the industry (this is very similar to identifying what is newsworthy). The way journalists learn to interpret local, is not a conscious process: it is one that is unconsciously developed over time and through interactions with colleagues. The setting, in which one works also plays an important role in defining local. Furthermore, policies established by the CRTC influence what local information is, and the company the journalists work for have an impact on what reporters interpret to be local news. To determine if a variety of perspectives are presented in local radio news, critical analysis will be used to compare news stories.

Qualitative analysis such as critical analysis, allows for a researcher's personal interpretations. It is a valid approach for interpreting latent news messages, as news is a cultural artifact (McPhail & McPhail 1990, pp. 12-13). The media are a social institution and the news media as part of the institution, is subject to a number of external influences (i.e., structural, economic, ownership, etc...). Quantitative analysis in and of itself is insufficient for a comprehensive study of local news and for this reason, qualitative analysis is necessary. Recognizing that these structural constraints have an influence on local news helps create a more comprehensive understanding of how the Thunder Bay radio news media construct local. In order to develop an understanding of how and why

the radio broadcast media define local news stories (focussing on the same topics) were compared to determine if a variety of perspectives are presented.

The historical, political and structural contexts of the Thunder Bay radio media are also significant in creating an understanding of how news is presented.¹⁷ The setting in which the media operate, can have a direct or indirect influence on how the news is presented. To help explain this, primary sources (i.e., original government documentation) were examined whenever possible.¹⁸ Secondary sources (i.e., newspaper articles or personal interviews) were also used.

Data Analysis:

Each news story was categorized based on its theme (Appendix C.1), and the territory with which it was predominantly concerned (Appendix C.4). In order to determine what the media regard as important, it was necessary to compare the volume of stories and the amount of time designated to each topic and territory.¹⁹ Although each

¹⁷ Originally participant observation was desired for this study, however, management of the radio stations did not recognize the relevance of such a study. In fact, during a personal interview, the general manager of the private radio stations questioned if local news was important at all to local citizens (Seuret 1998).

¹⁸ Economic information also influences the news media; however, although the CRTC financial records are publically accessible, one must undergo a lengthy process to receive financial information, and it is this researcher's understanding that this process is rarely successful.

¹⁹ In this study, only the news stories of the news broadcast package (i.e., news, sports, and weather) were analysed. The weather and sports features were not included in the analysis unless those topics were included in specific news stories - in which case, they were categorized respectively. The only exception was a story on CJSD-FM when a special news report was broadcast following the sports feature on February 25, 1999. In this case, the time of this story was included in the calculations of news content.

station has different news formats, it is possible to determine how the station prioritizes news topics through the amount of time allotted to each theme (Appendix C.2).²⁰ The remainder of this chapter will utilize quantitative data to identify how local news is comprised in Thunder Bay. To help achieve this objective, the whole newscast and local news content were divided into primary and secondary themes. Primary themes are the top five categories that formulate the majority of the news content. Secondary themes are the 10 remaining categories that receive less coverage. The following sections will discuss similarities and differences among the four radio stations in Thunder Bay.

Whole Newscast:

Whole newscasts were classified and measured to indicate of what ‘news’ and ‘local news’ are comprised. This was necessary to determine what region the stories originated from and how much time was designated to local content from the overall newscast. In a climate that tends to emphasize globalization, comparing the scale of local news versus news from other regions (i.e., regional, provincial, national, United States, and international) is important. Furthermore, classifying all the stories helped to identify whether any thematic patterns exist. One pattern that emerged was that the average story time for each theme is consistently greater on CBQ than on the three privately owned radio stations (Appendix C.3). The quality of information on the private radio stations, as

²⁰ Ranking the themes was based on the amount of time allocated for each topic. Time is an absolute value, whereas ranking categories by the amount of stories is not as accurate because story lengths differ and so do the broadcast times each station allocates for news content.

a result, is jeopardized as journalists do not have the time to deliver background information, provide in-depth analysis, or cover a variety of viewpoints. In short, news stories become simplified, and ultimately, a lower quality of information is presented to the listener.

Primary Themes:

Of the four radio stations, CKPR designates the most time towards news content. The radio station has a total of 406 minutes and 32 seconds of news. CBQ trails with 311 minutes and 18 seconds, followed by CJSD (195 minutes and 12 seconds), and CJLB (187 minutes and 12 seconds). The news stories were classified into one of 15 categories, with the five most common topics identified as 'primary themes'. The top five categories for all four of the radio stations were: (1) accidents and catastrophes, (2) crime and law enforcement, (3) economics, (4) health, and (5) politics (Appendix C.2). These primary themes account for between 58.1 and 70 per cent of the station's news content (70 per cent on CBQ, 64.3 per cent on CKPR, 60.3 per cent on CJSD, and 58.1 per cent on CJLB).

Surprisingly, the primary themes are the same on each station except the topics rank differently. The top category on three of the four radio stations is economics, ranking first on CBQ, CJLB, and CJSD (Appendix C.2). Economics occupies 22 per cent of CBQ's total newscast time amounting to 68 minutes and 35 seconds (Appendix C.1). The average economic story is almost 52 seconds in length - the longest of all the radio

stations (Appendix C.3). CJLB dedicates 33 minutes and 40 seconds or 17.8 per cent of its newscast to economics - with stories averaging 32.85 seconds. Economics is also the top theme on CJSD comprising 35 minutes and 56 seconds or 18.2 per cent of the station's total news, with the average story being 28.83 seconds long. CKPR is the only station on which economics does not appear as the highest primary theme; instead it ranks second. On this station, the average economic story is just over 32 seconds and the category occupies 16.3 per cent (66 minutes and 19 seconds) of CKPR's total newscast - below politics.

Politics is the most prominent theme on CKPR, but it ranks third on CBQ and CJSD, and fifth on CJLB.²¹ CKPR devotes 70 minutes and 43 seconds (17.3 per cent of its news time) to 121 stories averaging 34.9 seconds per story. Politics occupies 13.6 per cent or 42 minutes and 35 seconds of CBQ's content. The station has 46 political stories averaging 55.24 seconds in length (Appendices C.2 & C.3). CJSD has 54 stories totalling 21 minutes and 27 seconds (10.9 per cent of the stations total newscast), with the average story 23.6 seconds in length. Of all the radio stations, CJLB allocates the least time to political issues - designating 17 minutes and 3 seconds or 9.1 per cent of its news time to this theme, with 34 stories averaging nearly 30 seconds in length (Appendix C.3). In short, CKPR produces the most political stories, and designates the greatest amount of time to political issues out of all the radio stations, however, the amount of time CKPR

²¹ During the sample period, there was much coverage on the upcoming 1999 Ontario provincial election, however, many of the politically related news stories focussed on non-political themes (i.e., economics, health, education, etc...) rather than major philosophical differences between the parties.

assigns to each political story is on average 20 seconds less than CBQ. Indeed this amount is significant, but the gap between the story's average length increases for the next primary theme - health.

CBQ reports more on health than any other station (45 stories during the study period). This theme is the second most common topic for this station, totalling 14.6 per cent or 45 minutes and 46 seconds of its entire news content (Appendix C.2). The average length of a health story on CBQ is 1 minute and 6 seconds (Appendix C.3). The other three stations designate between 8 and 11.5 per cent of their total news time to health related issues (CJSD - 11.6 per cent, CJLB - 10.7 per cent, and CKPR - 8.3 per cent). CJSD broadcast 42 health stories totalling 22 minutes and 54 seconds and the average length of each story was 32.2 seconds. Health ranks third on CJLB, as it broadcast 34 stories formulating 20 minutes and 8 seconds of the station's total newscast with stories averaging 35.4 seconds in length. CKPR, on the other hand, broadcast the most news content out of all the stations, but it delegates the least time to this theme - placing health in fifth position. It allocated 33 minutes and 56 seconds for health, with each story averaging 35.3 seconds in length.

Crime and law enforcement is another popular theme on each of the four radio stations. This category ranks fourth on CBQ (Appendix C.2), with regional issues receiving more coverage than any other subject (conforming to CBQ's mandate to provide a regional voice/identity) (Appendix C.1). CBQ delegates 12.6 per cent of its total news content to this theme - the most of all the radio stations (39 minutes and 34

seconds). The average story length on CBQ is double that of the privately owned radio stations. CKPR designates the largest amount of time to this topic (49 minutes and 35 seconds), formulating 12.1 per cent of its total news programming - the second highest among all of the stations. Of the 106 crime and law enforcement stories on CKPR, 43 are locally oriented - the greatest number of all the stations - however, the average time of these stories is much less than CBQ at 27.93 seconds. CJSD and CJLB, on the other hand, both rank crime and law enforcement as the fourth most prominent theme on each station. CJSD allocates 10.3 per cent of its newscast (20 minutes and 11 seconds) to crime and law enforcement, with stories averaging 26.23 seconds. Similarly, the average crime and law enforcement story on CJLB averages 26.69 seconds. CJLB, broadcasts 18 minutes and 24 seconds of news related to this theme, totalling 9.7 per cent of the newscast - the lowest of all the stations.

The final primary theme on each of the radio stations is accidents and catastrophes. The theme of accidents and catastrophes varies amongst the radio stations. On CJLB, where this theme has the highest position of the four stations, it ranks second with just 38 stories. This theme occupies 10.8 per cent of the station's total news content (20 minutes and 16 seconds out of 187 minutes and 12 seconds), with a mean of 31.83 seconds per story. CKPR, on the other hand, broadcasts 84 accident and catastrophe related stories averaging 30.02 seconds. This topic ranks fourth on CKPR, formulating 42 minutes and 3 seconds or 10.3 per cent of the station's newscast. On CJSD and CBQ, accidents and catastrophes are positioned in fifth, with CJSD assigning 38 stories towards

this topic - totalling 18 minutes and 6 seconds or 9.3 per cent of its total newscast. The average length of an accident/catastrophe story on CJSD is 28.52 seconds, much less than the average story length on CBQ .

CBQ delegates 22 minutes and 30 seconds or 7.2 per cent of its total newscast to 27 accident and catastrophe stories (with 21 of the stories concentrating on local or regional content). The average story length on CBQ is 49.56 seconds, considerably longer than the time the privately owned stations allocate to this theme (Appendix C.3).

Under provincial news, CBQ has one story totalling 1 minute and 37 seconds. The one story on CJLB totals 15 seconds, and CKPR airs four stories worth 1 minute and 58 seconds (Appendix C.1). The differences among the times are significant considering the amount of the information that could be presented to the listener. For instance, during 1 minute and 37 seconds, the story could contain new developments, background information, and 'sound clips' of various perspectives from different sources; ultimately, better informing the listener. Comprehensive details as such, are not possible in short 15 second news stories. This trend is common in both the primary and secondary themes.

Secondary Themes:

The remaining 10 categories are referred to as secondary themes. Depending on the radio station, this section ranges from 29 to 41 per cent of the newscast. For instance, the primary themes for CBQ formulate 70 per cent of the stations newscast, hence, the remaining 28.9 per cent of the stations news content focus on secondary themes

(Appendix C.2). In regard to the privately owned radio stations, CKPR relies on secondary themes for 35 per cent of its content and 38 per cent of CJSD's news content consists of secondary news themes. CJLB airs the most secondary news themes with 40.5 per cent of the information coming from this division.

A number of differences occur among the secondary news themes. For instance, the environmental category occupies 6.9 per cent of CBQ's newscast (21 minutes and 49 seconds), ranking sixth (Appendix C.2). On CJLB, environmental stories occupy six per cent of the news - ranking eighth, and CJSD and CKPR both ranked this topic in ninth position - respectively allocating 4.7 and 4.2 per cent (9 minutes and 21 seconds and 17 minutes and 7 seconds) of their news content to this theme. The contrast among the stations is surprising considering that the cancellation of the Ontario spring bear hunt was a major issue during the sample period. As discussed in the next chapter, one reason for this is that many of the stories covering the spring bear hunt focus on the economic, rather than the environmental issues related to the bear hunt.

Among all the secondary themes, gambling made up the greatest contrast among the radio stations. This category ranks eighth on CBQ (3.9 per cent or 12 minutes and 7 seconds of its total news time), thirteenth on CJLB (1.9 per cent of its news content (3 minutes and 57 seconds)), fourteenth on CJSD (1.5 per cent or 3 minutes and 2 seconds of its news content) and fifteenth on CKPR (1.6 per cent or 6 minutes and 39 seconds of its content) - behind sports (Appendix C.2). In fact, CBQ ranks gambling five positions higher than CJLB, six greater than CJSD and seven positions higher than CKPR

(Appendix C.2). This is the only category in which CBQ has greater exposure in: (1) the number of stories, and (2) the time it assigns to the topic - suggesting that CBQ considers gambling to be a 'newsworthy' topic, whereas, the privately owned radio stations do not (Appendix C.1). One explanation may be that prior to the sample period, there was much public debate concerning whether the city of Thunder Bay should support the development of a government owned charity casino. This debate could have resulted in the private news media determining that the issue was no longer 'newsworthy'. There are other reasons, why this theme may have received less attention and these will be discussed in the next chapter.

The entertainment category is the seventh most popular theme on CJLB (6.5 per cent of the total newscast), whereas this theme ranks eighth on CJSD and CKPR (5.3 and 4.3 per cent of the news). CBQ, on the other hand, delegates two per cent of its news to entertainment - ranking the category tenth. In his book, *Trivia Pursuit: How Showbiz Values Are Corrupting the News*, Knowlton Nash addresses a shift in news. Nash states, "Increasingly, accidents, fires, murders, sexual oddities, natural disasters, *personality news* [italics added], how-to features, and pee-wee reports of political conflict make up the news, especially on local stations....If we continue our descent into triviality, most news stories will be shorter, simpler, less researched, and will run the risk of error and distortion by brevity" (1998, pp. 40-42). In this case, entertainment 'news' is used often by journalists because it is easily accessible through news wire services and is cheap to produce in comparison to investigative news stories. Indeed there is public demand for

'news' of this nature, but by drawing public attention to entertainment stories the media incite the demand for this type of information. In short, the news media set the agenda and this emphasis on trivial matters ultimately contributes, argues Nash, to a society that is ill-informed thus affecting their decision-making abilities.

Stories concerning charitable organizations receive a significant amount of air time. The theme of charity ranks in seventh position on CJSD (5.8 per cent of the new content), ninth on CJLB (four per cent), thirteenth on CKPR - designating 2.6 per cent of its content to this theme, and CBQ airs the least charitable content - the topic occurs in fourteenth position (1.1 per cent of its total news content) behind weather.

The last category, which differs significantly among the radio stations is weather.²² Weather frequently surfaces as a newsworthy topic on each of the radio stations occupying anywhere from 5.4 per cent of the newscast on CJLB, to 1.5 per cent on CBQ. As Appendix C.2 indicates, weather appears in ninth position on CJLB, eleventh on CJSD, twelfth on CKPR and thirteenth on CBQ. Although this theme may be fairly significant, one might question why there is so much contrast amongst the radio stations for this topic? For instance, the amount of time CJLB allocates towards this theme is much greater than any other station. One might speculate that this may be due to the station's far-reaching broadcast frequency and its previous mandate to increase regional content in Nipigon and Red Rock (CRTC, Decision 86-1137). As Appendix C.1

²² The local weather forecasts were not included in the total news time in this study. However, if there were weather stories within' the newscast they were categorized and their time was included in the study.

reveals, however, this is not the case as CJLB's regional weather content is similar to the three other stations. When analysing the whole newscast, local culture is portrayed primarily as interested in economics, health, politics, accidents and catastrophes, and crime and law enforcement. If the themes rank similarly locally, it could mean that the national media are setting the agenda for local content.

Local News:

As Appendix C.4 reveals, CJLB has the most local news of all the radio stations, delegating 58.5 per cent of its total newscast to local affairs. Almost 58 per cent of CJSD's newscast is local news, and CKPR trails with 40.5 per cent of local content. CBQ, on the other hand, has the least local news content of all the radio stations at 26.8 per cent, but its mandate is oriented towards regional and provincial issues (Grand 1998).

Local Primary Themes:

The primary themes, or top five categories, make up a great deal of what is considered to be local news. For instance, the local primary themes constitute 71.4 per cent of the local content on CBQ, 64.7 per cent on CJLB, 61.5 per cent on CJSD and 61 per cent on CKPR (Appendix C.5). Economics is the dominant local theme on all the radio stations (Appendix C.5). CBQ designates the greatest amount of time to this theme, making up 25.4 per cent of the station's local content. On the whole, CBQ broadcasts much less local news than the other stations, and the station only broadcasts 28 economic

stories (CJLB - 38 stories, CJSD - 44, and CKPR - 57). CJLB and CJSD follow CBQ, delegating 19.4 and 19.0 per cent of their local news content to economics, and CKPR has the least time allotted for local economic issues at 17.8 per cent.

All the radio stations in this sample broadcast over 13 minutes of local health news, the second most 'popular' topic on CBQ, CJLB, and CJSD. CBQ has the greatest percentage of local health stories (18.4 per cent). Approximately 13 per cent of CJLB's local news consists of themes related to health, and CJSD delegates 11.7 per cent of its local content to this topic. CKPR, on the other hand, allocates the most time to this topic (16 minutes and 55 seconds), but this formulates only 10.1 per cent of its local news content - placing the topic in fourth position for that station (Appendix C.5). The three private stations broadcast very little of the plight of health-care throughout Northwestern Ontario and the province (Appendix C.1). CBQ, in contrast, assigns a considerable amount of time to regional and provincial health-care issues (10 minutes and 25 and 14 minutes and 30 seconds respectively). The neglect of this topic on the privately owned radio stations during the sample period is shocking considering that the quality of health-care was a major political issue in the 1999 provincial election, however, the issue may have been discussed from another perspective (i.e., economic, political, etc...) resulting in less representation in this category.

Another popular theme among the radio stations is crime and law enforcement. CKPR allocates 12.8 per cent of its local news content to crime and law enforcement, however, this theme does not rank as highly on the three other radio stations (Appendix

C.5). Crime and law enforcement captures 9.2 per cent of the local news content on CJSD (sixth position), and 8.6 and 8.5 per cent on CJLB and CBQ (fifth position).

Considering CKPR delegates the most time towards local news, it is not surprising that the station designates more time to crime and law enforcement stories. However, the amount of time is three times that of CBQ (21 minutes and 5 seconds versus 7 minutes and 7 seconds), and double that of CJLB and CJSD. As a result, listeners, are exposed to more local crime and law enforcement content on CKPR than on any other radio station (Appendix C.1).

Education is an important theme locally. It ranks third on CKPR and CJSD, and fourth on CBQ and CJLB. This is significantly higher than its ranking in total news time (Appendix C.2). CKPR has the greatest local coverage in education, delegating 11 per cent of its local news content to this theme (18 minutes and 5 seconds) (Appendix C.5). CJSD allocates 10.8 per cent of its local content to this topic and CJLB broadcast 11 minutes and 26 seconds or 10.3 per cent of its local news content about local educational issues - placing the topic as the fourth greatest primary theme for this station. Out of all the stations, CBQ has the least local educational content, airing just 10 stories (formulating 7 minutes and 48 seconds of news or nine per cent of the local content). Conversely, CBQ reports more provincial educational issues than any other station.

Another primary theme locally is accidents and catastrophes. This topic ranks third on CJLB and CBQ, and fifth on CJSD and CKPR (Appendix C.5). Of all the radio stations, CJLB delegates the most local coverage to this theme (13.1 per cent of the

station's local content - 14 minutes and 28 seconds). CBQ delegates 8 minutes and 39 seconds towards 11 local stories regarding accidents and catastrophes - ranking the category third (10.1 per cent of the stations local news content). This theme ranks fifth on CJSD (9.9 per cent of its local news content (11 minutes and 29 seconds)) and CKPR, broadcasts more news stories regarding this topic than any other station. Nonetheless, this only makes up 9.3 per cent of CKPR's local news content (15 minutes and 23 seconds) - the lowest percentage of all the stations (Appendix C.5).

Stories concerning charity organizations occur on each of the radio stations. CJSD, however, is the only station that has this category as a primary theme, appearing in fourth. This theme consumes 11 minutes and 33 seconds of local news time, creating 10.1 per cent of the local news content (Appendix C.5). Appendix C.1 shows that all the charity stories on CJSD and CJLB are locally oriented, and although this theme ranks high on CJSD, charitable stories place sixth on CJLB, seventh on CKPR, and eleventh on CBQ. This indicates that the privately owned radio media consider this category to be important at a local level, whereas, CBQ does not regard this theme to be very 'newsworthy' (Appendix C.5). The main differences between the primary themes locally and for the whole newscast are that locally there is greater coverage of educational and charitable stories. There are some differences, however, between the secondary themes.

Local Secondary Themes:

Secondary themes do not form as much of the local news content as the primary

themes, however, they are significant because these topics contribute to agenda setting. Secondary themes range from 26.2 to 37.7 per cent of the content (Appendix C.5).²³ Seven secondary themes on CBQ formulate 26.2 per cent of the station's news content, whereas, nine themes comprise 32 per cent on CJLB, 36.3 per cent on CJSD, and 37.7 per cent on CKPR. In order to try and understand how radio stations in Thunder Bay construct local news, this section will analyse the differences among the local secondary themes.

One of the greatest differences among the secondary themes is gambling. CBQ designates 6 minutes and 54 seconds or 7.8 per cent of its local content to gambling, ranking the theme sixth (Appendix C.5). The gambling stories on CBQ tend to focus on the moral, political and economic impetus behind the development of a provincially owned charity casino, whereas, the private radio stations do not discuss these issues to as great of an extent. CJLB and CJSD place little emphasis on the topic of gambling (accounting for 3.3 per cent of CJLB's, and 2.7 per cent of CJSD's local news content - ranking ninth and eleventh respectively). CKPR, on the other hand, broadcasts only 6 minutes and 5 seconds (3.7 per cent of the station's local content - ranking tenth), 49 seconds less than CBQ (Appendix C.5). CBQ even delegates 5 minutes and 13 seconds towards the topic provincially, whereas, aside from one 34 second story on CKPR, the privately owned radio media chose to neglect this issue (Appendix C.1).

The theme of charity also varies amongst the four radio stations. For the purpose

²³ The percentages do not equal 100 per cent because of rounding.

of this study, a charitable story was defined as a story which focussed on non-profit organizations. For instance, a story concerning the United Way of Thunder Bay and its fund-raising efforts would be classified as a local charity theme. The theme charity appears as a primary local topic on CJSD - ranking fourth and constituting 10.1 per cent of the station's total local news content (11 minutes and 33 seconds) (Appendix C.5). Charity is a secondary theme for the other radio stations ranking sixth on CJLB (designating 6.9 per cent of its local news content to this theme), and seventh on CKPR (formulating 6.2 per cent (10 minutes and 27 seconds) of its local content). CBQ delegates the least time to this category (2.4 per cent or 2 minutes and 4 seconds of the local news) - ranking the topic in tenth position. Analysing the amount of time allocated to each of these themes reveals what topics the journalists feel are important to the community. The common primary themes for the whole newscast and the local portion are economics, health, crime and law enforcement, and accidents and catastrophes. One topic that falls into the primary ranking when analysing the whole newscast is politics. Locally, the themes of charity and education also appear, whereas politics does not. These topics provide insight as to what the local radio news media deem important at a local level, however, this does not explain how local culture is constructed. For this, critical analysis of the stories is required. First, here are the results from analysing the sources and identifying repeat stories.

Sources:

The people who provide information for the news stories are referred to as sources. There are six categories of sources: (1) corporate representatives/entrepreneurs, (2) political and bureaucratic officials, (3) community and labour organizations, (4) citizens and victims, (5) journalists, and (6) specialists/experts (Appendix C.6). CKPR utilizes the most sources (1,113), followed by CBQ (674), CJSD (595), and CJLB (492). CKPR also has the greatest number of stories, therefore, this explains in part why the station has the most sources (Appendix C.6). The sources of the information are important because they reveal if there is a diverse range of perspectives heard on radio newscasts. This section will determine which sources are referred to most often.

CBQ refers to corporate representatives and entrepreneurs more than any other station. Over seven per cent of the station's sources are derived from corporate representatives and entrepreneurs, whereas, this category only makes up between 3.8 and 4.8 per cent on the privately owned stations. CBQ also relies upon political and bureaucratic officials, and specialists and experts more than the other stations. In contrast, of all the stations, CBQ depends the least on citizens, victims and journalists as news sources ('second-hand information'). Unquestionably, by drawing upon 'official' or professional sources more than 'second-hand' sources, CBQ is attempting to reproduce the 'authentic' facts of the story. The private radio stations, on the other hand, tend to emphasize sources from different categories.

All the private radio stations rely greatly on journalists as news sources and they

rely little on information from specialists and experts. In fact, approximately 70 per cent of the sources utilized on the privately owned stations are journalists (Appendix C.6). Much of this may result from the journalists' reliance on news wire services to supply news (i.e., the Broadcast News Wire Service). Journalists are often presented as 'official' sources of information, rather than 'second-hand' providers of information. Out of the privately owned radio stations, CJLB makes the greatest reference to journalists as news sources (71.7 per cent), followed by CKPR with 71 per cent and CJSJ with 69.9 per cent. In addition, the privately owned radio stations utilize a similar amount of specialists and experts (CKPR - 1.9 per cent, CJSJ - 1.8 per cent, and CJLB - 1.6 per cent).

The privately owned stations also depend upon citizens or victims as sources more often than CBQ. Once again, the three stations have a similar number of references (CJSJ - six per cent, CJLB - 5.6 per cent, and CKPR - 5.2 per cent) (Appendix C.6). CBQ relies on the opinions of citizens or victims the least of all, using these views for only 4.2 per cent of all its stories. Similarly, the privately owned radio stations also have a comparable number of sources regarding political/bureaucratic officials, trailing CBQ.

The private stations relied upon journalists, and citizens and victims to verify story details, whereas, CBQ used corporate representatives and entrepreneurs, politicians and bureaucratic officials, and specialists and experts to a greater extent. Furthermore, the amount of references to the sources on the privately owned radio stations is fairly consistent for each category indicating that there is not great variety of perspectives on these stations.

Duplication of Stories:

In order to try and identify how local culture is constructed, it is important to distinguish if stories are duplicated or 'repeated' in order to determine whether the community receives a diverse range of information and perspectives. For this study, a duplicate story is a news story which has identical 'voice clips' from news sources (i.e., experts, professionals, etc...), or a story which does not have voice clips but is indistinguishable from a story on another or on the same radio station. A story, in this case, is recorded as a duplicate if its words are identical (in other words, a story is a duplicate if it was already mentioned). Although stories were carried over from one day to the next, these stories were not recorded as duplicate stories on consecutive sample days (i.e., Monday, and Tuesday), in order to maintain a consistent measurement pattern.

Appendix C.7 indicates the number of duplicate news stories for each radio station. For instance, CBQ had 19 stories that the radio station aired more than once, two stories that aired on CJLB and CJSD, four stories that appeared on CKPR, and one news story that was synonymous with all the radio stations. As a result, out of the total 333 stories broadcast on CBQ during the 16 day sample period, 28 stories were duplicates. Nineteen per cent of the stories broadcast on CBQ, in this case, were 'repeat news stories' which did not provide the audience with any new information or perspectives.

With regard to duplicate stories, CBQ repeats its 'own' news stories more than the other stations, however, rarely does it have stories in common with the privately owned radio stations. For instance, out of the 333 stories that aired on CBQ, two duplicate

stories occurred on CJLB, two were broadcast on CJSD, and four aired on CKPR.

Coincidentally, all four radio stations broadcast one duplicate story.

CJLB, in contrast, aired its 'own' content 13 times from a total of 329 stories (Appendix C.7). The radio station had 57 stories in common with CJSD, 40 identical stories with CKPR, two stories in common with CBQ, and one on all stations.

Astonishingly, 81 duplicate stories appeared on the three privately owned radio stations.

In other words, almost a quarter of CJLB's newscast consisted of duplicate stories constituting 24.6 per cent of CJLB's newscast. Combined, CJLB broadcasted 194 duplicate stories which formed 58.9 per cent of CJLB's news content for the sample.

CJSD had the second highest number of duplicate stories, totalling 222 or 57.2 per cent of the station's news content (Appendix C.7). Two stories on CBQ, 57 stories with CJLB and 68 stories on CJSD were identical to stories broadcast on CKPR. CJSD only repeated 13 of its own stories and of the 222 duplicate stories, 81 appear on all the privately owned radio stations, formulating 20.8 per cent of CJSD's news content.

Out of 734 stories on CKPR, 244 were duplicates - formulating 33.2 per cent of the station's news content (Appendix C.7). This is fewer than the number of duplicate stories on CJLB and CJSD. Eighty-one stories appeared on all three of the privately owned radio stations (CJLB, CJSD, and CKPR), and one story was broadcast on each of the radio stations in this sample. The number of duplicate stories rebroadcast on CKPR totalled 50, whereas, the station had 68 stories that also appeared on CJSD. In addition to those stories, CKPR shared 40 stories with CJLB. This resulted in CKPR having the

most repeat stories, but the lowest percentage of duplicate stories. In sum, the privately owned stations aired more 'repeat' stories than CBQ. In this case, no new information and the same perspectives would have been presented.

Conclusion:

The news is important because it provides the public with a summary of the day's most important events. Audiences expect the news to be recent, unbiased, and provide diversity. By emphasizing one topic over another, the media 'set the agenda' regarding what is important for the local community. The primary themes for the four radio stations in Thunder Bay form the majority of each radio station's news content, however, secondary themes are also significant (Appendices C.2 and C.5).

With regards to the research question, 'Based upon a reading of radio news broadcasts in Thunder Bay, how is 'local culture' constructed by the news media?' - the radio media identify the following themes as important to the local community: economics, health, education, accidents and catastrophes, crime and law enforcement, politics and charity related stories (Appendices C.2 and C.5). These themes appear regularly in all newscasts, but there are differences among the topics on each radio station - specifically, in the amount of time each radio outlet allocates for particular topics.

When referring to the amount of time each radio station delegates towards a number of themes, consistencies exist among the four radio stations. There is a difference, nonetheless, in how CBQ, and to a lesser extent CJLB, prioritize topics in

comparison to CJSD and CKPR. Appendix C.2 reveals that CBQ discussed economic, health and gambling issues much more than the privately owned radio stations, whereas, CKPR delegated a substantial amount of time to politics. In addition, the private radio stations air more entertainment and charity related stories. At a local level, CBQ designates more time to stories rooted in economics, health, and gambling, while all the private radio stations dedicated more time towards charitable stories (Appendix C.5). Lastly, CKPR discusses local political stories more than any other station.

The average story length is greater on CBQ than on the three privately owned radio stations (Appendix C.3). The quality of information on the private stations, as a result, is jeopardized. With brief stories journalists do not have the time to deliver background information, provide in-depth analysis, or cover diverse viewpoints. This lowers the quality of information broadcast to the listener.

Another factor which has an impact on the quality of information is the amount of duplicate stories. A substantial number of duplicate stories on a radio station means that there is little diversity in the news. The station with the greatest amount of duplication is CJLB, rehashing 58.9 per cent of its stories (Appendix C.7). CJSD and CKPR trail, duplicating 57.2 and 33.2 per cent of their stories respectively and CBQ repeats 19 per cent of its stories. Considering one of the stipulations outlined by the CRTC with reference to the LMA between Newcap Broadcasting (the owner of CJLB) and CJSD Inc. (the owner of CJSD and CKPR) refers specifically to preserving separate news entities, one must question if the high percentage of duplicate stories conforms to the

bureaucracy's guidelines and more importantly, does the amount of duplication serve the community's best interest (CRTC, Public notice 95-204)? Unfortunately, although the CRTC makes these guidelines with the interest of preserving local content, they have no means of monitoring the quality of news information aside from public opinion.

This chapter has revealed what the radio stations define as important local topics and it answers questions concerning whether the public receives a diverse range of perspectives and information (based on sources used in the news and the amount of stories that are duplicated). To determine how local culture is constructed, the stories must be critically analysed using structuralist and instrumentalist perspectives.

Chapter 4: Constructing the “Local” in News Coverage II:

A Qualitative Content Analysis of the News in Thunder Bay.

*“The health of society depends upon the quality of information it receives.”
- Walter Lippman*

Introduction:

‘Freedom of the press’ or media, is one of the fundamental principles of democracy. Realistically, however, does freedom of the press exist? As Ben Bagdikian indicates, “Ownership biases are not obvious because they are part of normal daily rapid decision-making and rarely is the owner personally present” (1987, p. 18). The process of manipulating news content is subtle and community members are often not aware of these practices. Journalists encounter a number of factors that determine if a story is ‘newsworthy’; for instance, structural, political, historical and economic forces (Gans 1979). These factors influence the quality of news and when they are used to restrict content, the public is denied information that may contribute to knowledgeable decisions.²⁴ In a newsroom these structural, political, historical and economic forces are omnipresent and the degree of emphasis on each element varies depending upon the journalist’s perspectives or motives. An abundance of news media with multiple owners in a community can prevent the homogenization of news, since media sources continuously scrutinize each other. For a democracy to work optimally, multiple news

²⁴ In this case, a high ‘quality’ is regarded as having a diverse range of perspectives and information (i.e., duplicate stories), and having various journalistic opinions presented in the news. In other words, the more opportunity the listener has to hear a diverse range of perspectives and greater information improves the quality of news for the community.

sources are imperative. In a 'monopolistic setting' it is questionable if this scrutiny occurs as competition does not exist. This affects the quality of the news information citizens receive. Until now, a number of elements have been addressed in this study. Chapter one explains the intent of this study and it discusses two popular theories for explaining why news is constructed accordingly. Chapter two answers the question, how did the current ownership structure develop? The quantitative analysis in chapter three reveals: (1) what themes do the radio stations identify as important locally, (2) who are the sources that tend to 'validate' stories, and (3) do the local radio stations provide citizens with a diverse range of perspectives and stories? Through critical analysis and by analysing some news stories, this chapter will reveal how structural, economic, historical and political forces in a 'monopolistic setting' may affect the quality of local news.

Factors that Influence Local Radio News:

As discussed in chapter one, there are two dominant theories to determine how news is created: structuralism and instrumentalism. Structuralism argues that organizational roles and marketing dynamics determine news content. Instrumentalism, on the other hand, argues that the mass media serve to maintain the powerful positions of the owners. William Domhoff (1970, p. 113) indicates that the power elite (in this case, the owners) is a group of people that have similar interests, concerns and the ability to shape legislation and policies because of the magnitude of their group interests. The

power elite is not a homogeneous group, however, within it there is a common underlying interest: to preserve its power and status. The mass media is one important structure in the capitalist system that preserves the power elites hegemony (Parenti 1986, p. 3).

Bagdikian (1987, pp. 90-101) states that mass media owners and politicians have a reciprocal relationship that provides politicians with favourable reviews in exchange for support on 'business practices'. In return, Bagdikian asserts that media owners get government 'favours'. This happens at both the national and local levels.

“The desire for governmental favours is not limited to large media corporations. That was just as true of independent local owners. The difference is in the magnitude of desire and the magnitude of power...It is in that power - to treat some subjects briefly and obscurely but others repetitively and in-depth, or to take initiatives unrelated to external events - where ownership interests most effectively influence the news” (Bagdikian 1987, pp. 11-18).

In a setting where one individual controls much of the broadcast media, politicians must be sympathetic to the owner's perspectives and/or interests to receive favourable coverage. In short, media owners have a lot of power because of their ability to subtly shape news content. In the case under analysis here, one person owns and controls much of the broadcast media - what I have referred to as a monopoly-like or near-monopoly situation.

As people learn of their community events through the news media, they are susceptible to the beliefs and ideologies of those who own the media. The powerful

business owners do not have to dictate their beliefs but, rather, can achieve the desired results through intimidation (Domhoff 1970, p. 127). Parenti states "... the [media] owners exercise control through the power to hire and fire, to promote and demote anyone they want and by regularly intervening directly into the news production process with verbal and written directives" (1986, pp. 19-20). It is clear then that wealthy media owners do not have to explicitly specify their opinions to their employees for each newsworthy issue because their status alone allows control over news content.

According to the instrumentalist approach, ownership affects news content and, as a result, local culture. Chapter one establishes that owners have power over local content through administrative control. Gate-keeping, hiring practices, the emphasis on technology, the number of journalists employed and the actual space accessible in the building for the development of news content all influence the quality of news content. Administration is one element that has an impact on news content. Ownership's historical, political and economic characteristics' also influences how news content is created.

Historically, if unbiased, factual and in-depth reporting is significant to ownership, journalists will be forced to conform to these standards, likewise, if the ownerships' reporting standards are low. When speaking in reference to cross-media monopolies, Hackett, Pinet and Ruggles (1996) agree that the emphasis owner's have traditionally placed on news can influences the quality of the content,

"Why spend money on more reporters or better researched stories if you already

reach the whole market? One-newspaper towns are dependent on the extent to which the local paper's owners take their journalistic responsibilities seriously...Cross-media ownership may have economic benefits through cross-subsidies and the sharing of resources and management skills between two or more media outlets, but some studies show a significant loss of quality and diversity in the news product in cross-media monopolies. Further dangers include the excessive concentration of power within the community, and the especially chilling impact on independent journalism if newswriters have few alternative employers within a region" (263).

In short, the owners' historical commitment towards high quality local news is significant as it creates an environment that inspires reporters. Another factor that affects the news caliber is owners' political affiliations.

Political affiliations between ownership and various political parties can influence how local news is broadcast. These relationships may not be obvious to the listener because they are seldom explicitly stated, however, journalists often get a sense of what the 'suitable' political associations are. In this case, Fraser Dougall and his companies, having funded political associations at the federal and provincial levels of government, may contribute to bias in news content (Elections Canada 2001; Elections Ontario 2000; "Let", 1997, p. A3; O'Kelly 1978).

Lastly, as Olien, Tichenor and Donohue (1988) point out, local news content on independently owned media are vulnerable to economic forces, comparable to, if not

greater than, news produced in large corporate owned media. To gain an understanding how local news is affected by ownership, a number of examples will be discussed.

Ownership as a Structural and Economic Force in Local News:

During the sample period of this study, one story arose on CBQ regarding a company from Thunder Bay that was suing the provincial P.C. government. Fraser Dougall, as president of the company, CHC North Inc. - a company which had permission to operate charity gaming casino's in Thunder Bay, Saulte Ste. Marie, Sudbury, North Bay, Ottawa and other Ontario cities - discussed the lawsuit on CBQ ("Let", 1997, p. A3). Dougall's own radio and television stations and weekly newspaper, however, neglected the story, as did Newcap's CJLB radio station, a station that shares newsroom facilities with Dougall's radio stations. Furthermore, the daily newspaper in Thunder Bay, the *Chronicle-Journal*, ignored the story as well. Considering the story broke late in the afternoon on Tuesday, February 2, 1999, it would have been understandable if the privately owned media would have broadcast the story the following day, or if it would have been printed in the next issue of each of the newspapers but this did not occur.

Although CBQ deemed this topic newsworthy, the privately owned media failed to cover the story concerning Dougall's litigation with the provincial government. This story could be regarded as newsworthy because it involved a prestigious, local entrepreneur who employs hundreds of people in Thunder Bay (see chapter two) (Mills

1996, p.21). In fact, these achievements coupled with the debate that surrounded the privatization of casinos in Ontario - including the casino in Thunder Bay - made the topic important not only locally, but provincially as well. However, the larger audiences that listen, watch and read the privately owned media, were denied the information. In addition, these local news outlets feed news to the larger provincial and national media. If the local media in a monopolistic setting choose to neglect a story, the national media will not have any information to cover the issue either. As Winter (1997) and Herman and Chomsky (1988) indicate, 'media barons' who own international and national media have the power to influence news content in large news agencies. One may question if this is also relevant locally, as news content can be manipulated by its owners in an effort to protect the wealthy elite's power and position.

News quality is also affected by the owner's expectations of their employees. These can be communicated explicitly (i.e., in memo form or verbally communicated) or implicitly (i.e., unwritten). For instance, in a memo discussing the protocol for broadcasting public complaints concerning the Thunder Bay's radio station CKPR, a manager states,

"If a caller looking to get on a talk show has something to say regarding the programming of the station, be it a comment on the music, a promotion, a commercial, or anything else...do not let this caller on the air. Instead direct them to call me on my direct line,...If a caller says he or she will be talking about one thing but then goes to air talking about something else, that can be sign that the

caller has set us up, be ready to dump the call in an instant. If the caller lies his way to get on the show and starts to complain about station programming, be it the music, a promotion or a commercial...it is up to the host to cut the caller off..." (CKPR 1998).

If people will not be allowed to express their opinions on an editorial talk show, certainly, people will not be given the opportunity to address media barons alternative business undertakings that may affect local communities.

It is difficult to identify ownership restrictions through content analysis, but journalists have revealed occasions in which they feel ownership has influenced news content.²⁵ One example of this occurred in New Brunswick where the Irving family owns all but one daily newspaper, in addition to numerous television and radio stations (MacIsaac 1994, p. 72). Scott Webster, a former employee who worked for one of the Irving newspapers, says that although the Irvings offered a hands-off policy on news content, there was an unwritten policy which the journalists were forced to operate under, "It was never a rule, it was kind of an unspoken thing...If there was anything involving the Irvings - a strike or something - you could write about it, but you took care to write about it in a positive manner. Our editor was quite strict about that" (qtd. in MacIsaac 1994, p. 70). Although stories about media barons and their business holdings may be

²⁵ To help identify the degree of limitations placed on journalist's through ownership, and to better understand what is 'local', following approval from Lakehead University's Ethics Advisory Committee, a request was placed with CJSD Inc. to conduct interviews with their journalist's and to perform participant observation. Although the news directors and a number of journalists' from CJSD Inc. and Newcap Broadcasting agreed to participate in the study, management of CJSD Inc. denied this request.

discussed in the media, for journalists these are sensitive issues that must be handled positively otherwise it could jeopardize their career. During this study, one sensitive issue, may have been the Thunder Bay Charity Casino.

One notable trend in this study was how the reporters on CJSD, CJLB, and CKPR reported the 'Thunder Bay Charity Casino'. Throughout the study, the privately owned radio stations did not refer to the casino as a 'charity' casino. Not once was the casino's actual name used in its entirety. When reporters made reference to the casino, it was described as a 'government owned' or a 'government run casino'. CBQ, in contrast, made reference to the charitable aspect of the casino repeatedly. Whether ownership and management explicitly advised the reporters on the privately owned radio stations to neglect the charity aspect is unknown. What seems peculiar is that the three privately owned stations share this commonality. Another possibility is (similar to how Scott Webster spoke about addressing stories regarding the Irvings), that reporters on the private stations may have been cautious when referring to the charity casino because Dougall was president of CHC North Inc. (the corporate entity responsible for building a casino in Thunder Bay, prior to the provincial government's re-evaluation of privately owned casinos in Ontario). In either case, whether the message was explicitly or implicitly conveyed to the journalists, the news stories about the charity casino appear editorialized with the intent of misleading or persuading public opinion. This is not to say that Dougall himself directs journalists how to report stories, but that reporters are cautious when discussing sensitive topics that involve ownership.

Media owners also have the ability to control or manipulate local news content by hiring people who have similar values to their own (Nash 1998, p. 136). Journalists' perspectives may not always coincide with the owner's, but hiring reporters with similar beliefs means that when stories are presented to the public, the basic principles will coincide with their bosses'. Owners, as a result, do not have to dictate what position reporters should take for every story. The ability to control story content is crucial especially when one entrepreneur owns a number of broadcast media in one community. If story messages are presented harmoniously, the media can reinforce each other - causing the message to appear accurate, truthful and the only logical explanation available to the community. Of course, if a reporter wishes to risk their employment, he or she could air a story that contradicts the owner's beliefs. In Thunder Bay, however, the chance of being rehired by another media outlet such as the CBQ or the *Chronicle-Journal* newspaper, is unlikely as those companies continue to eliminate full-time positions ("CBC", 2000, pp. 11-15; CBQT, 1999, 7:30 a.m.; Majeed 1999).

Another trend in this study is the lack of investigative reporting. As MacIsaac discusses (1994, pp. 68-76), in monopoly-like markets news editors or directors are not encouraged to conduct in-depth investigative reporting and if they choose to do so, unemployment could be the end result. According to Knowlton Nash (1998, p. 159), there are two reasons why news facilities discourage in-depth reporting: (1) a larger staff is required and this adds to costs, and (2) the current goal or trend in news reporting is to please listeners and minimize those offended thus avoiding legal repercussions. In other

words, media entrepreneurs discourage investigative reporting because of the economic liabilities associated with gathering the news.

As media entrepreneurs aspire for greater profit, they emphasize the development of technology. The construction of local news content is not immune to economic forces as the goal is to produce news more economically. Often, this means replacing employees rather than facilitating the development of local news. As journalists are replaced by technology - which delivers global and national news - the amount of local content decreases. Nash (1998, pp. 40-41) argues that a reduction in reporters causes cheaply produced sensational stories such as accidents, fires, murders and sexual oddities to become the norm. The consequences of technology in radio broadcasting, therefore, are twofold: (1) the public receives less in-depth local news coverage, and (2) as news positions are terminated, the workload increases for the remaining journalists causing news stories to be repeated on a variety of stations with a homogeneous perspective.

As a greater emphasis is placed on technology, staff shortages occur. Staff shortages' account for reporters appearing on each of the privately owned radio stations (see Appendix D). In a television interview, former MP Iain Angus stated that news reporters were not committed to one particular station, rather they can be heard through pre-recorded newscasts on each of the privately owned stations (Majeed 1999). The result, is lack of diversity. The data in Appendix D supports Angus' accusations. During the 4 p.m. newscast, one reporter can often be heard reading an identical newscast on a variety of stations. For example, Vic Krasowski (news director for CKPR and CJSD)

could occasionally be heard on all of the privately owned stations, including CJLB - a station that is obligated by the CRTC to have 'distinguishable news voices' and separate news services from CJSD Inc. In fact, from the study's 16 day sample, this occurred 14 times. During these newscasts, the reporter identified himself as originating from the respective newsroom, but, aside from minor changes, the newscasts were identical with the same stories, sources and reports. Angus' allegations are reinforced further when journalists provide an 'on the scene' commentary. Regularly the same report was broadcast on all three privately owned stations, providing the listener with little diversity. Lastly, one reporter would often broadcast all the newscasts for their respective station for the whole day. As a result, homogenization of news does occur because the audience receives their news from one or two reporters who use a large number of duplicate stories. This is not in the public's best interest as a diverse range of perspectives are required to formulate knowledge.

The CRTC's policies fail to address this issue surrounding diversity because the only news content requirement in the LMA is that Newcap and CJSD Inc. must have 'distinguishable news voices' (CRTC, Public notice 95-204). There is no clear definition by the CRTC, however, as to what 'distinguishable news voices' are. Literally, this can refer to the number of news reporters employed at the radio stations, or the phrase could imply that a range of sources must be utilized in the news. Nonetheless, the data indicates that there does seem to be reporting trends on the privately owned radio stations which support the theory that there is homogenization of local news content.

In previous decisions by the CRTC (for example, see Decision 74-411), the administration discouraged radio stations from using computer automation. Over time, the CRTC began to tolerate computer automation, but the body failed to understand how their lenient policies would affect the quality of news information. In Thunder Bay, the result of the change in policies is that one reporter prepares and records the newscast well in advance for one or more stations. For example, on February 24 and 25, CJSD and CJLB each had one reporter reading the station's 8 a.m., 12 p.m. and 4 p.m. newscasts. This is possible due to computer automation.

Although, pre-recorded newscasts are convenient for reporters and economical for owners, their implications are significant. For example, immediacy or currency is lost as a reporter's working hours determine whether or not there is current local news. This occurred on Thursday, February 25, 1999. For the second straight day, Julie Buckingham, a reporter with CJSD, recorded the newscasts in advance (Appendix D). Since her shift began around 4 a.m., she was not working when a special news report broke later that afternoon. In an attempt to provide details of a fire that occurred at a local high school, news director Vic Krasowski added a special news report feature following Buckingham's sportscast. Historically, a news breaking story was always the first item in the report, but due to technology this was not possible. In this case, technological advancement did not improve immediacy but delayed it. Furthermore, by adding a special report immediately after the sports and by having the unusual occurrence of two reporters host the news, the news agencies' credibility diminishes.

On CJLB, a less obvious approach was used to air this story. As news director John Haley completed his shift, to get this story on CJLB, Vic Krasowski interrupted John Haley's pre-recorded 4 p.m. newscast and inserted the news breaking story following Haley's lead story. Moreover, CKPR's news anchor during the 4 p.m. newscast was Vic Krasowski himself. Fortunately, there was no loss of human life or injury caused by the high school fire, but this example corresponds with the Radio-Television News Directors Association and Knowlton Nash's view that, "...most news directors use the new technology to cut costs, 'not as a way to enhance the quality of journalism'" (1998, p. 186). The advancement of technology and lack of government regulation towards it has led to fewer employees for news gathering and ultimately, greater homogeneity in local news content. In short, in relation to ownership, there are numerous structural and economic problems that influence how local news content is constructed. Similarly, historical and political forces have an impact on local news content.

Ownership as a Historical and Political Force in Local News:

A century ago, radio had the ability to influence people's actions. There were many debates concerning who should own the media (Nash 1994). Today, the medium still has the power to influence people, but the various bureaucracies which have been responsible for governing the industry have slowly deregulated. This deregulation has given owners greater control over content and, one could argue, over people's actions.

The amount of emphasis owners have historically placed on local news can influence how journalists report news content. The owners may not intend to manipulate news content, but as MacIsaac (1994, pp. 68-76) reveals, the owner's power and position often does affect how stories are reported. As a result, to clearly define how the radio stations construct local culture, the historical and political forces that the journalists experience must be explained.

As established earlier, broadcasting news content is an expensive venture which owners try to minimize through technology. Upgrading technology is thought to improve efficiency and profitability, however, it acts as a double-edged sword for the remote communities in Northwestern Ontario. On one hand, the small markets have greater access to information from larger cosmopolitan centres and on the other, the news that the technology brings, often replaces local content. In 1984, CKPR and CJSD were the first radio stations in Canada to receive Broadcast News (BN) service by satellite. Although it is unknown if the company terminated any positions, CJSD instantly started providing national and international news on an hourly basis. Program director, Ian Topple said, "the combination of quality news voices on a quality delivery system makes the station sound even more authoritative...the station's news image 'has gone up 150% thanks to BN'" (qtd. in BN Report 1985, p 4). News director Paul Cross said, "the stations [CJSD and CKPR] went to satellite delivery of audio because news is an integral part of programming. He [Paul Cross] credits company president H. Fraser Dougall with pushing for satellite reception of BN Audio" (qtd in *BN Report* 1985, p. 4).

Another example of how technology has historically affected news content occurred in 1995 when CJSJ Inc. and Newcap entered a LMA (see chapter two). Numerous employees were laid-off. One may surmise that reductions in the number of news reporters will lead to fewer stories and less diversity of opinion in the local news.

Political affiliations between owners and political candidates have an effect on how journalists approach newsworthy issues at the local level. As MacIsaac (1994, pp. 68-76) indicates, reporters have an 'intuition' about how to report sensitive topics which may conflict with the owner's beliefs. Cory O'Kelly (1978) acknowledges this problem in Thunder Bay. He states that because radio, television and print media should attempt to be fair, publically endorsing and financing candidates should not be permitted. O'Kelly raised this issue with Fraser Dougall in 1978 and Dougall replied, "I don't think there is an election gone by that I haven't donated to a party or a candidate" (O'Kelly 1978). During this interview, Dougall identified what candidates and parties he supported, "Asked if he [Dougall] had supported NDP candidate [sic] Jim Foulds or Iain Angus, [sic] replied: "Definitely not - on that you can rely" (O'Kelly 1978). Even in the most recent elections Dougall has continued to provide contributions to certain political candidates.

During the 2000 national election, Dougall's companies (CJSJ Inc. and Hill Street Financial Services Inc.) made contributions to provincial candidates: Joe Commuzzi (Liberal), and Doug McGuinn (P.C.) for Thunder Bay-Superior North, and to Stan Dromisky (Liberal) and Rick Potter (P.C.) for the Thunder Bay-Atikokan ridings

(Elections Canada 2001). Provincially, Dougall's companies contributed funds to the following candidates for the 1999 provincial election: Ed Linkewich (P.C.), and Michael Gravelle (Liberal) - for the Thunder Bay Superior North riding, and to John Henderson (P.C.) representing Thunder Bay-Atikokan (Elections Ontario 2000). To reiterate MacIsaac (1994, pp. 68-74), this is important because journalists are cautious when reporting stories that attract their owner's attention.

Constructing Local Culture:

Chapter three reveals the various themes that the radio stations covered between January 15, 1999 and March 15, 1999. From the data analysis, it is obvious that as Herman and Chomsky (1988) point out, the international and national media outlets do influence the news agenda for small local media. Stories, such as the International Olympic Committee's 2002 Salt Lake games bidding scandal and Bill Clinton's sex scandal regularly appear on the local radio stations. The vast amount of media coverage these topics receive internationally and nationally, deems them as newsworthy issues at a local level. Furthermore, often provincial, national or international stories will 'spin-off' a similar story with a local perspective. Locally, the media perceive the public as craving this information and reporters see it as their job, primarily, to determine what stories local residents want to hear.

The structuralist approach argues that market dynamics influence what is considered 'newsworthy'. In this case, because of different musical formats, each station

has a different target audience. One would expect, as a result, various perspectives on a story and a diverse range of stories to be reported. As revealed in Appendix C.7 the number of repeated stories on the privately owned stations is high. The public clearly does not receive a heterogeneous mix of perspectives. There are a number of distinct local stories, nonetheless, that frequently appear in the news. This section will analyse some popular local topics, exposing what journalists perceive to be important to local residents and suggest how journalists define local culture.

One reappearing topic was the Ontario Provincial Government's cancellation of the spring bear hunt. The bear hunt was cancelled on January 15, 1999 and the story was omnipresent throughout the study period. According to the local media, the bear hunt was finally cancelled after years of protest from environmentalists. Initially, the media took the position that the spring bear hunt was cancelled because of environmentalist propaganda - as environmentalist groups displayed images of orphaned bear cubs caused by slaughtered mother bears. After the provincial government hinted at calling an election the media implied that the cancellation of the hunt was due to the political climate, "...and he [Bryan Dixtra - a member of the Fish and Wildlife Advisory Board] feels the resource [bear population] is too fragile to be governed by what he calls, political winds" (CBQT, January 29, 1999, 4:30 p.m.). Although the media frequently imply that politics had a part in the government's decision to cancel the hunt, the radio stations' generally present the cancellation of the hunt as a celebrated event in Southern Ontario and an attack on Northern Ontario.

In short, the radio stations present the government as succumbing to pressures from 'environmentalist' groups without ever identifying the environmentalist groups. In addition, the environmentalist groups are displayed as a homogenous entity from Southern Ontario. Most of these stories refer to and contain a voice-clip of a wildlife outfitter and a politician, but there are few testimonials from environmental groups or local people who favoured prohibition of the hunt. Furthermore, a number of the stories focus on the economic loss this region will experience. The negative repercussions of the cancellation of the bear hunt, as a result receive more media attention than the ethical and environmental issues that motivated those opposed to the hunt.

In one story addressing the cancellation of the hunt and what it means to outfitters, an entrepreneur stated, "The next thing it's gonna be moose hunting, deer hunting and fishing, pretty soon we won't be able to do anything" (CJLB, January 15, 1999, 4 p.m.). This statement suggests that the bear hunt, then, is another example of "freedom fighting Northerners" struggling to maintain democracy. The radio station reinforced this ideology by presenting the issue as a battle between 'us' and 'them' ('us' representing the hunters and small business people of the North and 'them' being the anti-hunting advocates and dictatorial politicians from the South). Because the radio stations aired the outfitter's statement without any opposition, it intensified the North versus South dispute which is already prevalent in the region.

This North versus South theme is common to each of the radio stations, but it is reported on in a subtle manner. In another example, the reporter said, "The Bear

Alliance, a Toronto-based animal rights group, welcomes the banning of a spring tradition that attracts hunters from United States and Europe as well” (CJLB, January 15, 1999, 8 a.m.). The location of the Bear Alliance’s office had no relevance to the story, nor did it improve the content of the story. The radio stations, nonetheless, presented the story as if everyone in Northern Ontario supports the hunt - an image that is inaccurate.

Only once was there an image of local residents supporting the cancellation of the spring bear hunt. On January 22, each of the radio stations reported that the Mayor of Thunder Bay promotes the banning of the bear hunt because he considers it to be unsportsmanlike. The stories on CBQ, CJSD and CJLB primarily focussed on the Mayor’s personal opinion and they addressed the Mayor’s concern about the outfitters’ loss of revenue. In an attempt to localize this story even more, on CKPR, the reporter stated, “Boshcoff admits though, he worries about more nuisance bears coming into the city with the cancellation of the hunt” (January 22, 1999, 5 p.m.).

Usually, the stories on the cancellation of the bear hunt focussed on the economic difficulties outfitters will experience, “Four hundred small tourist operators and another 400 guides across the North, depend on the spring bear hunt for a significant portion of their incomes” (CJSD, January 15, 1999, 8 a.m.). Another story stated that “Ontario has one of the largest bear populations in North America, and it’s estimated at 75,000 to 100,000” (CKPR, January 15, 1999, 5 p.m.). Claiming Ontario has North America’s largest bear population and providing an actual number insinuates that there is a surplus of bears in Northern Ontario. Of course, a true understanding of what an appropriate bear

population might be would require an in-depth discussion of ecological issues such as the population carrying capacity of the environment in Ontario for bears. The fact that the government possibly cancelled the spring bear hunt because it felt the hunt was unethical becomes irrelevant.

The economic impact caused by the cancellation of the hunt was emphasized even more when news reporters stated that musician Ted Nugent called for an American boycott to Ontario hunting and when the Northwestern Ontario Sportsmen's Alliance demands Ontario hunters tear their hunting licences and boycott organizations and companies that support the banning of the hunt. Northwestern Ontario Sportsmen Alliance president John Kaplanis stated, "The wildlife and citizens of Ontario deserve a wildlife management program based upon science rather than emotion, and should not be subjected to the whims of politicians reacting to organized misinformation campaigns by animal rights zealots who won't be satisfied until all hunting and fishing is prohibited by law in Ontario" (CJSD, January 22, 1999, 8 a.m.). Those so-called 'animal rights zealots' did not have an opportunity to respond in this story and once again, the information the public receives is only from one perspective. The fact that "science" does not really resolve the issues that are disputed is not discussed. Moreover, the short-story format of the news ensures that the more complicated discussion that would be required to understand the science does not happen.

Another important issue to the citizens of Thunder Bay was the development of a new hospital. The Thunder Bay Regional Hospital Committee is responsible for the

fund-raising drive to help build a new hospital in Thunder Bay. Each of the radio stations frequently reported on the fund-raising effort and the Committee's progress. Although all the stations seem to support the development of a new hospital, little in-depth discussion occurred on the privately owned stations. One story, focussed on the Aboriginal population surrounding Thunder Bay. As the new Thunder Bay Regional Hospital would serve the needs of many Aboriginal people, the Committee felt that the Canadian federal government should provide some financial assistance. On January 22, the federal Minister of Health, Alan Rock, was in Thunder Bay to discuss the federal government's financial commitment towards building a new hospital (4 p.m. newscast). Each station reported the story, but different approaches were used between the public and privately owned media.

The stories on CJSD and CJLB were identical and the story content on CKPR is similar to that of CJSD and CJLB. CBQ coincidentally used the same Alan Rock voice-clip as CJSD and CJLB, but, the story content was different from the private stations'. During the afternoon drive time, the reporter for CJSD and CJLB broadcasted,

[Reporter Tony Prudori:]

Federal Health Minister Alan Rock says it's not Ottawa's job to pay to build new hospitals. The Regional Hospital is trying for federal money for a new facility because of the large number of Natives they treat. Speaking here in Thunder Bay, Alan Rock says, they pay for Native health-care on Reserve, not off Reserve...Rock met with the Mayor and the Chamber of Commerce while he was

in Thunder Bay today (CJSD/CJLB, January 22, 1999, 4 p.m.).

This story inferred that the federal government is not contributing money for the development of a new hospital, however, the reporter did not explain that the federal government transfers money to the provincial government. The story also insinuates that the federal government should be providing the Regional Hospital Committee with funding because the state is responsible for the health of the large, regional Aboriginal population that will benefit from the hospital. Alan Rock's voice-clip contradicts this insinuation as he explained the federal governments involvement in building the hospital approximately 15 seconds into the story,

[Minister of Health Alan Rock:]

The responsibility of the Government of Canada to Aboriginal persons is in, when they're in their communities. And, we, we transfer money to the provinces, so that they can provide health services outside those communities, and when we calculate the amount of our transfers to the provinces, we include the Aboriginal population. So in essence, we're paying the province to, to provide the service (CJSD/CJLB, January 22, 1999, 4 p.m.).

The content of the story misleads listeners and the journalists failed to verify the story with members from the various parties that are affected by this comment. Furthermore, CJSD and CJLB used the regional Aboriginal population as a 'bargaining tool' in an attempt to gain funding from the federal government. The stories also presented the First Nation's people as a burden on the community. In this case, the Aboriginal population

was neither included nor excluded from society. The content of this story was presented similarly on CKPR,

[Reporter Vic Krasowski:]

Canada's Health Minister says it's not his job to build hospitals including a new one for Thunder Bay. The Regional Hospital is trying to get Ottawa to help pay for a new building because they treat Natives there. Speaking to party faithful in the city today, Alan Rock said they give money to provinces to build hospitals...Rock met with the Mayor and Chamber of Commerce Reps this morning and is meeting with the Regional Hospital Delegation today as well (CKPR, January 22, 1999, 5 p.m.).

The content of the story on CKPR was similar to that of CJSD and CJLB, on the other hand, the story on CBQ mentioned another option available to the Minister of Health.

The reporter on CBQ discussed the fact that the Thunder Bay Regional Hospital Committee would not receive money from the federal government. This story allowed Alan Rock a greater opportunity to explain why this was the case,

[Reporter Carol Amadeo:]

Thunder Bay's New Regional Hospital won't be getting a cheque from the Federal Government. Alan Rock made that clear today. The Federal Minister of Health was in the city to discuss health-care services for Northwestern Ontario. Fund-raisers had hoped Ottawa would chip in for the new hospital because of the number of Aboriginal people who receive treatment there. But Rock says that's

not going to happen.

[Health Minister Alan Rock:]

The responsibility of the Government of Canada to Aboriginal persons is in, when they're in their communities. And we, we transfer money to the provinces, so that they can provide health services outside those communities, and when we calculate the amount of our transfers to the provinces we include the Aboriginal population. So in essence, we're paying the province to, to, provide the services. We're going to be increasing transfers to Ontario in the budget, ah, let's get Ontario to do the right thing and, and, provide the capital costs for the hospital.

[Reporter Carol Amadeo:]

Rock says he may be able to help the new hospital by improving health-care in the region's Native communities. He says he's working on solutions for the extreme shortage of doctors and nurses in the communities north of Sioux Lookout. Rock says he's planning on visiting some of those communities next month (CBQT, January 22, 1999, 4:30 p.m.).

The story, thus, was presented differently on CBQ than it was on the private stations.

The Minister of Health Alan Rock, received an opportunity to state his case and the radio station also summarized a solution proposed by Rock to help improve health-care in Native communities and provide relief for the Regional Hospital. Unfortunately, all of the stations failed to provide a Native perspective regarding this topic.

During this study, the provincial government hinted that an election may be

called. The media slowly increased the number of political stories, focussing on 'hot' topics such as: health-care, crime, education and the environment. Prior to an election being called, rarely did the radio stations make reference to these topics in relation to the parties' political beliefs. CJLB, CJSD and CKPR aired many stories about the P.C.'s and Liberals. Often the stories compared policies or personal characteristics between the two party leaders. Overwhelmingly, the stories on these stations were directed towards the governing party, the P.C. party. This trend, however, is also common on CBQ. Periodically, the radio stations referred to the opposition, the Liberal party; messages from the New Democratic Party were infrequent in comparison.

CJSD and CKPR mentioned an independent candidate that supported Northwestern Ontario's sovereignty, however, the reporters did not refer to the candidate's platform (CJSD, February 18, 1999, 12 p.m.). This is the only example of a 'fringe' or 'extreme' party receiving any news attention. For instance, the Green Party had candidates in the two local ridings and neither one had an opportunity to voice their opinion on the cancellation of the spring bear hunt.

One reason the P.C. party may have received more media attention could be due to the party's governing role. It was more common for the P.C. party to be presented in a story by themselves without any opposition. In this case, the party's authority or status meant that it had greater access to the media. The public, as a result, would frequently receive one side of the story without any opposition. Although there was little difference between CJSD, CJLB, CKPR and CBQ, the latter station generally broadcast more

content than the other stations. One such example was a story concerning conservation officers in Northwestern Ontario.

On February 8, 1999, all the radio stations reported that conservation officers in Northwestern Ontario would not patrol their regular routes because their budgets had been spent. Two versions of the story appeared on the privately owned stations and both reports covered the same issues. One version of the story appeared five times and the other appeared once on the private stations. These stories referred to desk bound conservation officers who overspent their budget by 25 per cent (CJLB, February 8, 1999, 4 p.m.). The story explained that conservation officers would only leave the office when an emergency or crime was reported. A voice-clip from an enforcement supervisor stated that to keep costs down, officers would take training courses and catch up on paperwork until the new budget came into effect. The story that appeared on CBQ, however, explained why the budget has been depleted (CBQT, February 8, 1999, 4:30 p.m.). Expensive investigations, the high cost of working in remote areas and equipment breakdowns were all responsible for the financial shortfall. The story also revealed that the government had released a proposal that requested further budgetary cutbacks for the upcoming year. The president of the conservation officers association briefly discussed their economic plight since the early 1990's in relation to government funding. The connotations of this story are vastly different from the reports on the private stations. The private stations do not give any details about why the conservation authority was running a deficit. The story's undertones are negative. Albeit subtle, the story implied that the

officers carelessly overspent without any reason. Meanwhile, CBQ provided an in-depth report summarizing the difficulties the authority has encountered over the past year.

Another common story in this study that is more fairly reported on is the Thunder Bay murder trial of Jamie Perlett. Jamie Perlett was accused of murdering his parents in Fort Francis, Ontario and all the radio stations in the study were following the trial to some degree. The privately owned radio stations shared stories and they provided the listener with a brief summary of the day's proceedings. CBQ, on the other hand, gave the listener a greater context of the events that led up to the trial and it comprehensively reported on the court proceedings. For instance, the morning of January 15, 1999, CBQ provided historical information and reviewed the day's testimonials during a 1 minute and 35-second news story. That same day, CKPR summarized the court proceedings in 21 seconds and CJSD allocated just 15 seconds to trial coverage. CJLB, in contrast, chose not to broadcast the story.

Surprisingly, during the afternoon newscasts on January 22, 1999, CJLB, CJSD and CKPR did not air a story indicating that Jamie Perlett had taken the stand. CBQ, on the other hand, did cover the day's court proceedings. In general, the privately owned stations were vague when discussing the trial, whereas, the publicly owned station covered the Jamie Perlett murder trial more in-depth and with greater immediacy. The privately owned stations, on the other hand, gave more attention to the death of a local elderly man.

Toyvo Sistanin was an elderly local man whose skeletal remains were found in a

derelict house, along with the skeletal remains of dozens of cats and approximately three feet of garbage. The story's sensational nature caused it to receive a great amount of media coverage. A few days after the story broke, on January 20, the private radio stations broadcast the story throughout the day. They focussed on the individual's identity and the cause of death. Once this was confirmed, the focus of CKPR and CJSD's stories changed to the police investigation and whether criminal charges would be laid (January 20, 1999, 8 a.m.). CBQ, on the other hand, only aired the story during the afternoon drive newscast that same day.

At 4:30 p.m., CBQ provided a detailed historical account of the Toyvo Sistanin case and it focussed on a neighbour's charge that safety in the area is a concern because of an abundance of rats in the derelict house. This was followed up with the city's By-Law Enforcement Officer who discussed what conditions are required in order to demolish a house (CBQT, January 20, 1999, 4:30 p.m.). This was different from the privately owned radio stations because the content on CBQ addressed the impact of the event on the community. Each of the privately owned radio stations, in contrast, broadcast the same story with the coroner announcing the identity of the body (January 20, 1999, 8 a.m.). On CJSD and CKPR, this story was followed up with Police Spokesperson Andy Weiler discussing the possibility of further criminal charges. In this case, it does appear that Sharon Dale Stone's (2001) PSSST formula is applicable. This story meets a number of the criteria. For instance, the audience can personally relate to it because the story is about the death of a lonely, local community member. The story has

sensational qualities such as death (possibly murder), greed and catastrophe. Lastly, the content is simple to communicate to the audience. The story concerning Toyvo Sistanin meets each of these criteria and as a result, it received a lot of coverage on the privately owned radio stations.

How Does Radio News Media Construct 'Local Culture'?

As globalization promotes cultural homogeneity, identifying and preserving a local identity is important for providing citizens with a sense of 'who they are'. The radio stations cover a number of topics in this study that help define what local culture is and what reporters assume their audiences want to hear. It is this information that the audience embodies and creates their identity from. This is how the radio news media contributes to the construction of Thunder Bay's local culture.

Based on a reading of radio newscasts in Thunder Bay, local people are interested in economics, health-related issues, accidents and catastrophes, crime and law enforcement, education, charity events, and politics. The radio stations referred to the Liberal party the most federally, and provincially, the greatest attention was given to the P.C. and Liberal parties. When discussing career occupations, the news content addressed the medical and educational professions, and the primary industrial occupations (i.e., forestry, agriculture, mining, etc...) the most. Medically, the stories often referred to the need for more health-care providers, whereas, stories related to occupations in education and the primary industries presented the latest events in relation

to popular issues at that time.

The news content is directed at white, heterosexual citizens. The privately owned media lack content depth and stories are presented from a stereotypical rather than an intellectual point of view. Occasionally stories about homosexuality, environmentalism, or race and ethnic relations would appear in the news, however, the radio stations infrequently approached members of these groups for their opinions, rather paraphrasing or neglecting the groups' views. In addition, aside from developing a new hospital, the media presented the community as not having any long term goals. The citizens are portrayed as satisfied with maintaining the status quo and are sceptical of 'outsiders' not from the region.

The content of the news stories presents the local culture as 'mainstream' with few 'extremists'. For instance, in this study, the radio stations fail to cover viewpoints or perspectives from gay/lesbian groups, environmental conservationists, and minority races such as First Nation's people and African Americans. Often these members are presented as having 'unique' positions and as a result, their views are seldom expressed in stories - failing to enrich the news content by providing a diverse range of perspectives. In general, the radio stations, specifically the privately owned radio stations, 'play-it-safe'. These stations are more inclined to report stories that are popular and do not intimidate or risk losing their mainstream audience. Indeed, the content on CBQ was more in-depth and a greater range of perspectives were expressed, however, these groups' still did not have an opportunity to voice their perspectives for themselves.

More often than not, a journalist or reporter provided a summary of their concerns.

The citizens in Thunder Bay and the surrounding region are characterized as enjoying outdoor activities and, because they live in the 'undeveloped' North, they appear to have an 'innate' ability to understand what is best for the environment.

Although weather related stories were far down the priority list (Appendix C.1), occasionally, the radio stations would broadcast weather related stories from other parts of the country and around the world (i.e., floods, snowstorms, tornadoes, etc...). Weather related stories concerning 'Southern Canada' often contained humour. For instance, "It's not up to the top of the C.N. Tower just yet, but Toronto has set a snowfall record..." (CJLB, January 15, 1999, 12 p.m.). Stories concerning a snowstorm in Southern Ontario and Quebec were broadcast on CKPR the same day. During the 12:30 p.m. newscast, the reporter said,

"The same storm that hit Ontario moved into Southern Quebec overnight, with more than 27 centimetres of snow expected by later today. One Montrealler calls Torontonians wimps for not being able to deal with the storm without calling in the army. Swirling snow caused a 30-car pile-up north of Montreal today..."

(CKPR, January 15, 1999, 12:30 p.m.).

Although the stories are intended to be light-hearted, by including comical elements in the stories the journalists deviate from their principles of 'fact' and objectivity.

Furthermore, the underlying predispositions of the weather stories insinuate that the local citizens: (1) are fortunate they live in the region because they are more capable of dealing

with Canada's harsh winters, and (2) their approach to the environment is correct because they do not experience severe natural disasters. As long as no human catastrophe occurred, the news stories teased and disregarded environmental opinions from 'Southerners'. These stories imply that the people who are experiencing environmental difficulty do not have the same connection with the environment as local citizens. In addition, the language used to broadcast the news is simplistic and does nothing to contribute to a greater vocabulary of knowledge. In sum, the news present locals as having a basic, down to earth approach or connection with the environment.

Conclusion:

Although journalists strive for objectivity, occasionally, one must question the fairness of stories and whether the 'facts' represent the population. There is a difference how the radio stations present news content, but the local culture is presented similarly with little opportunity for 'extreme' or 'fringe' perspectives. Local culture is portrayed as homogeneous entity which accepts and perpetuates the status quo. From this study, it is apparent that the radio stations define news content differently: CBQ takes a 'news as an educational tool' perspective, whereas, CKPR, CJLB, and CJSD supply the audience with news as a 'form of entertainment'. Although 'fluff' stories may require less thought, these stories do not improve community awareness. These issues, rather, distract community members' attention from the critical issues at hand.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

“A people without reliable news is sooner or later a people without the basis of freedom.” - Harold Laski

Introduction:

Nearly 81 per cent of Canadians aged 16 and over said that they listen to radio for background noise and information on current events, government issues and public affairs (Statistics Canada 1996, p.1). Radio is a ‘blind medium’ that broadcasts messages immediately, causing people to create visual images that allow the listener to become part of the medium (Crissell 1994). Vivian and Maurin (1997, p. 109) state that radio is the most pervasive medium available because it is a personal and intimate medium. In relation to news broadcasting, this is critical. As a powerful and commonly used medium, radio should provide listeners with high quality news content while broadcasting the nature and well-being of the community.

Quality information in a democratic society is vital so people can formulate intelligent decisions. Having access to various perspectives is essential when making a knowledgeable judgment. This is also relevant at a local level. News is fundamental in educating citizens about community events, allowing them to formulate intelligent decisions or conclusions. As news agencies merge, however, a concentration occurs in journalistic perspectives and in the diversification of information broadcast. Nationally, mergers in news agencies are significant because these organizations set the agenda for the smaller media. The smaller broadcast media, on the other hand, have been allowed to

develop corporate agreements called Local Radio Management Agreements or LMA's, permitting newsrooms at privately owned broadcast facilities to consolidate. In many cases, these LMA's have created 'monopolistic settings' similar to that in Thunder Bay. As a result of these contracts, local news content is becoming homogenized. Nationally, similar policies have allowed media to consolidate leading to the homogenization of national news content. In short, homogenization in news content may be occurring because there are fewer message providers. Consequently, those who control the media have a greater opportunity to manipulate news content if they choose. In short, this thesis does not argue that news content tells people how to think, but it tells us what to think about (Magder 1997; Stone 1989; Ericson et al. 1987; Tuchman 1978).

Summary:

The main objective of this thesis was to examine how local culture was constructed by Thunder Bay's radio news media by describing and analysing news content, and the historical, social, political and economic variables that influence it. Chapter one reviewed two common paradigms that explain how news is constructed: instrumentalism and structuralism. Instrumentalism regards the mass media as a tool for maintaining the powerful positions of wealthy owners. Structuralism, in contrast, insists that organizational roles and the principles of marketing restrict any chance of ideological control by owners or lobbyists.

Chapter two analysed how the broadcast media developed in Thunder Bay. This

historical analysis was significant as it created an understanding of how the Lakehead region shaped the ownership structure and the policies of broadcast media. The formation of the first radio station in Lakehead, CKPR, served two purposes: (1) it linked Western and Eastern Canada, and (2) it helped establish a Canadian identity in the region at a time when American imperialism was considered a threat. In the early stages, development of radio in this region was perceived by outsiders as remote and harsh. This perception helped Hector Dougall and Norman Paterson receive funding from the broadcast regulator when budgets for other radio stations were reduced. The governing body always had a sympathetic ear to the problems the owners encountered in this territory. As a result of the region's remoteness and distance from major metropolitan centres, the owners enjoyed special advantages. This section exposed some of the advantages and revealed ownership trends that add merit to the instrumentalist approach. For example, in 1995, the CRTC allowed the owners of Thunder Bay's private radio stations to consolidate administrative forces for greater economic gain. This agreement gave Fraser Dougall control over all the privately owned broadcast media in Thunder Bay. The only alternative was the *Chronicle-Journal* newspaper which, as Shecter (1995, p. 7) points out, has withheld information from the public at the request of management at CJSD Inc. Understanding the development of broadcast media in this region is critical, because it acts as a basis for comprehending how local journalists' perceptions are constructed, albeit unconsciously, by the characteristics of the district.

Chapter three discussed the methodology utilized in this study. Content analysis

and critical analysis were used to answer the research question: “Based upon a reading of radio news broadcasts in Thunder Bay, how is ‘local culture’ constructed by the news media”? Berg (1998, p. 225) maintains that content analysis is a valid technique for determining explicit and implicit messages. Contrary to what criticism suggests, Alan Bell states “It [content analysis] is best when supplemented by other methods or a researcher’s own qualitative insights...” (1991, p. 213). In short, the researcher’s personal insights add valuable information to the study.

Currently, much of the literature available in relation to news content, focuses on international or national media (for example, see Herman & Chomsky 1988; Gans 1979). Research on ‘local’ adds insight as to what is local and are current policies helping preserve local cultures? The data in chapter three identified a number of factors: (1) what themes do the journalists think are important locally, (2) is there a diverse range of sources on the radio stations, (3) do a variety of journalistic perspectives exist, and (4) is there an assortment of content broadcast on the stations? The content analysis concluded that the themes: economics, health, education, accidents and catastrophes, crime and law enforcement, politics and charity related stories were important to the local community (Appendices C.2 and C.5).

Appendix C.6, reveals that all the radio stations rely greatly upon journalists for verifying facts. CBQ, in contrast to the private media, ‘verified’ news content with political and bureaucratic officials, corporate representatives and entrepreneurs, and specialists and experts. All the privately owned stations had similar trends for

‘validating’ information, prioritizing political and bureaucratic officials, and citizens and victims. This information indicates that there is not a diverse range of sources between the content on the privately owned stations. With this in mind, it leads to questions concerning whether the private stations are meeting the CRTC’s requirements as outlined in their LMA policy, specifically, in regards to maintaining “a diverse range of voices”?

Since there is no clear definition as to how the CRTC applies the statement “a diverse range of voices”, it was also necessary to examine if there was a diverse range of journalistic perspectives. It was discovered that reporters on the private radio stations broadcast news on more than one station (Appendix D). In fact, the reporters frequently broadcast similar, if not identical, newscasts on two stations at the same time. This can only be achieved if the newscast was prerecorded. In addition, the consistency of this event implies that the newsroom is short staffed. This finding confirms Iain Angus’ conviction that reporter’s stories are not station specific, resulting in few journalistic perspectives (Majeed 1999).

Lastly, in case the CRTC’s interpretation of ‘a diverse range of voices’ referred to the sources used in the news, chapter three evaluated the amount of duplicate or repeat stories broadcast on each radio station. The privately owned stations had considerably more duplicate stories than CBQ (Appendix C.7). In some cases, the amount of replicated stories was almost as high as 60 per cent. This coincides with the researcher’s hypothesis (page 13) that citizens in Thunder Bay receive the same information, regardless, which privately owned radio station they listen to.

Chapter four critically analysed the quality of news content. This chapter explained how 'local culture' was constructed by means of structural, economic, historical and political forces. Ownership, however, does influence these elements. For example, one could suspect Dougall's ownership of various media resulted in those media avoiding a story about CHC North Inc. (another company he had interest in) suing the province of Ontario? Furthermore, because of Dougall's involvement in establishing a casino in Thunder Bay, one must wonder how this affected the journalists reporting trends on the private radio stations? This study identified that the reporters at the private stations tended to avoid using the casino's real name the 'Thunder Bay Charity Casino'. However, it is possible that the journalists refrained from using this term based on an 'intuition'.

Ownership influences local news structurally, economically, historically, and politically. Ownership is a structural element in the media that is profit driven. Through economic control, the ownership structure oversees every aspect of stations programming, including news. One determines if local news is meaningful to owners by: (1) analysing the amount of investigative reporting, (2) reviewing if owner's encourage technological development such as computer automation, and (3) evaluating the amount of staff employed for developing news content. The historical emphasis owners have placed towards generating local news is significant because these trends reveal the ownership's enthusiasm toward developing local news, in turn, motivating journalists to report a higher quality of news content. Political affiliations between ownership and

politicians may also influence news reporting as journalists are cautious when reporting topics that involve ownership (MacIsaac 1994, p. 70).

Many stories on the privately owned radio stations summarized the basic facts from a homogeneous perspective and did not discuss the issues' in-depth. CBQ, the CBC affiliate, provided more information for its listeners. It appears CBQ intends to educate their audience so they have greater knowledge of local issues; treating news as a 'form of education' whereas, the privately owned radio broadcasters seemed to consider it a 'form of entertainment'.

What is 'Local Culture'?

According to a reading of radio newscasts in Thunder Bay, local culture was constructed as being primarily white, heterosexual citizens who have a 'connection' with the environment of the North. The community is interested in stories concerning economics, health, accidents and catastrophes, crime and law enforcement, education, charitable events and politics. In relation to politics, the community appeals to the federal Liberal party, and provincially, to the Progressive Conservative and Liberal parties. The occupational stories portray the local community as consisting of people who work in primary industries (such as forestry, agriculture, mining, hunting and fishing), the medical profession, or in primary and secondary educational institutions.

There appears to be plenty of support for the status quo as the local culture is constructed as having few 'extremist' or 'fringe' groups. For instance, homosexuals,

environmental conservationists and views from minority groups seldom appear in the content unless there is a simple, logical explanation for the event. Citizens in this region seem to have an 'innate' understanding of nature because they have survived, and in some cases, have thrived in this remote territory. In contrast, 'Southerners' ability to deal with environmental issues are often mocked and their methods for preservation are seen as popular trends that are not practical. Lastly, outdoor activities are very important to the community, especially hunting and fishing.

Preserving Local Content:

According to John Bugailiskis (2000), the key for small and mid-size broadcasters to preserve their community's identity is to develop a product that emphasizes the community's uniqueness. Local news content, he proposes, meets this criteria. Bugailiskis indicates that local content is crucial for the existence of local broadcasters and he feels the primary focus of the CRTC's broadcast policies should focus on improving the quality and quantity of local content on both the CBC and the privately owned media. Ultimately, the best means improving the quality and quantity of local content is to maintain diversity through policies which prevent further media concentration at national and local levels. This study concludes that LMA's are not beneficial for informing local residents.

One goal for the CRTC should be better representation of the public's interests. Maintaining local content preserves local cultures, thus, contributing to a rich and diverse

Canadian heritage. From this study, it is evident that owners continuously strive to improve profit margins: with or without support or approval from the broadcast regulator. The penalties, however, appear minuscule in comparison to the consequences - the loss of a community's local identity. When the CRTC allows media owners to reduce costs, often local content is substituted with technology and national or international content that can be purchased more cheaply. CRTC decisions that support corporate mergers, reinforce the importance of monetary gain causing it to take precedence over the public's best interest.

As profit driven enterprises, occasionally businesses may disregard broadcast policies that prohibit the company from maximizing its earnings. However, it is the governing body's responsibility to examine how operating changes are beneficial to the communities that the media serve. Similar to how a parent must discipline a child, the governing body, too, may be required to 'discipline' businesses which advance too quickly towards their goals without going through the proper governmental procedures. The process is time consuming, but, it is the best way to ensure that community members have a say and an opportunity to gather information that leads to well-informed decisions that are in the public's best interest.

In a democracy, people should have access to a diverse range of information that allows them to draw conclusions for themselves. As media consolidate, however, less heterogeneity occurs in the news and the public has fewer alternatives from which to choose. Bagdikian states, "When they [media owners] buy a local monopoly,...or an

assured share of the market,...few investors can resist the spectacular profits that can be made by cutting quality and raising prices” (1987, p. 7). It is up to the CRTC to protect the public’s best interest and to preserve local cultures. In Thunder Bay, a ‘monopolistic setting’ exists. One entrepreneur has control over much of the media and has formed alliances for controlling news content with the city’s only daily newspaper the *Chronicle-Journal* (formerly owned by Thomson Corporation Ltd., now owned by Ryson Publications). The result is that the financially strained CBC Radio is the only alternative ‘voice’ in Thunder Bay for local news information.²⁶ The local news content on the public broadcaster, nonetheless, has been reduced; broadcasting live news once an hour, weekday mornings between 5:30 and 9 a.m. and afternoons from 3 to 6 p.m.

In a democratic state, the quality of news is crucial for educating people and providing them with an opportunity to make knowledgeable decisions. By failing to audit the quality or accuracy of news, the CRTC promotes a system that sustains the wealthy owner’s economic plight over the public’s best interest. Citizens are further alienated from the decision making process when the CRTC does not post Public Notice announcements well in advance, giving citizens an opportunity to voice their opinions regarding broadcast affairs.

²⁶ In 2001, two new low-power stations began broadcasting. One, located in Thunder Bay barely covers the city, and the second, focuses on the suburbs. Both stations rely heavily on computer automation and news wire services, as a result, they only employ one or two news employees. Furthermore, an Internet news provider focussing on Thunder Bay has also been launched - T.B. Source.com. This is owned by Scott Dougall, Fraser Dougall’s son. The news is supplied by the journalists at Fraser Dougall’s television and radio stations. Similar to the arrangement between Fraser Dougall’s *Thunder Bay Post* and CJSJ Inc., news content is supplied to T.B. Source.com from the journalists at Dougall’s radio and television stations.

Conclusion:

Currently, the trend in broadcasting focuses on developing corporate efficiency in preparation for a globalized climate (Bugailiskis 2000). Globalization encourages cultural homogeneity (Herman & Chomsky 1988). Identifying and preserving a 'local culture', as a result, is important for providing citizens with a sense of 'who they are' and 'where they come from'. It is this information that people embody and construct their identity from. Broadcast media policies must concentrate on encouraging a higher quality of local news content. This will provide citizens with more knowledge and it will help establish local cultures, and at a broader level, a Canadian identity. The governing body's main concern should focus on the public's best interest, at a time, when our local and national cultures risk homogenization.

Appendix A

CBQT-FM
THUNDER BAY

AVERAGE AUDIENCE BY ¼ HOURS (MON-FRI)

FULL COVERAGE-IN HUNDREDS (00)

BBM FALL 1997 AUTOMNE

AUDITOIRES MOYENS EN ¼ D'HEURES (LUN-VEN)

TERRITOIRE DE RAYONNEMENT EN CENTAINES (00)

CENTRAL REGION REGION CENTRALE

TIME HEURE	TOTAL 12+ TOUS		WOMEN FEMMES												MEN HOMMES												12 / 17	TOTAL 12+ TOUS		ADULTS ADULTES			WOM 18+ FEM	MEN 18+ HOM	
	TOTAL TOUS	OUT OF HOME FOYER	18+	OUT OF HOME FOYER			18 / 49	18 / 44	18 / 34	18 / 24	25 / 54	25 / 49	25 / 34	25 / 64	18+	OUT OF HOME FOYER	18 / 49	18 / 44	18 / 34	18 / 24	25 / 54	25 / 49	25 / 34	25 / 64	12 / 17	TOTAL TOUS		(00)	ADULTS ADULTES			(00)			(00)
				18 / 49	25 / 54	35 / 64																							(00)	(00)					
				(00)	(00)	(00)																													
500A	11	-	5	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	-	6	6	-	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	1	1	-	-	-	1	-		
515	11	-	5	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	-	6	6	-	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	1	1	-	-	-	1	-		
530	6	-	3	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	-	2	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-		
545	9	-	6	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	-	2	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	-		
600	51	7	21	-	15	5	5	5	5	17	14	4	14	30	7	22	14	14	14	14	16	13	14	14	14	16	17	16	5	10	12	7	9		
615	51	7	21	-	15	5	5	5	5	17	14	4	14	30	7	22	14	14	14	16	13	14	14	14	14	16	17	16	5	10	12	7	9		
630	54	8	23	-	15	6	6	6	6	18	15	5	15	31	7	24	15	15	15	15	15	13	14	14	14	17	17	16	6	7	10	8	9		
645	50	3	23	-	15	6	6	6	6	18	15	5	15	27	3	20	11	11	11	11	11	9	9	9	17	17	16	6	7	10	8	9			
700	77	10	39	1	19	8	8	8	8	24	19	8	21	37	9	22	16	9	9	18	13	22	22	22	22	33	33	33	16	21	23	14	19		
715	89	17	46	2	23	10	10	10	10	27	22	9	24	43	15	26	18	9	9	23	17	23	23	23	27	33	33	21	27	28	18	23			
730	104	25	49	4	24	10	9	9	9	29	23	9	27	53	21	33	24	10	10	30	23	30	30	30	37	48	48	22	27	31	21	26			
745	105	24	55	5	25	12	10	10	10	31	25	10	30	49	19	32	22	10	10	26	23	30	30	30	44	44	44	22	25	28	24	20			
800	109	29	60	8	25	17	14	14	14	28	20	9	31	49	20	25	10	1	1	31	25	35	35	35	45	41	41	25	31	32	25	20			
815	100	24	51	5	18	12	10	10	10	24	17	7	29	49	20	24	6	1	1	29	24	33	33	33	41	41	41	23	29	30	23	18			
830	97	20	51	3	16	12	9	9	9	22	16	9	28	45	17	22	7	2	2	25	22	32	32	32	39	39	39	20	24	27	20	18			
845	90	19	49	4	17	12	8	8	8	21	17	8	28	40	15	19	6	1	1	20	19	28	28	28	34	34	34	17	20	23	19	15			
900	80	22	46	5	15	12	8	8	8	21	15	8	28	34	16	14	7	3	3	15	14	18	18	18	27	27	27	12	16	18	19	12			
915	71	22	40	4	16	14	10	10	10	21	15	9	23	31	15	19	12	7	7	20	19	17	17	17	27	27	27	12	15	16	16	11			
930	72	22	40	4	16	14	10	10	10	21	15	9	23	31	15	19	12	7	7	20	19	17	17	17	27	27	27	12	15	16	16	11			
945	66	25	40	10	20	18	12	12	12	25	19	11	21	26	15	18	12	7	7	22	21	18	18	18	24	24	24	12	14	14	14	11			
1000	60	20	35	7	13	12	8	8	8	17	12	8	21	25	13	16	10	3	3	17	16	18	18	18	20	20	20	10	12	13	10	10			
1015	52	18	30	6	10	10	8	8	8	14	10	7	18	21	12	14	9	3	3	15	14	16	16	16	17	17	17	7	9	11	7	10			
1030	52	20	31	8	10	9	8	8	8	14	9	7	19	21	12	13	8	4	4	13	13	13	13	13	18	18	18	8	8	9	8	10			
1045	45	16	28	6	9	9	7	7	7	13	8	6	18	17	11	11	7	2	2	11	11	12	12	12	14	14	14	6	7	8	8	6			
1100	52	25	32	12	10	9	7	7	7	13	9	6	18	20	13	12	9	4	4	13	12	11	11	11	15	15	15	6	7	9	9	6			
1115	51	24	31	12	10	10	7	7	7	13	9	6	17	20	13	11	9	4	4	13	11	11	11	13	13	13	6	7	9	8	6				
1130	51	24	31	11	8	8	6	6	6	11	8	5	16	21	13	14	12	8	8	13	12	9	9	9	14	14	14	7	7	8	8	6			
1145	51	22	28	9	7	7	6	6	6	11	7	6	15	22	14	14	12	6	6	13	12	12	12	13	13	13	5	6	8	8	5				
NOON	65	29	33	9	8	7	5	5	5	12	8	5	16	31	20	20	15	7	7	20	18	19	19	19	26	26	26	12	15	16	11	14			
1215P	63	22	31	9	4	3	3	3	3	7	4	3	15	31	14	14	16	5	5	21	18	21	21	21	23	23	23	8	11	12	11	11			
1230	55	19	30	8	3	3	3	3	3	7	4	4	14	25	11	15	12	5	5	15	13	15	15	15	20	20	20	6	9	10	10	10			
1245	52	21	29	8	3	3	3	3	3	7	4	3	14	22	13	12	9	5	5	11	10	12	12	12	20	20	20	6	8	9	10	10			
100	52	19	31	8	7	7	5	5	5	10	7	5	14	21	11	10	7	3	3	9	8	10	10	10	21	21	21	6	8	10	11	9			
115	50	20	29	9	6	6	5	5	5	10	6	5	12	21	11	10	8	4	4	9	8	9	9	9	21	21	21	7	8	10	11	10			
130	49	19	26	7	7	7	5	5	5	10	7	5	12	23	12	13	10	4	4	12	11	12	12	12	22	22	22	8	9	12	11	11			
145	48	18	27	6	8	7	5	5	5	10	8	5	12	21	11	11	9	4	4	10	9	10	10	10	20	20	20	7	8	10	11	10			
200	54	27	27	9	9	9	5	5	5	11	9	5	14	26	18	13	12	2	2	14	13	15	15	15	17	17	17	8	9	9	10	7			
215	47	24	26	9	9	7	6	6	6	11	9	5	12	21	14	9	5	5	5	10	9	8	8	8	14	14	14	6	7	7	9	5			
230	38	20	24	10	12	9	8	8	8	13	12	8	11	14	10	6	6	4	4	7	6	6	6	6	13	13	13	6	7	6	8	5			
245	34	16	22	10	10	9	6	6	6	11	10	6	10	12	8	4	4	2	2	5	4	5	5	5	14	14	14	6	7	6	8	5			
300	32	15	23	7	9	9	8	8	8	11	9	8	9	9	8	5	5	2	2	6	5	5	5	5	12	12	12	6	7	6	6	6			
315	29	13	20	8	8	8	7	7	7	10	8	7	8	9	8	5	5	2	2	5	5	5	5	5	12	12	12	6	6	6	6	4			
330	24	10	18	5	8	8	6	6	6	10	8	6	7	6	5	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	9	9	9	5	5	5	5	4			
345	22	9	18	5	8	7	6	6	6	10	8	6	7	4	3	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	7	7	7	4	4	5	5	2			
400	40	23	25	9	10	9	7	7	7	13	9	6	8	15	14	9	8	2	2	11	9	12	12	12	19	19	19	9	13	12	9	10			
415	41	24	25	9	10	9	8	8	8	14	9	7	9	16	15	9	8	2	2	11	9	12	12	12	22	22	22	10	14	13	10	12			
430	50	31	28	10	13	11	9	9	9	17	12	8	11	22	20	14	9	4	4	15	14	15	15	15	28	28	28	16	19	17	12	16			
445	47	27	29	10	13	11	9	9	9	17	13	8	12	18	16	13	7	3	3	14	13	13	13	13	27	27	27	17	19	17	13	14			
500	56	24	36	9	14	11	9	9	9	16	13	7	15	20	15	12	5	-	-	13	12	16	16	16	27	27	27	15	17	20	14	12			
515	46	19	29	7	9	9	4	4	4	11	8	3	14	17	12	9	4	-	-	11	9	13	13	13	23	23	23	13	15	18	13	9			
530	47	19	30	7	9	9	4																												

CJLBF+ (CFJQFM)
THUNDER BAY (REPEATER/REEMETTEUR)

AVERAGE AUDIENCE BY ¼ HOURS (MON-FRI)

BBM FALL 1997 AUTOMNE

AUDITOIRES MOYENS EN ¼ D'HEURES (LUN-VEN)

TIME HEURE	FULL COVERAGE-IN HUNDREDS (00)										TERRITOIRE DE RAYONNEMENT EN CENTAINES (00)										CENTRAL REGION					REGION CENTRALE				
	TOTAL 12+ TOUS		WOMEN FEMMES								MEN HOMMES								12 / 17	TOTAL 12+ TOUS	ADULTS ADULTES				WOM 18+ FEM	MEN 18+ HOM				
	TOTAL TOUS	OUT OF HOME FOYER	18+	OUT OF HOME FOYER	18 / 49	18 / 44	18 / 34	18 / 24	25 / 54	25 / 49	25 / 34	25 / 24	25 / 54	25 / 49	25 / 34	25 / 24	18	18			18	18	25	25			25	25	18	18
	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)			
500A	15	5	9	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	7	4	4	4	2	4	4	5	-	10	7	5	5	4	7	4	7
515	10	5	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	-	7	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
530	11	5	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	-	8	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
545	14	7	6	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	8	5	5	5	2	6	5	6	-	11	6	8	8	9	3	6	8
600	31	8	14	2	6	4	2	7	7	6	2	9	16	6	7	4	2	12	6	3	14	-	27	12	19	23	11	16	16	
615	34	8	20	2	8	7	3	11	11	6	3	9	14	6	4	3	2	10	6	3	12	-	29	12	21	23	15	14	14	
630	48	13	26	5	12	11	5	15	15	8	4	14	22	9	9	7	4	16	9	9	16	-	40	22	31	32	21	20	20	
645	50	13	28	5	14	12	4	17	14	12	4	18	22	9	10	4	4	15	9	9	20	-	44	26	33	35	22	22	22	
700	90	27	50	8	33	27	14	32	28	10	26	37	19	23	18	9	24	16	27	3	80	54	53	50	43	34	34	34		
715	88	27	44	6	28	23	11	26	23	9	24	39	22	25	18	11	22	16	27	3	76	50	46	45	37	34	34	34		
730	91	34	47	8	30	25	12	28	25	10	25	39	26	23	18	13	24	16	27	3	77	49	48	46	40	32	32	32		
745	84	33	47	9	30	25	11	27	25	6	26	35	23	20	15	12	22	14	22	3	71	44	45	44	40	33	33	31		
800	101	43	53	15	35	29	14	30	28	8	26	45	27	21	15	10	23	14	27	3	84	53	51	48	46	35	35	35		
815	103	52	56	23	38	31	15	34	33	8	28	45	28	21	17	11	26	14	27	3	87	59	58	50	49	36	36	36		
830	93	43	48	16	28	25	10	26	23	5	23	42	26	20	14	6	24	16	28	3	76	46	47	47	40	33	33	33		
845	89	44	48	20	27	24	8	26	23	4	25	40	24	19	14	6	23	16	26	3	71	44	47	46	39	31	31	31		
900	96	53	52	26	29	25	10	28	23	4	27	44	27	24	18	8	25	20	28	-	75	47	51	50	41	33	33	33		
915	91	51	46	24	24	21	16	26	21	3	26	41	27	23	18	7	24	19	28	-	68	41	48	49	35	33	33	33		
930	93	58	53	30	32	30	16	25	21	4	24	39	27	23	17	7	23	18	29	-	68	42	46	47	35	33	33	33		
945	90	57	53	32	32	30	15	24	21	4	24	36	25	20	15	6	21	16	26	-	67	41	44	46	35	31	31	31		
1000	88	55	51	31	33	29	15	25	23	5	23	36	24	19	13	4	22	16	28	1	69	42	46	47	35	33	33	33		
1015	82	56	47	33	33	30	15	25	23	5	22	34	24	19	13	4	21	16	27	1	66	43	45	46	34	31	31	31		
1030	83	58	47	33	34	31	16	25	24	5	23	35	25	20	13	5	22	17	28	1	68	44	47	47	36	32	32	32		
1045	80	57	45	32	34	31	16	25	24	5	23	34	24	19	13	5	21	17	27	1	67	44	46	47	35	32	32	32		
1100	81	57	44	31	34	32	17	24	23	6	21	36	26	21	15	6	23	18	27	1	69	45	47	45	35	33	33	33		
1115	78	55	43	30	33	31	16	24	22	6	22	35	25	20	15	7	22	18	27	1	66	44	45	44	33	32	32	32		
1130	79	56	44	32	34	32	17	25	23	6	22	34	25	20	15	7	22	17	25	1	67	45	46	43	35	32	32	32		
1145	79	58	45	33	35	31	16	27	25	6	22	34	25	20	15	7	21	16	26	1	67	45	48	45	35	32	32	32		
NOON	87	57	45	31	35	33	18	27	25	8	21	34	25	18	15	10	19	13	22	8	67	43	44	40	36	30	30	30		
1215P	70	47	38	24	29	27	16	20	18	8	21	30	22	17	14	10	17	13	19	2	56	35	35	33	28	27	27	27		
1230	64	43	33	24	22	21	11	19	17	4	16	29	22	17	14	9	17	13	19	2	53	34	34	32	27	26	26	26		
1245	60	43	31	23	24	21	11	19	18	4	17	28	21	15	12	8	17	11	19	2	50	32	35	33	25	25	25	25		
100	63	46	29	21	20	18	6	22	19	5	19	32	25	20	16	8	22	17	23	2	58	39	42	40	28	30	30	30		
115	59	43	26	18	19	17	6	18	17	4	16	31	25	19	15	8	22	16	23	2	54	35	38	36	25	28	28	28		
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215	71	56	37	29	29	26	15	22	19	5	17	34	27	20	17	10	22	17	24	-	59	40	40	39	28	31	31	31		
230	70	55	36	28	28	24	14	19	18	4	18	33	26	19	16	9	21	17	24	-	56	38	39	39	27	30	30	30		
245	60	46	33	25	25	22	14	16	15	4	14	27	21	15	12	6	17	13	21	-	48	32	33	32	23	25	25	25		
300	65	47	36	27	28	24	16	18	16	4	15	29	21	17	14	8	19	14	21	-	51	34	35	32	25	26	26	26		
315	69	51	38	28	28	25	17	20	17	6	16	30	23	18	15	8	20	15	22	1	55	35	37	34	28	27	27	27		
330	67	49	36	27	27	24	16	18	16	6	15	30	22	18	15	8	20	15	21	1	53	34	36	32	26	26	26	26		
345	69	53	38	29	27	24	17	18	15	6	14	30	23	17	15	8	20	14	22	1	53	34	36	32	26	26	26	26		
400	81	61	42	30	28	24	17	21	18	7	17	36	28	20	15	9	24	15	26	4	65	38	43	40	31	32	32	32		
415	84	65	40	28	28	23	15	20	17	7	18	40	32	23	18	10	27	18	29	4	65	38	44	43	30	33	33	33		
430	87	68	44	31	26	18	16	22	19	6	19	40	32	24	20	11	28	21	28	4	68	42	47	42	33	33	33	33		
445	75	56	36	29	23	20	16	14	11	4	13	36	28	20	17	9	24	17	27	4	58	33	36	36	25	31	31	31		
500	68	54	35	25	25	22	17	16	13	5	14	30	26	16	12	8	19	13	20	3	50	29	32	31	25	24	24	24		
515	54	44	29	23	22	20	16	12	10	4	10	23	19	14	11	8	16	11	14	2	41	25	25	24	20	20	20	20		
530	53	41	30	22	22	20	14	13	11	3	13	21	17	14	11	7	16	13	13	2	39	24	26	26	20	18	18	18		
545	48	36	27	20	20	18	15	11	9	4	11	19	14	13	9	5	15	12	13	2	34	22	24	23	18	16	16	16		
600	43	32	21	16	15	13	9	9	8	2	8	19	14	13	11	7	13	10	11	3	30	19	19	19	13	16	16	16		
615	37	21	16	12	11	9	7	7	6	1	6	19	16	13	12	7	13	10	10	3	27	18	16	16	11	15	15	15		
630	34	19	15	12	10	9	7	6	6	1	6	17	15	12	11	6	12	10	10	3	23	16	15	15	9	13	13	13		
645	32	26	13	11	9	7																								

CKPR
THUNDER BAY

BBM FALL 1997 AUTOMNE

AVERAGE AUDIENCE BY ¼ HOURS (MON-FRI)

AUDITOIRES MOYENS EN ¼ D'HEURES (LUN-VEN)

FULL COVERAGE-IN HUNDREDS (00)

TERRITOIRE DE RAYONNEMENT EN CENTAINES (00)

CENTRAL REGION



REGION CENTRALE

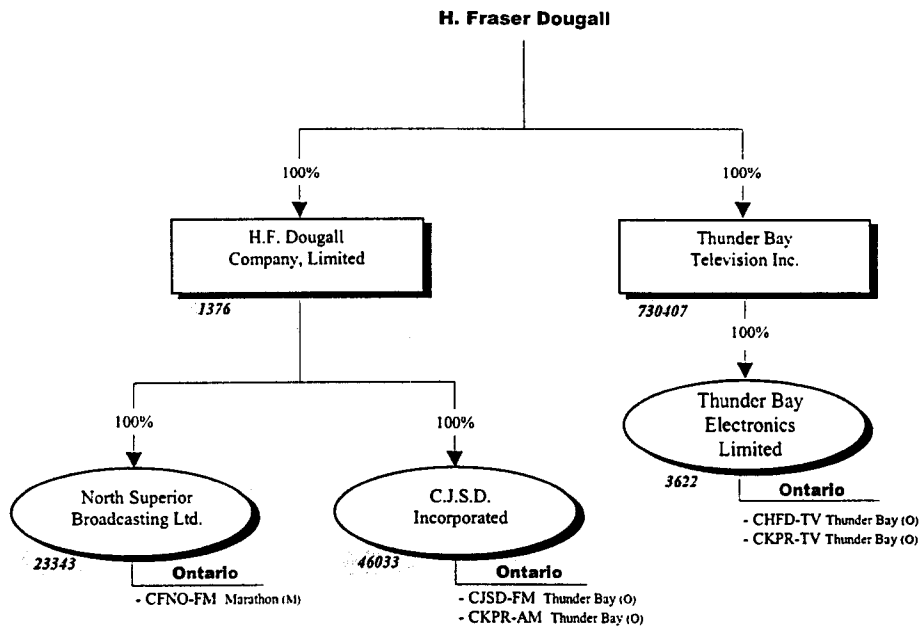
TIME HEURE	TOTAL 12+ TOUS		WOMEN FEMMES												MEN HOMMES												12 / 17	TOTAL 12+ TOUS	ADULTS ADULTES			WOM 18+ FEM	MEN 18+ HOM
	TOTAL TOUS	OUT OF HOME HOURS FOYER	18+	18				25				18+	18				25				(00)	18 / 49	25 / 54	35 / 64									
				43	44	34	24	54	49	34	64		43	44	34	24	54	49	34	64													
500A	6	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	4	3	3	2	4					
515	7	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	4	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	5	4	3	2	4					
530	10	2	4	1	4	4	2	4	4	2	2	6	-	2	2	2	3	1	3	1	3	10	7	7	7	4	4						
545	11	2	4	1	4	3	2	4	4	2	3	7	1	3	2	2	3	1	3	1	3	11	7	8	6	4	7						
600	33	4	16	1	13	9	3	14	13	3	11	16	3	8	5	-	9	7	11	1	11	25	15	18	17	11	13						
615	33	3	20	1	14	11	4	16	14	4	13	13	1	4	3	-	7	5	10	1	10	27	14	18	16	14	12						
630	43	4	26	1	18	14	5	20	18	5	19	16	2	8	4	-	9	8	13	1	13	35	22	24	24	19	15						
645	54	3	33	2	19	15	6	23	19	6	23	20	1	11	6	-	12	11	17	1	17	46	26	30	32	26	19						
700	98	7	51	4	28	20	7	29	26	6	32	45	4	25	17	1	25	24	37	2	37	88	48	49	58	44	42						
715	95	9	51	4	25	18	6	26	23	5	31	44	5	26	17	1	25	24	36	3	36	85	45	46	57	42	42						
730	106	13	50	3	20	15	5	21	18	3	30	53	10	34	23	3	34	33	41	3	41	95	50	51	61	41	51						
745	105	15	49	3	16	12	5	19	14	3	29	52	10	25	16	3	26	23	37	4	37	94	37	39	54	40	49						
800	150	24	73	9	24	17	7	27	22	5	36	76	16	33	22	5	32	30	43	1	43	137	52	54	66	64	73						
815	133	23	64	6	19	13	4	17	14	4	29	68	16	29	21	6	27	25	36	1	36	121	42	41	52	55	65						
830	125	29	62	8	20	15	3	20	19	1	29	62	21	25	20	7	26	23	32	1	32	113	41	42	48	54	58						
845	112	24	58	6	16	12	3	16	15	2	24	54	17	18	13	4	20	17	27	1	27	100	30	31	39	50	50						
900	104	24	56	7	16	13	5	19	16	5	24	48	17	17	14	5	19	16	22	-	22	94	28	32	36	49	45						
915	82	23	44	8	15	12	4	17	15	4	20	37	15	15	12	5	17	13	19	-	19	74	25	29	32	39	35						
930	79	24	45	10	17	15	6	19	17	6	19	35	14	16	14	6	18	14	16	-	16	75	28	32	30	40	35						
945	76	27	44	11	18	16	6	19	18	6	19	31	15	15	12	4	16	13	16	-	16	71	28	31	30	39	31						
1000	74	26	41	11	16	14	6	19	16	6	19	32	15	15	13	4	16	14	17	-	17	68	26	29	29	35	32						
1015	67	25	37	9	14	13	5	17	14	5	17	30	15	14	12	4	15	13	16	-	16	61	24	26	26	31	30						
1030	70	31	39	14	16	15	6	19	16	6	19	31	17	17	15	5	18	16	16	-	16	63	29	32	28	32	31						
1045	66	27	34	10	14	12	5	14	15	4	14	32	17	18	15	5	18	16	17	-	17	60	26	29	25	28	32						
1100	72	27	42	13	16	14	6	18	16	6	19	29	14	14	11	3	15	13	15	1	15	66	26	28	28	36	29						
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1145	75	25	42	10	15	14	6	17	15	6	17	32	15	16	12	3	16	14	17	-	17	69	26	28	29	37	32						
NOON	121	37	72	20	23	19	9	26	23	9	27	49	17	18	12	5	18	16	23	-	23	114	36	38	42	65	49						
1215P	107	30	62	14	17	15	6	20	17	6	23	45	16	16	11	3	16	14	23	-	23	97	28	30	35	53	43						
1230	114	36	66	17	21	18	8	24	21	8	23	48	20	17	13	2	18	16	29	-	29	102	34	36	40	58	43						
1245	100	30	59	13	17	15	6	20	17	6	20	42	17	15	11	2	15	13	25	-	25	88	27	28	33	51	37						
100	76	29	46	13	14	11	3	17	14	3	19	29	16	15	12	4	16	13	19	-	19	67	26	27	29	40	27						
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130	37	22	20	10	9	8	4	12	9	4	9	17	12	10	9	2	11	9	14	-	14	35	19	22	21	19	16						
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200	39	26	19	12	9	8	6	12	9	5	7	19	15	11	10	2	13	10	14	-	14	35	20	23	20	17	18						
215	38	27	20	13	9	8	5	12	9	5	9	18	13	11	10	1	12	10	15	-	15	33	20	23	20	16	17						
230	43	32	20	13	10	8	6	11	10	6	8	23	19	10	10	1	12	9	20	-	20	33	20	23	20	17	16						
245	41	30	19	12	9	8	5	11	9	5	8	22	18	10	10	1	11	9	19	-	19	31	19	21	19	16	15						
300	36	23	20	12	10	9	7	12	10	7	7	16	10	10	9	2	11	8	12	-	12	33	20	22	17	17	16						
315	38	24	20	12	10	9	7	12	10	7	7	18	12	11	9	2	11	9	13	-	13	35	21	23	18	17	17						
330	46	31	24	15	13	9	7	15	13	7	10	22	15	13	12	2	13	11	16	-	16	43	26	28	25	21	22						
345	43	26	24	15	12	9	7	15	12	7	10	18	12	11	10	2	11	9	13	1	13	39	23	26	21	21	18						
400	49	30	25	14	13	9	5	14	12	5	13	22	15	15	11	2	15	13	17	1	17	45	27	30	28	22	22						
415	41	22	20	9	9	7	4	11	9	4	9	20	12	13	10	2	13	11	14	-	14	39	21	24	22	17	20						
430	44	23	24	12	11	9	7	13	11	6	10	20	11	12	9	3	12	10	13	-	13	42	23	25	22	22	20						
445	46	23	25	12	11	9	6	12	9	4	11	21	11	13	10	4	14	12	12	-	12	44	25	26	23	23	21						
500	78	26	36	9	11	9	2	12	11	1	15	41	17	21	16	8	22	20	19	1	19	76	32	33	33	35	40						
515	69	20	33	7	10	8	1	10	10	1	13	35	13	17	12	5	18	16	18	2	18	67	27	28	31	31	35						
530	66	17	30	5	8	7	1	9	8	1	11	35	12	17	13	4	18	16	20	2	20	65	25	27	31	28	35						
545	59	9	28	4	7	6	1	9	7	1	11	30	5	13	9	2	12	12	14	1	14	59	20	21	26	28	30						
600	51	9	24	2	9	8	3	11	9	3	10	25	6	10	6	1	11	9	13	2	13	51	19	22	22	24	25						
615	33	5	18	2	6	6	3	7	6	3	7	14	3	4	3	-	6	4	7	1	7	33	10	13	14	14	14						
630	29	4	16	1	5	5	3	7	6	3	5	12	3	4	2	-	5	3	6	1	6	29	9	12	10	16	12						
645	25	4	13	-	6	4	3	6	5	3	3	12	4	4	2	-	6	4	7	1	7	25	8	12	10	13	12						
700	17	4	8	1	3	3	2	4	3	1	3	9	3	4	3	-	6	4	7	1	7	17	8	10	10	8	9						
715	13	2	6	1	2	2	1	3	3	2	1	6	1	2	-	-	3	2	4	1	4	13	4	6	6	6	6						
730	12	1	7	1	2	2	1	3	3	2	1	5	1	2	-	-	3	2	3	1	3	12	4	6	6	7	7						
745	11	2	6	1	3	2	1	3	3	1	2	5	1	2	-	-	3	2	3														

Appendix B

H.F. DOUGALL

The percentages refer to voting rights only /
Les pourcentages font référence aux droits de
vote seulement.

 Holding / Propriétaire
 Licensee / Titulaire
Usage CRTC use





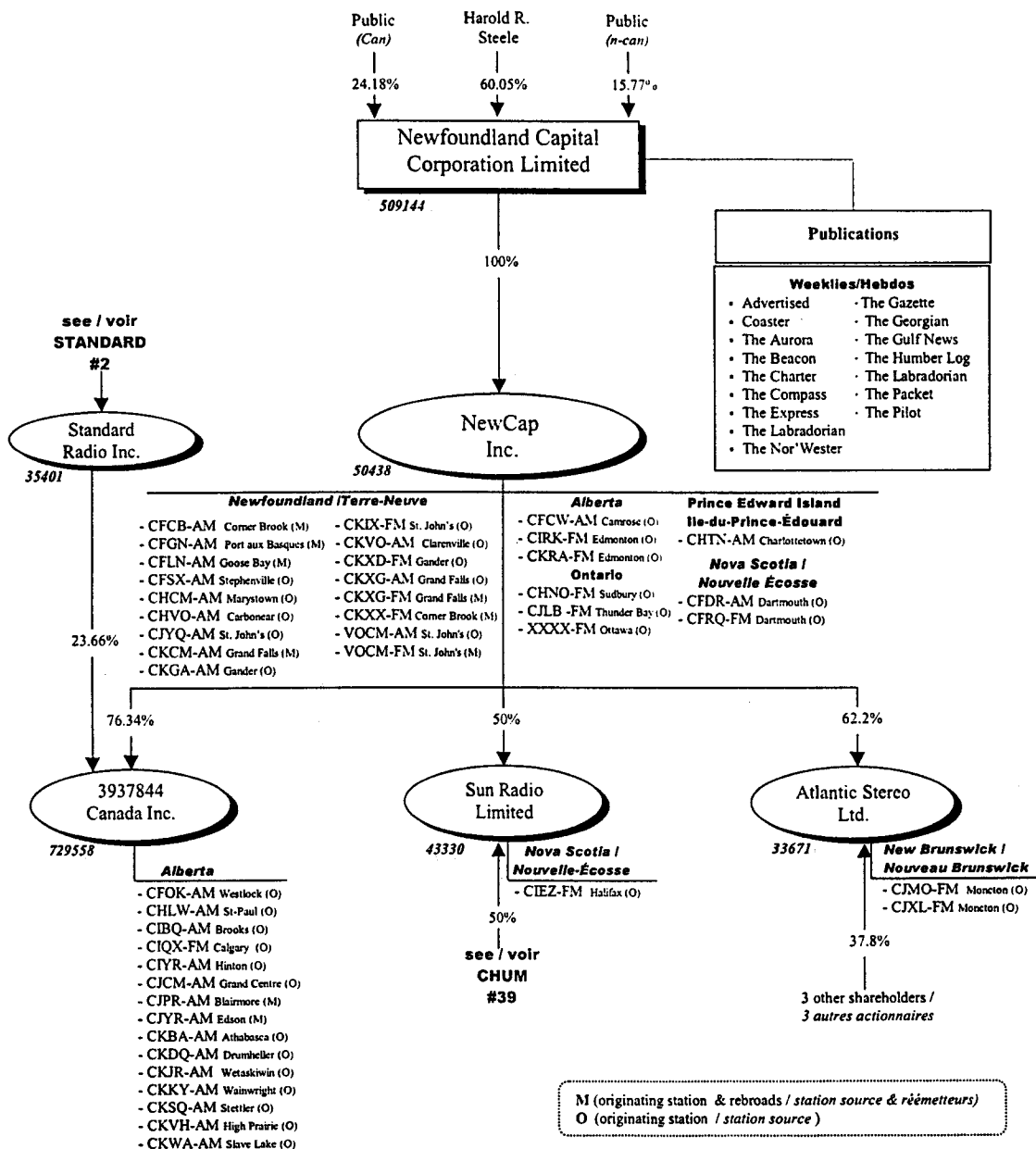
M (originating station & rebroadcasts / station source & réémetteurs)
O (originating station / station source)

<p>UPDATE</p> <p>CRTC 2002-258 – approved the transfer of ownership and effective control of North Superior Broadcasting Ltd. to H.F. Dougall Company, Limited.</p>	<p>MISE À JOUR</p> <p>CRTC 2002-258 – a approuvé le transfert de la propriété et du contrôle effectif de North Superior Broadcasting Ltd. à H.F. Dougall Company, Limited.</p>
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NewCap

The percentages refer to voting rights only!
Les pourcentages font référence aux droits de vote seulement

 Holding / Propriétaire
 Licensee / Titulaire
usage CRTC use



UPDATE

CRTC 2002-93 – 2002-04-19 – approved the acquisition by 3937844 Canada Inc., a corporation controlled by NewCap Inc., of Newcap Inc., of 15 radio stations and related transmitters from Standard Radio Inc.

AMALGAMATION – 2002-01-01 – of Humber Valley Broadcasting Company Limited and Newcap Inc. to continue as NewCap Inc.

Update – 2002-08-13 – call sign for FM in Calgary

MISE À JOUR

CRTC 2002-93 – 2002-04-19 – a approuvé l'acquisition par 3937844 Canada Inc., une société contrôlée par Newcap Inc., de 15 stations de radio et leurs émetteurs propriété de Standard Radio Inc.

FUSION – 2002-01-01 – de Humber Valley Broadcasting Company Limited et Newcap Inc. pour former la nouvelle NewCap Inc.

Mise à jour – 2002-08-13 – de l'indicatif d'appel du FM à Calgary

#71

ownership / propriété
BROADCASTING / RADIODIFFUSION

CRTC

2002-08-13

Appendix C

Appendix C.1

Total News Time Designated to Territorial Content on Thunder Bay Radio Stations.

Subject of Story	Territory Story Applies To	CBQT-FM		CJLB-FM		CJSD-FM		CKPR-AM	
		Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)
Accidents/ Catastrophes	Local	11	08:39	26	14:38	22	11:19	30	15:28
	Regional	10	07:20	8	03:44	10	04:10	18	09:26
	Provincial	1	01:37	1	:15	0	:00	4	01:58
	National	0	:00	2	01:19	3	01:27	12	05:10
	U.S.	0	:00	1	:20	1	:20	8	04:43
	International	5	04:54	0	:00	2	:50	12	05:18
Total		27	22:30	38	20:16	38	18:06	84	42:03
Charities	Local	2	02:04	13	07:55	19	11:33	16	10:27
	Regional	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	Provincial	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	1	:22
	National	1	01:35	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	U.S.	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	International	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
Total		3	03:39	13	07:55	19	11:33	17	10:49
Crime/Law Enforcement	Local	8	07:07	22	09:45	24	10:35	43	21:05
	Regional	14	14:59	9	04:08	5	02:13	9	03:57
	Provincial	9	09:58	0	:00	2	:58	6	03:03
	National	7	06:21	5	01:53	8	03:00	34	13:50
	U.S.	0	:00	5	02:38	6	03:07	8	03:13
	International	1	01:09	0	:00	1	:18	6	04:27
Total		39	39:34	41	18:24	46	20:11	106	49:35
Economics	Local	28	21:15	38	21:26	44	21:44	57	29:35
	Regional	11	09:00	5	03:10	4	02:36	4	02:54
	Provincial	26	22:21	5	02:20	9	04:02	18	11:09
	National	12	14:00	10	04:05	14	06:25	30	16:29
	U.S.	0	:00	2	02:13	3	01:09	4	01:54
	International	1	01:14	1	:26	0	:00	9	03:55
Total		79*	68:35*	61	33:40	74	35:56	123**	66:19**
Education	Local	10	07:48	17	11:26	20	12:19	29	18:05
	Regional	1	01:35	0	:00	0	:00	1	:14
	Provincial	9	08:42	4	02:05	2	01:11	9	05:15
	National	1	01:35	3	01:40	0	:00	5	02:23
	U.S.	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	International	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
Total		21	19:40	24	15:11	22	13:30	44	25:57
Entertainment	Local	0	:00	3	02:55	3	02:36	4	02:29
	Regional	0	:00	1	:29	1	:24	2	01:03
	Provincial	3	04:35	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	National	1	:34	2	01:03	3	01:17	6	03:15
	U.S.	1	01:18	8	07:55	9	05:01	16	09:17
	International	0	:00	0	:00	3	01:21	4	01:40
Total		5	06:27	14	12:22	19	10:39	32	17:44

(cont.) Appendix C.1:

Subject of Story	Territory Story Applies To	CBQT-FM		CJLB-FM		CJSD-FM		CKPR-AM	
		Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)
Environment	Local	5	03:51	9	05:42	8	04:47	14	08:47
	Regional	6	06:00	5	03:22	5	02:47	5	03:06
	Provincial	12	11:58	4	02:20	3	01:47	6	06:59
	National	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	1	:32
	U.S.	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	2	:43
	International	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
Total		23	21:49	18	11:24	16	09:21	28	17:07
Gambling	Local	8	06:54	6	03:57	5	03:02	9	06:05
	Regional	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	Provincial	5	05:13	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	National	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	1	:34
	U.S.	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	International	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
Total		13	12:07	6	03:57	5	03:02	10	06:39
Health	Local	17	15:37	23	14:51	23	13:14	26	16:55
	Regional	9	10:25	2	:49	1	:42	5	02:34
	Provincial	14	14:30	2	:55	6	02:33	10	06:18
	National	3	03:39	1	:22	4	01:56	9	04:43
	U.S.	1	:14	4	02:23	2	:56	3	01:25
	International	1	01:21	2	:48	6	03:33	4	02:01
Total		45	45:46	34	20:08	42	22:54	57	33:56
Miscellaneous	Local	0	:00	3	01:54	5	02:16	7	04:09
	Regional	1	01:09	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	Provincial	1	:27	0	:00	0	:00	2	01:13
	National	0	:00	0	:00	1	:22	5	02:18
	U.S.	0	:00	1	:39	5	02:51	6	03:05
	International	0	:00	1	:46	1	:46	4	01:30
Total		2	01:36	5	03:19	12	06:15	24	12:15
Politics	Local	8	05:36	12	05:49	17	07:24	27	14:27
	Regional	1	01:14	0	:00	0	:00	2	01:24
	Provincial	25	23:04	9	05:14	13	05:28	30	17:14
	National	8	07:12	5	02:17	16	06:18	39	22:46
	U.S.	1	01:13	7	03:20	5	01:15	12	07:47
	International	3	04:16	1	:23	3	01:02	11	07:05
Total		46	42:35	34	17:03	54	21:27	121	70:43
Race/Ethnic Relations	Local	4	02:10	4	02:36	4	02:40	9	05:17
	Regional	5	05:30	3	02:03	3	01:54	3	01:56
	Provincial	1	01:08	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	National	2	01:58	3	01:21	1	:24	4	03:11
	U.S.	0	:00	2	:44	1	:16	5	03:34
	International	0	:00	2	:47	3	:39	8	04:55
Total		12	10:46	14	07:31	12	05:53	29	18:53

(cont.) Appendix C.1:

Subject of Story	Territory Story Applies To	CBQT-FM		CJLB-FM		CJSD-FM		CKPR-AM	
		Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)	Number of Stories by Territory	Time By Territory (min/sec)
Sports	Local	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	Regional	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
	Provincial	3	04:40	0	:00	0	:00	3	04:12
	National	0	:00	0	:00	1	:17	6	02:49
	U.S.	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	3	01:49
	International	1	01:14	1	:31	2	:46	3	02:33
Total		4	05:54	1	:31	3	01:03	15	09:23
Technology/Y-2-K	Local	3	02:15	5	03:07	9	05:51	12	07:43
	Regional	2	01:40	0	:00	1	:46	1	:59
	Provincial	0	:00	1	:19	0	:00	2	01:11
	National	2	01:27	2	01:00	3	01:46	2	01:22
	U.S.	0	:00	1	:59	0	:00	3	01:32
	International	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	1	:12
Total		7	05:22	9	05:25	13	08:23	21	12:59
Weather	Local	1	:24	7	03:43	6	03:37	8	04:24
	Regional	1	01:08	3	01:36	3	01:40	3	01:20
	Provincial	4	02:07	5	02:50	1	:24	8	04:17
	National	1	01:19	1	01:25	2	:51	3	01:19
	U.S.	0	:00	1	:32	1	:27	1	:48
	International	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00	0	:00
Total		7	04:58	17	10:06	13	06:59	23	12:08
Station Totals for Sample Period:		n=333	t=311:18	n=329	t=187:12	n=388	t=195:12	n=734	t=406:30

*One story from March 11, 1999 does not specifically refer to any territory. It was 45 seconds in length, and is included in the total.

**One story from March 3, 1999 does not specifically refer to any territory. It was 23 seconds in length, and is included in the total.

Appendix C.2

Amount of Time Delegated to Each Topic (in Descending Order), and Percentage of Total Newscast the Theme Occupied.

	CBQT-FM			CJLB-FM			CJSD-FM			CKPR-AM		
	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast
P r i m a r y T h e m e s	Economics	68:35	22.0	Economics	33:40	17.8	Economics	35:56	18.2	Politics	70:43	17.3
	Health	45:46	14.6	Accidents/ Catastrophes	20:16	10.8	Health	22:54	11.6	Economics	66:19	16.3
	Politics	42:35	13.6	Health	20:08	10.7	Politics	21:27	10.9	Crime/Law Enforcement	49:35	12.1
	Crime/Law Enforcement	39:34	12.6	Crime/Law Enforcement	18:24	9.7	Crime/Law Enforcement	20:11	10.3	Accidents/ Catastrophes	42:03	10.3
	Accidents/ Catastrophes	22:30	7.2	Politics	17:03	9.1	Accidents/ Catastrophes	18:06	9.3	Health	33:56	8.3
S e c o n d a r y T h e m e s	Environment	21:49	6.9	Education	15:11	8.1	Education	13:30	6.8	Education	25:57	6.3
	Education	19:40	6.2	Entertainment	12:22	6.5	Charity	11:33	5.8	Race/ Ethnicity	18:53	4.6
	Gambling	12:07	3.9	Environment	11:24	6.0	Entertainment	10:39	5.3	Entertainment	17:44	4.3
	Race/ Ethnicity	10:46	3.4	Weather	10:06	5.4	Environment	09:21	4.7	Environment	17:07	4.2
	Entertainment	06:27	2.0	Charity	07:55	4.0	Technology/ Y2K	08:23	4.2	Technology/ Y2K	12:59	3.1
	Sports	05:54	1.8	Race/ Ethnicity	07:31	3.9	Weather	06:59	3.4	Miscellaneous	12:15	3.0
	Technology/ Y2K	05:22	1.7	Technology/ Y2K	05:25	2.8	Miscellaneous	06:15	3.2	Weather	12:08	3.0
	Weather	04:58	1.5	Gambling	03:57	1.9	Race/ Ethnicity	05:53	2.8	Charity	10:49	2.6
	Charity	03:39	1.1	Miscellaneous	03:19	1.7	Gambling	03:02	1.5	Sports	09:23	2.3
	Miscellaneous	01:36	0.4	Sports	:31	0.2	Sports	01:03	0.5	Gambling	06:39	1.6
	Total Time/ Per cent:	311:18	98.9*		187:12	98.6*		195:12	98.5*		406:32	99.3*

* Amount does not total 100 because of rounding.

Appendix C.3

Average Time of News Stories.

Subject of Story	CBQT-FM min/sec	CJLB-FM min/sec	CJSD-FM min/sec	CKPR-AM min/sec
Accidents/ Catastrophes	00:49.56	00:31.83	00:28.52	00:30.02
Charities	01:07.08	00:34.85	00:35.78	00:37.02
Crime/Law Enforcement	01:00.52	00:26.69	00:26.23	00:27.93
Economics	00:51.91	00:32.85	00:28.83	00:32.29
Education	00:55.43	00:37.75	00:36.27	00:34.87
Entertainment	01:15.24	00:52.37	00:32.81	00:32.70
Environment	00:56.06	00:37.47	00:34.54	00:36.58
Gambling	00:55.71	00:35.70	00:36.24	00:38.34
Health	01:06.00	00:35.40	00:32.20	00:35.30
Miscellaneous	00:40.80	00:38.28	00:30.75	00:30.38
Politics	00:55.24	00:30.05	00:23.60	00:34.90
Race/Ethnic Relations	00:52.30	00:31.33	00:27.65	00:38.34
Sports	01:23.00	00:31.00	00:20.60	00:36.92
Technology/Y-2-K	00:44.74	00:35.00	00:37.98	00:35.97
Weather	00:39.26	00:35.51	00:30.42	00:31.51
Total Average Time:	00:56.86	00:35.07	00:30.83	00:34.02

Appendix C.4

The Amount of Time and Percentage of News Delegated Towards Each Territory on Thunder Bay Radio Stations.

Territory Stories Concern	CBQT-FM		CJLB-FM		CJSD-FM		CKPR-AM	
	Time	Per cent	Time	Per cent	Time	Per cent	Time	Per cent
Local	83:40	26.8	109:44	58.5	112:57	57.7	164:56	40.5
Regional	60:00	19.3	19:21	10.3	17:12	8.8	28:53	7
Provincial	110:20	35.4	16:18	8.6	16:23	8.3	58:11	14.3
National	39:40	12.7	16:25	8.7	24:03	12.3	80:51	19.8
United States	02:45	0.79	21:43	11.5	15:22	7.8	39:50	9.7
International	14:08	4.5	03:41	1.8	09:15	4.7	33:36	8.2
Total Time/Per cent:	*310:33	99.49	187:12	99.4	195:12	99.4	**406:17	99.5

* CBCQ's station total does not equal the total time in Appendix B.2 because a 45 second story did not refer to any particular territory and it was omitted from the calculations.

** CKPR's station total does not equal the total time in Appendix B.2 because a 23 second story did not refer to any particular territory and was omitted from the calculations.

Appendix C.5

Amount of Time Delegated to Each Topic (in Descending Order), and Percentage of Local Newscast the Theme Occupied.

	CBQT-FM			CJLB-FM			CJSD-FM			CKPR-AM		
	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast	Topic	Time	Per cent of Newscast
P r i m a r y T h e m e s	Economics	21:15	25.4	Economics	21:26	19.4	Economics	21:44	19.0	Economics	29:35	17.8
	Health	15:37	18.4	Health	14:51	13.3	Health	13:14	11.7	Crime/Law Enforcement	21:05	12.8
	Accidents/ Catastrophes	08:39	10.1	Accidents/ Catastrophes	14:38	13.1	Education	12:19	10.8	Education	18:05	11.0
	Education	07:48	9.0	Education	11:26	10.3	Charity	11:33	10.1	Health	16:55	10.1
	Crime/Law Enforcement	07:07	8.5	Crime/Law Enforcement	09:45	8.6	Accidents/ Catastrophes	11:19	9.9	Accidents/ Catastrophes	15:28	9.3
S e c o n d a r y T h e m e s	Gambling	06:54	7.8	Charity	07:55	6.9	Crime/Law Enforcement	10:35	9.2	Politics	14:27	8.7
	Politics	05:36	6.4	Politics	05:49	5.0	Politics	07:24	6.4	Charity	10:27	6.2
	Environment	03:51	4.2	Environment	05:42	5.0	Technology/ Y2K	05:51	4.9	Environment	08:47	5.1
	Technology/ Y2K	02:15	2.6	Gambling	03:57	3.3	Environment	04:47	4.0	Technology/ Y2K	07:43	4.5
	Race/ Ethnicity	02:10	2.5	Weather	03:43	3.1	Weather	03:37	3.0	Gambling	06:05	3.7
	Charity	02:04	2.4	Technology/ Y2K	03:07	2.8	Gambling	03:02	2.7	Race/ Ethnicity	05:17	3.1
	Weather	00:24	0.3	Entertainment	02:55	2.3	Race/ Ethnicity	02:40	2.1	Weather	04:24	2.6
	Entertainment	00:00	0.0	Race/ Ethnicity	02:36	2.2	Entertainment	02:36	2.1	Miscellaneous	04:09	2.5
	Miscellaneous	00:00	0.0	Miscellaneous	01:54	1.4	Miscellaneous	02:16	1.9	Entertainment	02:29	1.3
	Sports	00:00	0.0	Sports	00:00	0.0	Sports	00:00	0.0	Sports	00:00	0.0
	Total Time/ Per cent:	83:40	97.6*		109:44	96.7*		112:57	97.8*		164:56	98.7*

* Amount does not total 100 because of rounding.

Appendix C.6

Sources for Each Radio Station.

Sources of Information	CBQT-FM		CJLB-FM		CJSD-FM		CKPR-AM	
	Number of Sources	Per cent	Number of Sources	Per cent	Number of Sources	Per cent	Number of Sources	Per cent
Corporate Representatives/Entrepreneurs	50	7.4	24	4.8	23	3.8	50	4.4
Political/Bureaucratic Officials	109	16.1	54	10.9	70	11.7	150	13.4
Community/Labour Organizations	43	6.3	25	5.0	39	6.5	42	3.7
Citizens/Victims	29	4.3	28	5.6	36	6.0	58	5.2
Journalists	412	61.1	353	71.7	416	69.9	791	71.0
Specialists/Experts	31	4.5	8	1.6	11	1.8	22	1.9
Total Time/Per cent:	674	99.7*	492	99.6*	595	99.7*	1113	99.5*

Appendix C.7

Number of Duplicate Stories on Thunder Bay Radio Stations.

Radio Stations	Number of Duplicate Stories Per Station			
	CBQT-FM	CJLB-FM	CJSD-FM	CKPR-AM
CBQT-FM	19	2	2	4
CJLB-FM	2	13	57	40
CJSD-FM	2	57	13	68
CKPR-AM	4	40	68	50
All Privately Owned Stations	0	81	81	81
All Four Stations	1	1	1	1
Total Duplicate Stories	28	194	222	244
Total Number of Stories	333	329	388	734

Appendix D

Appendix D

Reporters for Each Newscast.

Date:	Day Part:	CBQT-FM	CJLB-FM	CJSD-FM	CKPR-AM
01/15/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Vic Krasowski Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
01/20/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
01/22/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
01/28/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley Vic Krasowski Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
01/29/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
02/02/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
02/08/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Frank Macri	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Frank Macri	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
02/09/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
02/18/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Shane Judge Shane Judge Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Frank Macri	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Frank Macri	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
02/24/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Holly Smith Shane Judge	John Haley John Haley John Haley	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
02/25/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Shane Judge	John Haley John Haley John Haley	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
03/03/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Shane Judge	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	**Bryan Wyatt Vic Krasowski Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
03/04/99	Morning Noon Afternoon	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Shane Judge	John Haley John Haley Frank Macri	Vic Krasowski Vic Krasowski Frank Macri	Rick Smith Rick Smith Tony Prudori
03/10/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Dan Ahlstrand	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski
03/11/99	Morning: Noon: Afternoon:	Jim Symonik Jim Symonik Carol Amadeo	John Haley John Haley Tony Prudori	Julie Buckingham Julie Buckingham Tony Prudori	Rick Smith Rick Smith Vic Krasowski

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