

value system is evident in French-language journalism, a practice that goes back a long time.¹²⁸

He found no such uniformity of outlook on the part of the English press which, he termed "fragmented." His conclusion is reinforced by David Thomas, an English-speaking journalist from Quebec: "Unity of thought was, and remains, infinitely more obvious in Quebec's French-language media--a phenomenon implicitly recognized by politicians and journalists who repeatedly point to the harsher treatment accorded the government by the English media."¹²⁹

Dominique Clift, a Montreal author and free-lance journalist who worked for major Canadian newspapers in both French and English Canada, characterized this uniformity of French-language journalists in a different way: the way in which they viewed themselves and their role in Quebec society. In his article, "Solidarity on a Pedestal: French Journalism in Quebec," he charged that "French journalists see for themselves a much more exalted role in society than do their English-speaking counterparts," adding that: "It is in the actual practice of journalism that French and English writers differ in the most pronounced manner. It has to do with the way in which journalists look upon themselves, their profession, their public, as well as on their employers."¹³⁰

But Florian Sauvageau, in his more systematic study of journalists on French-language dailies in Quebec, could find no such homogeneity in Quebec's journalistic circles. Instead, he found changes in Quebec media to parallel those in the modern corporate media of North America. Among those include: the tendency to view newspapers as, first and foremost, businesses and journalists as "news workers"; journalists talking not so much in terms of "news" but of the "product"; and business and marketing functions gradually replacing the news function.¹³¹

"Journalists are far from all being those radicals trying to control the news, as depicted a few years ago with some help from the pronouncements of the most militant of them. There are some, of course, who still turn for inspiration to the theses of the news as a driving force, and journalism as a tool for development, seeing themselves as agents of change and keeping up with the rhetoric of the 1960s and 1970s. However, a good number are content simply to report the remarks of the dignitaries they meet, or to get the news out as quickly as possible."¹³²

The result, he said, is that the work of journalists is becoming more and more routine and fairly unfulfilling, and that this is partly due to the rigid application of certain clauses in collective agreements between journalists and management.

In summary, this brief review of research and commentary on journalists and journalism in the United States, English Canada and Quebec provides some insight into how the practice of journalism in these different settings has been influenced in a variety of ways by English, French and American traditions. Our concern, however, is in how these different traditions or

¹²⁸ Id. at 341.

¹²⁹ David Thomas, "The Anglo Press in the Seventies: Conspiracy or Just Plain Incompetence?" in Caldwell and Waddell, eds., *The English of Quebec* (Québec: L'Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1982) at 351.

¹³⁰ Dominique Clift, "Solidarity on a Pedestal: French Journalism in Quebec," in Walter Stewart, ed., *Canadian Newspapers: The Inside Story* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, Ltd., 1980), at 206.

¹³¹ Florian Sauvageau, "French-speaking journalists on journalism" in *The Journalists*, Volume 2, Royal Commission on Newspapers (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1981), at 44-46.

¹³² Id. at 46. Gosselin, as well, concludes that the militant model of the 1970s has given way to a more professional model of collective practices. (André Gosselin, "The Collective Practices of Quebec Journalists," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 14:2 (1989), at 28-40).