



Writers Guild of Canada

**Submission to the Standing Committee on  
Canadian Heritage on  
Bill C-10  
*An Act to amend the Broadcasting Act***

**April 1, 2021**

## I. C-10 is crucial legislation that must be passed promptly

Bill C-10, *An Act to amend the Broadcasting Act and to make related and consequential amendments to other Acts*, (Bill C-10) is crucial legislation whose time has long since come.

For nearly a century, Canadian public policy has recognized the essential role of supporting Canadian media as a core component of our national and cultural sovereignty. From at least the Aird Commission (1929)<sup>1</sup> onwards, public regulation and support for Canadian broadcasting has been considered crucial to Canadian identity and national consciousness. In the decades since, the economic benefits have also become apparent, which domestic Canadian television production generating 56,100 direct and spin-off full-time equivalent jobs<sup>2</sup> and \$3.96 billion in GDP<sup>3</sup> in Canada in 2018-2019 alone. We can compare this to the domestic Canadian theatrical feature sector which, absent any meaningful regulation, languishes at roughly one-tenth the size of television,<sup>4</sup> Canada having long ago ceded its cinemas to domination by American films, such that Hollywood now literally treats Canada as its own domestic theatrical market.<sup>5</sup> Canadian domestic broadcasting, by comparison, exists, despite challenges, in a meaningful way, thanks in immense part to the various iterations of the *Broadcasting Act* (the Act) and resulting regulation, which has ensured that Canadian broadcasters contribute to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming, for the benefit of Canadians.

As is now well-understood, the digital revolution has profoundly challenged 20<sup>th</sup> Century models of broadcasting regulation, and we are now at a tipping point, if not already beyond it. The emergence of the Internet generally, and large foreign streaming services specifically, has created new and immense competitive pressure on traditional Canadian broadcasters. The result has been, among other things, a precipitous decline in private, English-language broadcaster licence fees that contribute to financing Canadian programming, from \$456 million and 17% of financing in 2014-2015, to just \$212 million and 10% in 2018-2019.<sup>6</sup> This is a collapse of more than half of 2014-2015 spending. Meanwhile, the cost of producing world-class content continues to increase.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, our own internal data shows that the hours of scripted production under the WGC's jurisdiction commissioned by the major private English-language broadcasters have fallen even more dramatically. From 2014 through 2019, hours of such programming commissioned by Bell Media plummeted from 146.5 to 25.5 (-82.6%); by Corus Entertainment, they fell from 346.5 to 120.8 (-65.1%); and, by Rogers Media, the decline was from 46.2

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<sup>1</sup> Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> *Profile 2019*, Canadian Media Producers Association (CMPA) in collaboration with the Department of Canadian Heritage, Telefilm Canada, the Association québécoise de la production médiatique (AQPM) and Nordicity, <https://cmpa.ca/profile/>, Exhibit 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Exhibit 1-9.

<sup>4</sup> For example, as per *Profile 2019*, Canadian theatrical feature film production generated barely 12% of the full-time equivalent jobs and GDP as Canadian television production that year.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Vlessing, Etan. "Canada Box Office: Revenue Rises to \$699M in 2015." *The Hollywood Reporter*, 8 Jan 2016. <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/canada-box-office-revenue-rises-853273>

<sup>6</sup> *Profile 2019*, Exhibit 3-17.

<sup>7</sup> *Profile 2019*, Exhibit 3-9.

to 18 (-61%).<sup>8</sup> In total, the number of drama episodes produced under the WGC’s jurisdiction dropped nearly 45% from 2015 to 2020.

None of this is news any longer. Numerous consultations over the past five years alone have repeatedly demonstrated the need to act. The Creative Canada Policy Framework (2017),<sup>9</sup> the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission’s (CRTC) report, “Harnessing Change: The Future of Programming Distribution in Canada” (2018),<sup>10</sup> and the final report of the Broadcasting and Telecommunications Legislative Review Panel, “Canada’s communications future: Time to act” (2020),<sup>11</sup> have all recognized both the impacts of the digital shift, and the need for a government response, including updating the *Broadcasting Act* to the new, digital reality. The latter emphasized, in its very title, that the time to act is now.

The urgency is all the more pressing because passage of Bill C-10 is not the end of the process, but rather just the beginning. The CRTC implements the Broadcasting Policy for Canada under the *Broadcasting Act*, and following passage of the bill the Commission must still have a public proceeding and hold hearings to determine specific regulatory requirements. The Preliminary Draft Policy Direction to the CRTC of August 2020 proposes a time frame of 9 months to do so. We believe that is itself ambitious, but whatever is ultimately done, the actual realization of the objectives of Bill C-10 will still be many months—and maybe years—away. For an industry on the brink, the clock is ticking.

## **II. The central role of Canadian creators—and Canadian screenwriters**

Art is made by artists.

Canadian art is made by Canadian artists.

Canadian television is made by Canadian screenwriters.

Creative work does not exist unless and until it is created by creators. In other creative forms, like painting or novel writing, the artist is a single individual creating a single work, and their status as author and creator of their work is broadly understood. We would not say that a painting is Canadian simply because it was commissioned by a Canadian art collector, or exhibited in a Canadian-owned gallery, if the painter themselves was not Canadian; we would not say that a book is Canadian simply because it was published by a Canadian publisher or sold in a Canadian-owned bookstore, if the author was not Canadian. In every creative medium there are a number of important, non-creative roles that help get a work from an idea to a final product in the hands (or on the screens, or onto the digital devices) of consumers. Yet in no creative medium is the artist somehow secondary with those other roles when it comes to the creative nature and identity of the work. We say that the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel ceiling are the work of Michelangelo, and the fact that the frescoes were commissioned by Pope Julius II or paid for by the Catholic Church makes them no less Michelangelo’s. We say that *Hamlet* is the work of

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<sup>8</sup> Data from 2020 reflects the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which seriously disrupted production in the spring and summer of the year. At least, we very much hope that is the case, since hours commissioned dropped even more precipitously that year, to just 41.5 hours from Corus, and to a shocking 6.5 hours from Bell Media.

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/creative-canada/framework.html>

<sup>10</sup> <https://crtc.gc.ca/eng/publications/s15/>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/110.nsf/eng/00012.html>

William Shakespeare, no matter in what country it is staged, and no matter who produces, directs, or acts in a performance of it.

Professional audiovisual content, television programming included, is a collaborative form, requiring the work of many people to bring it to fruition. This does not mean, however, that television programming lacks creators or a creative vision. On the contrary, of the hundreds of people who may be involved in the production of an hour-long drama series, many do not inhabit *creative* roles. Television shows are nevertheless creative works that bear the stamp of their creators—of an authorial voice or voices and individual artistry. In serial dramatic television in particular, that voice is the screenwriter:

Television is a writer's medium. Always has been. ...Great dramatic television is serialized; the stories are ongoing, often from season to season, weaving a vast, multiple-hour tale. It is the novel to film's short story.

And in television, the actual telling of the story is everything—the narrative flow of that story and the character development within that story solidify greatness, if present.<sup>12</sup>

The screenwriter begins with a blank page. There is no greater act of creation than to start with an empty piece of paper, or computer screen, and to fill it with stories, characters, ideas, emotions, and details—to fill it with *life*—all within the framework of the television form. This is the screenwriter's art and the screenwriter's craft. This fundamental creative act is necessary before anybody else in the production process can do their job. Without the script, there is nothing to produce, nothing to direct, nothing to perform. Legendary filmmaker Alfred Hitchcock said, "To make a great film you need three things – the script, the script, and the script."<sup>13</sup> Nobody can shoot an empty sheet of paper. Even when a television show is adapted from another form, like a novel, the screenwriter's job is foundational, and the screenwriter remains the creator of their show, just as much as the novelist is the creator of their novel or the playwright of their play.<sup>14</sup>

At the centre of the writing process is the showrunner. A showrunner is a writer-producer who is the chief custodian of the creative vision of a television series and whose primary responsibility is to communicate the creative vision of that series through control of both the writing process and the production process—often from the pilot episode through to the finale. The showrunner concept emerged in the U.S. in the 1980s, where it has become closely associated with the current "Golden Age" of television, and it has since expanded internationally, including to Canada. Showrunners are writer-

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<sup>12</sup> Goodman, Tim, "Critic's Notebook: The Rise of the TV Auteur? No Thanks." *The Hollywood Reporter*, October 10, 2018, <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/bastard-machine/critics-notebook-rise-tv-auteur-no-thanks-1150887>.

<sup>13</sup> "Alfred Hitchcock: Quotes." *IMDB*, <http://m.imdb.com/name/nm0000033/quotes>.

<sup>14</sup> In professional film and television production, books, plays and other media are always adapted into a script by a screenwriter. No producer or director hands out copies of a novel to key cast and crew on the set to shoot from. Adaptation is as much a creative act as "original" writing, since audiovisual content differs fundamentally from other media. What works creatively in a novel, for example, may not work on the screen: emotions that were evoked in prose must now be evoked visually or with dialogue; an "interior monologue" on paper must be externalized in action and performance; or, a book that takes 20 hours to read must be condensed to ~10 1-hour episodes. This is why, for example, major awards, like Oscars and Emmys, are given to adapted scripts/screenplays, and the same novel can be adapted brilliantly (see Stanley Kubrick's famous 1980 film, *The Shining*) or poorly (see ABC's forgotten 1997 miniseries of the same name).

producers who control and guide the creative vision of the show.<sup>15</sup> Showrunners are fundamentally both screenwriters and producers, and they creatively control dramatic television production. There are now a significant number of talented, experienced Canadian showrunners, and they are the creative forces behind their shows. Ins Choi took his experiences growing up in a Korean-Canadian family and turned them first into a play, and then in a television show, as co-creator of the hit CBC sitcom, *Kim's Convenience*. Jared Keeso and Jacob Tierney bring a uniquely Canadian sensibility to their show *Letterkenny*, streaming on Crave. Joseph Kay is the creator/showrunner of *Transplant*, the highest-rated Canadian drama in 2020, and a critical success on NBC. Floyd Kane created *Diggstown*, about a Black lawyer navigating law and life in Nova Scotia. Black screenwriters Marsha Greene and Annmarie Morais created the upcoming *The Porter*, and put together the first all-Black Canadian writer's room. Indigenous showrunner Ron E. Scott has been responsible for *Blackstone* and *Tribal*, both of which deal with issues affecting Indigenous communities in Canada, such as pipelines, the right to clean water, social services, and missing and murdered Indigenous women. And Dan Levy's *Schitt's Creek* has garnered numerous accolades in Canada and the United States, thanks to his unique creative vision.

These creators—these *screenwriters*—must be a central component of the *Broadcasting Act*. It is far from sufficient to claim that content in the broadcasting system is Canadian simply because it was shot within our borders, was (partially) financed with Canadian money, its copyright is owned by a Canadian production company, or its (Canadian) distribution or broadcast rights are held by a Canadian distribution company or broadcaster. Canadian creative work is fundamentally made by Canadian creators. Television is fundamentally made by Canadian screenwriters. If it's not Canadian-written, it's not Canadian content.

We continue to battle a massive drain of Canadian creative talent out of the country, as opportunities for a creative livelihood abound in Hollywood while they are stagnating here. From the WGC's perspective, this has reached a crisis level. Currently, the WGC's largest membership region is Toronto, but its second-largest region, running not far behind, is Los Angeles. That is worth emphasizing. The WGC is a guild of Canadian screenwriters, yet more of our members are working out of an American city than out of Montreal, Vancouver, or anywhere else in this country other than Toronto. This represents a generational loss of Canadian screenwriters, most of whom we are likely never to get back.

We must ensure that Canadian creative resources—and a **Canadian authorial voice**—is and remains central to the meaning of Canadian content/programming, and is prominent in the *Broadcasting Act*. The final report of the Broadcasting and Telecommunications Legislative Review Panel, "Canada's communications future: Time to act", stated:

There is no question that productions in which all key creative positions are occupied by Canadians — which have a Canadian writer, a Canadian director, and Canadian lead actors — are more likely to reflect a Canadian perspective.<sup>16</sup>

The 2017 Creative Canada Policy Framework, in making "investing in Canadian creators" one of its three pillars, was explicit:

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<sup>15</sup> E.g. Collins, Andrew. "Showrunners – TV's lords and creators." *The Guardian*, September 16, 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2013/sep/16/showrunners-tv-writers-creative-power>.

<sup>16</sup> Page 151.

Creators, broadly defined, must be at the centre of our new approach for the creative industries. They are the heart of the ideas and work that fuel our creative industries.<sup>17</sup>

The *Broadcasting Act* must reflect this foundational concept. Failure to do so would be the death knell for both Canadian screenwriters and the uniquely Canadian content they create.

### III. An essential amendment: Section 3(1)(f) on Canadian creative resources

Given our comments above, while the WGC supports Bill C-10, we do have concerns with the proposed legislation. Most crucially, we are deeply concerned about the proposed amendment in the bill to section 3(1)(f) of the *Broadcasting Act* as follows:

~~(f) each broadcasting undertaking shall make maximum use, and in no case less than predominant use of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming unless the nature of the service provided by the undertaking, such as specialized content or format or the use of languages other than French and English, renders that use impracticable, in which case the undertaking shall make the greatest practicable use of those resources to the extent that is appropriate for the nature of the undertaking;~~

As currently drafted, Bill C-10 would delete the requirement in the Broadcasting Policy for Canada to make maximum-but-not-less-than-predominant use of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming, and instead require only that broadcasting undertakings “make use” of such resources, “to the extent that is appropriate for the nature of the undertaking”.

This clearly represents a significant diminishment of the position of Canadian creative resources in the Act which, as we’ve said, are so fundamental to Canadian content creation. In particular, the WGC believes this amendment significantly diminishes the position of Canadian creative talent, including the Canadian screenwriters and showrunners who sit at the creative heart of Canadian programming. Addressing this issue is fundamental to the WGC’s ability to champion this legislation.

At the same time, we understand the rationale for amending section 3(1)(f). The current Act contemplates a “closed system”, in which all broadcasting undertakings operating in Canada are Canadian owned-and-controlled, and all programming created and presented by those undertakings is Canadian programming. Bill C-10 “opens up” the system, contemplating one in which foreign online undertakings operate under a Canadian regulatory framework that seeks to treat both traditional and online services in a comparable way. In such a system, foreign online undertakings like Netflix may not be realistically expected to make maximum-but-not-less-than-predominant use of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of all its programming offered in Canada.

Recognizing the need to amend the section, but not in a way that diminishes the role of Canadian creators, the WGC has a proposed solution. The following proposal is presented in blackline format, showing changes from the current *Broadcasting Act*.

(f) each broadcasting undertaking shall make maximum use, and in no case less than predominant use, of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and

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<sup>17</sup> Creative Canada Policy Framework, “The path forward: taking action along three pillars”.

~~presentation of Canadian programming, unless the nature of the service provided by the undertaking, such as specialized content or format or the use of languages other than French and English, renders that use impracticable, in which case the undertaking shall make the greatest practicable use of those resources, and shall contribute significantly to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming to the extent that is appropriate for the nature of the undertaking;~~

This proposal seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. Recognize that the Canadian broadcasting system will no longer be a “closed system” under the new Act, and that the existing s. 3(1)(f) may not be effectively applicable to that reality;
2. Retain the principle of maximum-but-not-less-than-predominant use of Canadian creative and other resources, as an important signifier of the essential role for Canadian creators;
3. Apply the “maximum-but-not-less-than-predominant use” language to *Canadian* programming, rather than to all programming created and presented by each broadcasting undertaking operating in the Canadian system;
4. Delete the “exception” clause, beginning with “unless the nature of the service provided...”, as outdated and inappropriate in the current system;
5. Add that each broadcasting undertakings shall contribute significantly to Canadian programming, using the language currently applicable to private networks in s. 3(1)(s) of the Act (and proposed to be deleted in Bill C-10), to retain the concept that s. 3(1)(f) is a system-wide objective to support Canadian programming; and,
6. Retain the concept of, “to the extent that is appropriate for the nature of the undertaking” as proposed in Bill C-10.

With respect to “5.” above, the current Act has imposed a comparable obligation on private broadcasters in the past without concern, and it therefore should not be an issue for private “online undertakings” as well. We note, that the current s. 3(1)(s) says “should” and not “shall”, and adds the language, “to an extent consistent with the financial and other resources available to them”, which we have proposed to delete from a renewed s. 3(1)(f). At the same time, however, the WGC’s proposal adds “to the extent that is appropriate for the nature of the undertaking”, which is not present in the existing s. 3(1)(s), but which is present in Bill C-10. We believe these characteristics, taken together, provide an appropriate balance to the section.

The WGC’s proposed amendment is not unnecessary or redundant in the context of the Act. The WGC’s proposed amendment states, in part, that each broadcasting undertaking, “shall contribute significantly to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming”. At the same time, Bill C-10, as it currently exists, would amend section 3(1)(a) to state that:

- (a) each broadcasting undertaking shall contribute to the implementation of the objectives of the broadcasting policy set out in this subsection in a manner that is appropriate in consideration of the nature of the services provided by the undertaking;

These are not duplicative concepts. The above section refers to contributing to the *implementation of objectives*, whereas the WGC's proposal refers to contributing to the *creation and presentation of Canadian programming*. Our proposal therefore specifies *programming* contributions, and would not allow *non-programming* contributions to be considered sufficient to meeting the Act's objectives.<sup>18</sup> Canadian *programming* is at the heart of the Canadian broadcasting system, a specific statement to that effect in the Act is appropriate, as indeed it currently exists in s. 3(1)(s) of the Act.

Further, s. 3(1)(e) states that, "each element of the Canadian broadcasting system shall contribute in an appropriate manner to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming". This section, however, refers to each *element* contributing, not each *broadcasting undertaking* doing so. "Element" is generally recognized to refer to s. 3(1)(b), which states:

(b) the Canadian broadcasting system, operating primarily in the English and French languages and comprising public, private and community elements, makes use of radio frequencies that are public property and provides, through its programming, a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty;

As such, there are three "elements" in the Canadian broadcasting system—public, private, and community—and s. 3(1)(b) states that each element, as a whole, shall contribute to Canadian programming. This is again distinct from specifying that each *broadcasting undertaking* shall contribute, as appropriate. It is not sufficient that an "element" as a whole contributes to Canadian programming—each undertaking *within* that element must do so, to the extent it is appropriate to that undertaking.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, the WGC feels that our proposal for s. 3(1)(f) is consistent with both an expenditure requirement regime<sup>20</sup> and a fund-contribution regime,<sup>21</sup> as well as, by extension, a regime that allows undertakings to choose between the two. Section 3(1)(s) has in the past been associated with an expenditure requirement regime, since that is how private broadcasters have contributed to the system historically. But "contribute" is a broad enough word to encompass both, and need not be strictly associated with the regulatory mechanisms chosen for private networks in the past.

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<sup>18</sup> It is not at all far-fetched that broadcasting undertakings might seek to have non-programming activities counted as or towards their contribution to the Broadcasting Policy of Canada and, indeed, it has already happened. The CRTC's Tangible Benefits Policy long recognized non-programming activities as "social benefits", such as donations to educational institutions or live festivals, in relation to changes to the ownership or effective control of broadcasting undertakings, and in practice broadcasters often sought to maximize the amount they could dedicate to such non-programming "benefits". See [Broadcasting Regulatory Policy CRTC 2014-459](#) and predecessor policies.

<sup>19</sup> We note in passing that Bill C-10 retains the concept of three "elements", but then deletes the further, detailed reference to one of them, in the deletion of s. 3(1)(s). Legislators may wish to consider whether these "elements" remain relevant if little or no further, specific policy objectives or powers attach to some or any of them.

<sup>20</sup> In which broadcasting undertakings are required to invest certain minimum amounts in the production of Canadian programming, which ultimately is presented on—and therefore inures to the benefit of—their own platforms, similar to "Canadian programming expenditure" or "CPE" requirements applicable to traditional Canadian broadcasters now under CRTC regulation.

<sup>21</sup> In which broadcasting undertakings are required to contribute certain minimum amounts to a production fund, such as the Canada Media Fund (CMF), which is then used to fund the development and production of Canadian programming, subject to the eligibility rules of that fund.



Put in more general terms, s. 3(1)(f) in the existing Act speaks both to the presence of Canadian programming in the broadcasting system, and to the presence of Canadian creative resources in that programming. This could be expressed in a single concept in the past because, in a closed system, all programming created and presented by Canadian broadcasters could be presumed to be Canadian programming. Since we're now moving to an open system, both of those elements would appear to need to be expressed separately, as they are in our proposal.

We understand that the WGC's proposal for s. 3(1)(f) is supported, either in letter or in principle, by several other key stakeholders in our sector, including the Canadian Media Producers Association (CMPA), the Directors Guild of Canada (DGC), and the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA).

Finally, we note that while the WGC is a member of the Coalition for the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (CDCE), we take a different view on this issue than the CDCE does. We understand that both the CDCE and the WGC share a deep concern that the amendment to s. 3(1)(f) as proposed in Bill C-10 represents a significant diminishment of the position of Canadian creative resources in the Act, and therefore must be changed. The CDCE and the WGC are united in our identification of the problem with the section in Bill C-10 and in the importance we ascribe to it. Where we differ is in the solution. The CDCE proposes that the existing language of s. 3(1)(f) be retained in the new Act, understanding that the first part of the section<sup>22</sup> cannot effectively be applied to foreign online undertakings, but believing that the second, "exception" part<sup>23</sup> allows sufficient flexibility in the system. The WGC disagrees, however, that this "exception" language should apply to foreign online undertakings. In our view, the primary purpose—the overwhelmingly most important purpose—of Bill C-10 is to include foreign online undertakings within the Canadian broadcasting system so that these large and growing players contribute to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming and to the overall objectives of the Act. We do not believe it is appropriate to include them within the system, but then exempt them from the crucial policy statement about Canadian creative resources that s. 3(1)(f) represents. Section 3(1)(f) must fully include these players, and any proposal or interpretation that gives them an "escape clause" from it is deeply problematic and should not be part of the legislation.

We are otherwise pleased to share the concerns of the CDCE on how Bill C-10 treats s. 3(1)(f), and are in broad philosophical agreement with them on the crucial importance of supporting and promoting Canadian culture, in the *Broadcasting Act* and otherwise.

*The Writers Guild of Canada is the national association representing approximately 2,400 professional screenwriters working in English-language film, television, radio, and digital media production in Canada.*

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<sup>22</sup> Specifically, "each broadcasting undertaking shall make maximum use, and in no case less than predominant use of Canadian creative and other resources in the creation and presentation of programming".

<sup>23</sup> Specifically, "unless the nature of the service provided by the undertaking, such as specialized content or format or the use of languages other than French and English, renders that use impracticable, in which case the undertaking shall make the greatest practicable use of those resources".