In Everyone Says No, Kyle Conway provides an engaging look at the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Constitutional Accords through the lens of Canada's English and French national broadcasters, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Radio-Canada, respectively, examining their ability to translate and provide dialogue between French and English Canada. While many have written and dissected these two constitutional battles, Conway is the first to look directly at the role played by television news in providing the necessary context and understanding for the two solitudes to understand each other during these tumultuous years.

This book is situated within the fields of Communications and Media Studies, but will also be of particular interest to Canadian political scientists. It is divided into the two parts. In the first half of the book Conway outlines the role and mandate of CBC and Radio-Canada, taking care to examine in some detail the Crown corporation's initial foray into cable news. He recounts the early history of the CBC program Newsworld, when it attempted to provide translations of Radio-Canada programs such as Le Téléjournal. The reasons for that experiment and its failure are explained, and provide the necessary background to understand why CBC no longer provides extensive translation of Radio-Canada programming. He also tackles the enduring question of whether the CBC should “actively promote national unity” and what the implications for journalistic independence (p. 60).

Conway provides an interesting perspective on translation. While he acknowledges that translation can be linguistic, he adds, “Linguistic translation can take several forms, including subtitling, voice-over transitions, and paraphrases” (p. 5). More importantly, he argues that the way in which journalists choose to provide linguistic translation impacts their ability to provide cultural translation. Journalists who paraphrase rather than provide verbatim translation risk imposing their cultural bias on the messages of others.

While the case studies of Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accord are narrow, Conway uses these examples to examine several larger questions: “How did the politics of national identity shape journalists’ institutional roles? How did journalists’ institutional roles in turn shape their stories? Similarly, how did viewers’ identities shape their political views, and vice versa? How did viewers resulting attitudes toward Meech Lake and Charlottetown (measured by polls and focus groups) affect journalists’ stories?” (p. 12).

In the second half of the book Conway provides results of a content analysis of CBC and Radio-Canada coverage of Meech Lake and Charlottetown, using news stories as the unit of analysis. The quantitative portion of the content analysis consists primarily of comparing news stories that aired on key dates on both The National and on Le Téléjournal. The data reveal the relative importance that the two networks placed on various aspects of the story and illustrated how each side was tied to its own perspective. For example, during September and October 1992 the most frequently ap-
The most interesting component of the content analysis was Conway's qualitative findings, wherein he posits “whether translation is ‘visible’ or ‘invisible’ to the viewers” (p. 73). He also acknowledges the paradox that the “North American journalistic ideal of objectivity is based on a notion of perspective-free reporting” (p. 62), yet translation itself requires perspective and a worldview. In comparing texts, Conway finds that *Le Téléjournal* journalists were much more likely to provide subtitles (eight percent, compared to less than one percent on *The National*).

The analysis is augmented with interviews with journalists to explain why the coverage and attitude toward translation differed so much. For English journalist Neil MacDonald, voice-over translations were used instead of subtitles because “News is faster paced, and the clips are sometimes very short. Too short, in many cases for the viewer to read and digest the subtitle” (p. 72). However, for Radio-Canada journalists, the desire was to “be clear in attributing speech to the person responsible for the opinions expressed” (p. 72). As a result, Conway concludes “the institutionally positioned perspective of the journalists left observable traces in how they incorporated translated speech into the stories they produces” (p. 72). He concludes, “translation as it operated on *The National* and *Le Téléjournal* was not a neutral tool … Journalists on *The National* allowed less access to speakers’ original statements, while journalists on *Le Téléjournal* allowed more” (p. 79).

Chapters four and five are devoted to understanding interpretations and the meaning of the terms “distinct society” and “socéité distincte.” Chapter four examines the history of the terms, while chapter five looks at the coverage of Meech Lake and the interpretations of the terms by Canadian audiences. Conway finds that part of the problem can be explained by the fact that with the historical interpretations of the terms, “viewers of *The National* did not generally share a common interpretive framework with viewers of *Le Téléjournal*” (p. 119). The author does note with due irony that the only place where the terms had “similar meanings” was where “First Nations were concerned” (p. 106).

The only flaw in the book is its exclusive look at the national broadcaster. While it is interesting to see how *The National* and *Le Téléjournal* covered the important historical events, it is difficult to make the generalizations that the coverage influenced the way in which Canadians judged what happened. The nature of the events meant that Canadians, regardless of language, would seek out many different avenues for news. Apart from the national broadcaster, Canadians also viewed private television networks, listened to radio stations, and read newspaper stories and editorials to obtain additional information and context. While CBC did not provide more contextual translations, it would be interesting to see if they performed better or worse than private new media. Conway does report on other content analysis performed at the time, but as they did
not look at the issue of translation, the results of those studies limit our ability to understand how journalism in general influences public perceptions of the other.

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