CULTURAL PERSUASIONS: A CASE STUDY OF THE REGULATION OF THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

by

Lynda Drury

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APPROVAL

Name: Lynda Drury

Degree: Master of Arts (Communication)

Title of Thesis: Cultural Persuasions: A Case Study of the Regulation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Examining Committee

Chairperson: Dr. William Richards, Associate Professor.

Dr. William Leiss
Professor
Senior Supervisor

Dr. Martin Laba
Associate Professor
Supervisor

Dr. Gene H. Homel
Sessional Instructor
Simon Fraser University
Examiner

Date approved: 22 August 1988

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Lynda Mary Drury

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the meanings of "culture" within the discourse of broadcasting policy. A brief discussion of the range of definitions of "culture" is given, followed by an examination of these definitions as they appear in the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission's (CRTC), regulation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The thesis is premised on the idea that different definitions of culture have either social or economic orientations which in turn have important implications in the formulation of broadcasting and cultural policy. As such, careful attention is paid to the confluence of the commercial activities of broadcasting and the broader social goals to be realized through public policy in the CRTC's discourse.

The methodological approach to this examination is two-fold. Using first a theoretical perspective informed by the writings of Raymond Williams, and then a historical examination of the CRTC regulatory decisions concerning the CBC, "culture" is located within Canadian broadcasting regulation. This approach provides a map of the range of definitions of "culture" and situates them in a practical, public policy context.

Increasingly, commercial imperatives are seen to override those social objectives entrenched in the Broadcasting Act. Industry is linked to broadcasting in such a way that "culture" becomes centrally located within the corporate marketplace. Yet often the word "culture", as it appears in the CRTC's discourse, is intended to have applications of a social nature. These applications, however, are rendered ineffectual because of the overwhelming commercial influences of the broadcasting industry.

The definitions of "culture emerging from the case study form three separate but related spheres: classical culture, social culture and commercial culture. Classical culture embodies artistic and elitist orientations. Commercial culture also carries artistic characteristics but is more industrially orientated. Social culture refers to specific groups of people and their ways of life. Problems arise where commercial culture overwhelms and absorbs the classical and social spheres of culture.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Preamble

This thesis seeks to contribute to the ongoing debates over Canadian culture and Canadian cultural policy by examining the meanings of the word "culture" within the discourse of broadcasting policy. Debates such as those revolving around Canada's Free Trade Agreement discuss Canadian culture and culture in general as though there are accepted definitive statements outlining these concepts; yet no such definitions exist. Nevertheless, and with remarkable consistency, policy makers, in their execution of important policies, manage to sidestep the task of articulating what they mean by Canadian culture or culture itself. What is particularly confusing about this situation is the confluence of the terms culture and industry. Increasingly over the previous decade the terms have joined forces in government policy to the extent that the term "cultural industries" is now part of our regular vocabulary. This concept can be understood if one reflects for an instant on the notions of cultural products, cultural markets, and culture and free trade.

In a single policy document the word culture may be used to convey a variety of meanings. The problem arises where, given the generality of the term, "culture" can be used in such a way that its meaning is vague or entirely obscured. As such, it becomes a handy tool for a rhetorical exercise or for delivering platitudes. Further aggravating this problem of the ubiquitous usage of the term by policy makers is the particular definitions that advocates assign to "culture". Armed with dissimilar definitions advocates and policy makers can often end up talking at cross purposes.

My preoccupation with "culture" has to do not so much with the word itself but with the complexities that it embraces. There are not just one or two meanings for the word but several, each embodying different perspectives and often differing values and social relations. The complexity extends beyond the various definitions to the issues and problems underlying those definitions. 'Culture'

condenses and encapsulates an entire history of social, political and economic activity. Thus, the way we attach meaning to the word culture says something about the way we look at and understand the world.

By extension then, a discussion of "culture" is also a discussion of values. So when policy makers appropriate the term culture without defining it they are ignoring the intricacies and lack of resolution in the term's meanings. I regard the way that policy makers use "culture" as being problematic where their usage of "culture" favors industrial objectives over social ones. Broadcasting is an industry that has been relegated to government to supervise in the public interest. Yet what happens more often than not are serious shortfalls in the protection and advancement of social objectives. It seems that broadcasting networks serve the interests of the commercial sector rather than offering a variety of interesting or entertaining programming to diverse audiences. There is a pretense of choice where many channels are available but often these channels deliver exactly the same or similar fare as the others with only a few minor exceptions.[1] Women, the poor, minorities and others are portrayed in a stereotypical fashion.[2] There are many other problems with the broadcast offerings too numerous to mention here. But most disturbing of all are the platitudes made by policy makers regarding the integrity and need for preservation of this abysmal fare, which they refer to as "culture". I strongly believe that it is time to come to terms with this problem and sort out what is "culture" and what is "industry", define the difficult grey areas, and finally decide what needs to be done. Thus, one is compelled to begin by achieving an understanding of the meanings of "culture".

Research Problem

The project undertaken here is to isolate and analyze the meanings given to the word culture and by extension to terms like Canadian culture. I also want to know if these meaning have changed

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[1] For a fuller explanation of this problem see the Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, chapter five, pages 89 and 90.

[2] For a discussion of this problem see the Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, chapter six, pages 137 to 144.

significantly over time. Finally I want to know what the implications for broadcasting policy are, given particular definitions of "culture".

Methodology

The approach to this research problem involves theoretical and practical components. The latter is provided, in the form of a case study, to examine "culture" in a specific context. The theoretical approach provides the opportunity to ponder ideas on "culture", and to formulate theories on how "culture" is, has been, and should be understood. This aspect of the thesis is informed by the thinking of Raymond Williams, who has written extensively on the subject of "culture".

Williams offers a perspective on "culture" combining historical materialism and a comprehensive assemblage of definitions of "culture". From his literary background he draws upon works of literature to map out changing definitions of "culture", showing how certain critical periods and thinkers affected the meanings of "culture" and how the Industrial Revolution gave "culture" the meaning it still carries in current usage. This definition of "culture" is the one which is adopted to refer to the works and practices of art. He also integrates a number of keywords, a term which I borrow from him, to illustrate the integral processes that language explains and reflects. These keywords form a specific vocabulary which separately and jointly give a history of the transformation of "culture". I use a specific and much smaller set of keywords to discuss the transformation of "culture" in broadcasting.

Most of the theoretical component of the thesis is related specifically to the definitions of "culture" but it is also important in this section to link "culture" to broadcasting, and to introduce some of the mediating influences that shape definitions of "culture" in this specific context. And finally from the definitions of "culture" that Williams describes I found a framework that when extended provides a mechanism for explaining theoretically and showing conceptually what is occurring as a result of attaching particular meanings to the word culture. The framework takes historical meanings of "culture" and reflects them against current practice demonstrating not only shifts in the various definitions of "culture",

but also a new industrial context from which "culture" is being understood.

The theory section informs the practical component of the research to the extent that it allows me to introduce particular categories defining "culture". The practical component, found in chapter three, provides a much more rigorous tool for analysis.

In order to make this a managable project I have selected one government agency for observation, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). The Commission was selected partly because it is ideally suited for such a study given the wide array of issues before the CRTC which fall under the auspices of "culture", and partly because I am familiar with the operations and undertakings of the CRTC. To determine how the CRTC defines "culture", or more precisely to discover the range of definitions that it uses, it is necessary to examine a body of data produced by the CRTC. CRTC regulatory decisions provide a rich source of material on "culture".

CRTC regulatory decisions range from the inception of the CRTC in 1968 to the present. This time frame is useful in three ways. It provides an opportunity to look at the entire history and current undertakings of the CRTC. It provides two decades of research material from which to analyse changes, shifts and embellishments in the definitions of "culture". Finally, the time frame spans significant broadcasting developments which might affect definitions of "culture". The decisions cover the entire spectrum of broadcasting issues including, television, radio, the CBC, private broadcasting, programming, extension of service, cable, new discretionary pay television services, ownership, foreign influence, technology, advertising, violence, Native services, sex role stereotyping, multi-ethnic broadcasting, biculturalism, northern services, satellite coverage, cost of service, quality and many others. All of these issues refer to "culture" in one form or another. There are literally thousands of decisions from which to select. The decisions are for the most part briefly worded - between one and five pages - allowing for many of them to be examined closely. Three major licence renewal review decisons are included, each averaging a hundred pages or so. This provides a far more detailed discussion and offers an occasional deeper and broader perspective. The decisions also often provide a context for looking at the issues, by

drawing attention to the other actors involved in the process of regulating broadcasting; for example, The Department Of Communication, The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, various task forces and special committees on broadcasting, Provincial governments, The National Film Board and virtually thousands of intervenors.

These decisions also draw attention to, and provide contextual data and documentation in, the history of broadcast issues, such as, the Broadcasting Act and the reports of Royal Commissions, Special Committees on broadcasting, task forces on broadcasting policy and the like.[3] In short, the decisions provide insights into the regulation of broadcasting and the definitions of "culture" in a microcosmic form.

The selection process, that is, choosing the decisions for analyses from the thousands available, presented some difficulties. Initially I chose as the first selection criterion those decisions related to the CBC, AM and FM radio and pay television. This was to provide public and private aspects of both radio and television. It quickly became apparent that the three categories would produce an unwieldy number of decisions. It was necessary, therefore, to reduce the case study to include only the decisions related to the CBC that referred in some way to "culture". This amounted to roughly sixty decisions, three of which were lengthy review decisions, that examined the CBC's operations, policies and practices.

In choosing to abandon CRTC decisions reflecting private enterprise in broadcasting and the relationship it has to "culture", I must regretably relinquish the opportunity to make claims with regard to the role of the private broadcasters concerning "culture".

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[3] The following offers a chronological listing of the major policy documents that provide the necessary background reading to this study: the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (referred to as the Aird Commission) of 1929; the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, better known as the Massey Commission of 1951; The Royal Commission on Broadcasting (the Fowler Commission), 1957; the Committee on Broadcasting, which was also headed by Fowler, (the Fowler Committee Report) of 1965; The Special Senate Committee on Mass Media released a three volume report in 1971 called the Davey report; The Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (Applebaum/Hebert Report) of 1982; and The Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (the Caplan/Sauvageau Report) issued in 1986.

I resolved to limit the study to decisions on the CBC given the importance of the CBC in Canadian broadcasting. The CBC is critical to the study as it is the agency responsible under the terms of the Broadcasting Act of 1968 to realize cultural objectives in Canadian broadcasting and it is publicly funded for this reason. Section 3.(g.) of the Act lists the mandate of the CBC as follows;

> the national broadcasting service should
> (i) be a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertainment for people of different ages, interests and tastes covering the whole range of programming in fair proportion,
> (ii) be extended to all parts of Canada, as public funds become available,
> (iii) be in English and French, serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment and
> (iv) contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity.

In other words the CBC more than any other broadcaster has a specifically 'cultural' mandate. Thus it seems reasonable to expect that the CRTC decisions regulating the CBC would reflect a comprehensive range of the CRTC definitions of "culture".

The second selection criterion that I used to determine which of the CBC decisions contained notions of culture, involves a number of elements. In some cases the word culture was present in the decision. This would automatically deem the decision important. However, many of the decisions selected never mention "culture". In this case decisions were chosen where, broadly speaking, they would include one or more of the following categories;

> (i) specific ethnic identity, Native, Ukranian or Italian, for example
> (ii) national unity or identity
> (iii) regional, local or community identity
> (iv) performing arts
> (v) terms denoting excellence such as quality, distinguished, creative and talented.
> (vi) programming

The selection method was intended to provide the widest, most inclusive body of data possible. What has been left out of this selection for the most part refers almost entirely to technical matters, or was repetitive of decisions already chosen. Also CRTC annual reports have been used to provide background information and as a guide to the issues pursued by the CRTC.

What follows then from the selected decisions is a chronological study, articulating the definitions of "culture" in operation, describing the context from which the definition was drawn, and noting the changes, shifts, embellishments, competitions and contradictions occurring in and between the definitions of "culture".

This study in no way offers final definitive statements with regard to "culture". As "culture" is an ongoing process so too must be any inquiry into it. Conclusions drawn at the end of the thesis are offered to open up further avenues for research and suggesting questions that need to be considered carefully prior to making any commitments in the policy arena.

CHAPTER II

CULTURE: A DEFINITIONAL APPARATUS

This chapter offers some ideas on the meanings and applications of the word culture. These ideas are primarily drawn from the work of Raymond Williams, who has made extensive contributions to the academic discourse on "culture". The chapter also includes brief interpretations of a number of words, which I call keywords, a label that I have borrowed from Williams. Together these words form a lexicon of "culture" and broadcasting. They are introduced and described here only as they relate to the specific task of disscussing "culture" in the broadcasting context. Toward the end of the chapter a framework of definitions of "culture" is constructed using ideas originally offered by Williams to compare current usages of "culture" with historic ones. This framework in turn helps to explain a particular set of relationships which occur when "culture" converges with the broadcasting industry. There is no attempt made here to arrive at a single definition of culture. Rather it is my intention to survey the range of definitions of the word culture and to link these with social, artistic or industrial orientations which then give the word meaning and significance. Once this work has been accomplished it will then be possible to follow with the case study of the CBC in the following chapter where notions of culture in operation are isolated and analyzed.

Raymond Williams

After surveying cultural theorists and others who dwelt on the definitional aspect of "culture" I found that Williams was by far the most practical for my purposes. His thinking on "culture" offers much by way of definition, including detailed discussions in three specific works, Culture and Society, Keywords, A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, and Culture.[1] Williams stresses a historical, social and material emphasis for the study of "culture" that underscores the importance of situating the word

[1] Culture and Society 1780–1950, New York: Anchor Books, 1960; Keywords, A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1976; and Culture, London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1981.

"culture" within a context. Williams contextualizes "culture" by locating it within a specific time period and according to literary uses of "culture" during that time. While his analysis goes far beyond the intentions of this thesis and his work is particular to a British setting, there are some useful categories of definitions for "culture", as well as the concept of keywords that I borrow from him to inform my perspective on "culture" and broadcasting in Canada. In addition, I find his inquiry into social relations, using the word "culture" as a springboard, a very useful starting-point for considering the social implications of the industrialization of the word "culture".

Williams offers, in his own words, a set of working hypotheses on the concepts and relationships which illustrate and explain the development of the word culture.[2] This, he explains, forms a particular and special kind of map[3] which can be explored. The map provides essential information concerning responses to a changing social, economic and political order. Thus we can expect to find located in the development of, and in the definitions of "culture", a wealth of information about changing social relations. The map can illustrate the changes in terminology, in this case in the word culture, reflecting changes in the larger social reality.

Williams, in one of his later works, Marxism and Literature, points out that when undertaking any serious 'cultural' analysis the concept of culture has to be understood at the outset and further, that it has to be understood with its historical underpinnings to have any significance at all.[4] The history which has contributed to the meaning of "culture" is that which gives texture, if you like, to the map and can make valuable contributions to the questions which Williams raises here,

> Are we to understand "culture" as 'the arts', as a 'system of meanings and values,' or as a 'whole way of life,' and how are these to be related to 'society' and 'the economy'? The questions have to be asked, but we are unlikely to be able to answer them unless we recognize the problems which were inherent in the concepts 'society' and 'economy' and which have been passed on to concepts like "culture" by the abstraction and limitation of

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[2] Culture, p. 35.

[3] Culture and Society, p. xv.

[4] Marxism and Literature, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977 p. 11.

those terms.[5]

Williams organizes his work around these essential questions. In Culture and Society he attempts to describe and analyse the complexity of ideas embraced by the word culture and to give an account of its historical formation. Central to his analysis is the fact that the idea of culture, that is, culture as the works and practices of art, and the word itself, as it is generally used today, came into English thinking during the industrial revolution.[6] Williams examines "culture" in relation to the social consequences of the industrial revolution, which is an inquiry far too broad to discuss here. Rather this information is offered to situate the modern definition of "culture" in a historical context and to point to the sociological underpinnings of the term "culture" as we use it today.

In Culture Williams proposes a sociology of "culture" which includes an analysis of cultural institutions and their formations within a historical context. He raises issues concerning art and aesthetics as well as considering cultural forms and their historicity. He moves to the modern era where "culture" is not only produced but also reproduced both in its forms and deeper processes.

Finally, Keywords, A Vocabulary of Culture and Society functions as a dictionary containing the words of historical materialism. The words, however, can be rarely understood in isolation from one another. As such the book becomes an inquiry into a particular body of words, their genesis, their transformations and their relations to each other as they relate to social, political, and economic history and modern developments.

In reaching for an understanding of the concept of culture, Williams shows how history and experience are woven into the fabric of "culture" where unresolved problems of the past surface and resurface. Patterns emerge depicting the strengths and weaknesses of the social order. It is simply impossible here to map out the historical underpinnings of "culture" in Canada as Williams does for Great Britain in Culture and Society. Instead Williams' historicism will be used to inform the perspective

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[5] Ibid., p. 13.

[6] Culture and Society, p. 5.

I take in examining the definitions of "culture". In the final chapter of this thesis some comments will be directed towards the unresolved problems in broadcasting and the fact that they continue to resurface. There, some very definite patterns emerge.

Culture Defined

Williams' Keywords most clearly sets out the definitional possibilities of the word culture.[7] In Keywords the definitions are described as chronologically as the complexity of the word allows. What follows is an encapsulated form of his discussion of 'culture' from Keywords with embellishments drawn from other works by Williams. 'Culture' was first used in the English language in the early fifteenth century with regard to animal husbandry and crop tending, as in the cultivation of natural growth. This idea of growth was extended to human development in the early sixteenth century such that one could cultivate or enrich oneself. In the next development of "culture", which according to Williams is hard to pin down chronologically, "culture" became used in a more generalized way where it became synonymous with the word civilization. This occurred roughly in the late eighteenth century to mid nineteenth century. This definition of "culture" is that of an abstract process. Here "culture" referred to a state of development, that is, a state of social organization and order, in two ways, as an achieved state and as an achieved state of development. The former, having class associations, was largely an attribute which marked a status in opposition to what was considered "plebian vulgarity". People who were "cultured" were privileged, educated and socially acceptable, in short, upper class. The latter implied historical process and progress where society in general reached a particular stage of development.[8] This sense carried the notions of advancement, refinement and enlightment. It is important to note that this form of "culture" was secular and thus not locked into the more static motivations of religion where notions of development toward enlightenment are constrained by metaphysical beliefs. This definition stressed the

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[7] Keywords, pp. 87-93. Similar discussions can be found in Culture and Society, xiv and in Marxism and Literature, pp. 14-17.

[8] Marxism and Literature, p. 13

human capacities to build a social order.

The next decisive development in the meaning of "culture" came as a backlash to these civilized notions of "culture". "Culture", understood in these class based terms, was seen as lacking human attributes. Instead, 'culture' embodied the qualities of superficiality and privilege. From this backlash came "culture" as a process of inner growth, a more personal concept that incorporated and focused on art, literature and aesthetics. There was also dissatisfaction with the notion of "culture" as an achieved state of development, that is, eighteenth century European development as the height of development. This dissatisfaction sparked the notion of "culture" in the plural sense, where pinnacles of development could be noted but also understood as part of a continuing process. In addition "culture" in the plural sense had anthropological connotations involving not only "the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation".[9] The acknowledgement of variablity within and between "cultures" gave rise to looking at the ways of life in social organization. It was this sense of "culture" that emphasised national and traditional "cultures". This meaning of "culture" is still in use in anthropological inquiries.

The last definition of "culture" that Williams discusses is derived from "culture" as a process of inner growth. Here "culture" is associated with the humanities, literary and artistic enlightenment, such that the term "culture" is transferred to the processes and products of artistic and intellectual endeavors. By this definition "culture" is music, dance, theater, literature and poetry and, includes in modern usage, visual and performance art, video, and film.

In one short passage, Williams summarizes the various concepts of "culture", and identifies them in three distinct definitional categories:

> (i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, - spiritual and aesthetic development, from c18; (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general, from Herder and Klimm. But we have also to recognize (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of

[9] Keywords, p. 89.

intellectual and especially artistic activity.[10]

For the purpose of this thesis Williams' discussion of definitions of "culture" provides three important starting points: the actual definitions of "culture"; the idea that the evolution of the word is subject to change over time while its previous meanings remain in usage; and the fact that social processes are integrally connected with any concept of "culture". "Culture" can now be situated within the context of broadcasting. Here a number of other terms must be briefly defined as they relate to "culture" and broadcasting.

Keywords

Williams points out, in Culture and Society, that any critical understanding of the word culture and its historical role involves an appreciation of a number of other keywords. Williams' keywords are 'industry', 'democracy', 'class' and 'art'. For my own purposes I have chosen a different repertoire of keywords which are specific to "culture" and broadcasting. These words include 'industry', 'bureaucracy', 'art', 'mechanical', 'community' and 'organic'.

At the center of any discussion of broadcasting is the knowledge that it is an industry. As such, one has to anticipate the plethora of commercial activities that accompany industries. These activities include market acquisition, profitablity margins, advertising, competition, keeping the cost of production as low as possible, encouraging technical developments, innovation in the marketplace, investment and so on. In short, the broadcasting industry has a specific set of objectives that function separately, but not altogether independently, from the actual broadcast function; these are to administer the business itself and to uphold the interests of the shareholders. Broadcasting can be simply a vehicle for profit.

But broadcasting in Canada is, at least in part, envisioned differently. Certain objectives are linked to the industrial nature of broadcasting which introduce the 'cultural' aspect of broadcasting. In Canada

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[10] Keywords p. 90.

broadcasting is expected to unite Canadians with images of a Canadian identity, instilling a sense of nationalism. This objective dates as far back as 1929 when the Aird Report, the first royal commission on broadcasting, called for some form of public ownership and control in Canadian broadcasting.[11] More recently "culture" has become a significant issue in broadcasting with respect to so-called "cultural" commodities. These include programs which can be considered "culture" in terms of the message that the program conveys. In this case, the message could be a reflection of a typical everyday Canadian experience, (for example, a news magazine program depicting shopping at the Granville Island Market or *The Beachcombers* showing the lifestyle of fishing and logging communities of the Canadian westcoast). "Culture", as it relates to commodities can also refer to an artistic orientation present in either the content of the program or in its production. *The Music of Man Series* or *Much Music* both are "cultural" commodities in the artistic sense where music is an art.

Industry, with a definite and clear set of objectives, is also expected to realize "cultural" objectives which are often very abstract ideas, certainly less concrete than economic objectives. In addition to this "culture" itself becomes an affiliated industry to broadcasting where "culture" is packaged and exchanged in the marketplace. It is at this point that the next keyword, bureaucracy, becomes significant.

At the root of "cultural" initiatives in broadcasting are governments, government policy and bureaucracy. It was R.B. Bennett, the 11th Prime Minister of Canada, who allocated to broadcasting the responsibility to instill a national consciousness in Canadians and to link Canadians in diverse areas of the nation.[12] From these ideals came the CBC with a "cultural" mandate.[13] To help to achieve these ideals various Boards and Commissions, including the CRTC, were struck to investigate and regulate broadcasting in the public interest. A number of ancillary agencies and governmental bodies have been involved in broadcasting including, the Department of Communications, The National Film Board, The

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[11] Royal Commission On Radio Broadcasting, p. 6.

[12] Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Debates, May 18, 1932, p. 3035.

[13] For a discussion of the history of the origins of the CBC see Anderson, Peter, CBC And Its Mandate, Unpublished master's thesis, Burnaby, Simon Fraser University, 1976.

Canada Council, The Canadian Film Development Corporation, Telefilm Canada and others.

What seems apparent from this proliferation of governmental agencies is a large bureaucratic structure in place for the purpose of orchestrating, supervising, and regulating broadcasting. Bureaucracy is in evidence here both in terms of the relationship between the broadcasters and the government actors involved and between the government actors themselves. In the former case, broadcasters have powerful lobbying groups to operate within the bureaucratic maze. In addition the broadcasters are fully active in the public hearing process and in public policy formation, as contributers of information concerning the well being of Canadian broadcasting. In the latter case, government agencies often supercede the priorities and intentions of other government agencies. A example of internal bureaucratic struggle is the recent case where the CRTC granted a licence to the CBC for an all news channel and cabinet directed the CRTC to adjust that decision to include private sector involvement. This example also demonstrated the lobby power of the private broadcasters where they were able to influence Cabinet to intervene on their behalf in this decision - a decisions which is the CRTC's to make.

A distrust and a lack of openness within government serves to prevent useful long-term strategies and planning. Consider the restrictions on the CBC's budget. The Corporation is constantly held in abeyance waiting to know what its operating budget will be for the coming year, meanwhile, the CRTC is expecting the Corporation to make programming commitments for licence renewal. But programming commitments cannot be made given that the future of the CBC is often being questioned by the Department of Communications. In addition to this situation one has to consider the insecure nature of changing governments and subsequent changing political appointments of the key Governmental posts. "Culture" thus becomes trapped in a bureaucratic maze of indecision and conflicting political goals. And there is still a great deal more for government to consider in terms of "culture". The following introduces the artistic basis of "culture", the one with which government seems preoccupied with these days in relation to free trade.

Any extensive discussion of "culture" inescapably includes a discussion of "art". This requires, at the very least, some explanation of the term "art". Williams lays out a chronological essay on "art" in Keywords, showing how the word came to have increasingly specialized meanings.[14] Starting from the general meaning of "art", as skill, to *the arts*, with the accompanying aesthetic sense, a number of signficant alterations in meaning occur. In one paragraph, however, he sets out some issues of particular concern to this thesis and thereby sets the tone for some discussion concerning art that will follow. He states:

> This complex set of historical distinctions between various kinds of human skill and between varying purposes in the use of such skill is evidently related both to changes in the practical division of labour and to fundamental changes in practical definitions of the purposes of the exercise of skill. It can be primarily related to the changes inherent in capitalist commodity production, with its specialization and reduction of use values to exchange values. There was a consequent defensive specialization of certain skills and purposes to **the arts** or ***the humanities*** where forms of general use and intention which were not determined by immediate exchange could be at least conceptually abstracted. This is the formal basis of the distinction between **art** and ***industry***, and between **'fine arts'** and **'useful arts'** (the latter eventually acquiring a new specialized term, in TECHNOLOGY (q.v.)).[15]

Here Williams sets out the main opposing themes in the word "art" that provide confusion when "art" is linked with "culture". These themes refer to the useful "arts" that are mediated by exchange relations and the more conceptually abstract "fine arts" which are related to the humanities and are not primarily created for profit. In broadcasting policy it is often the case that no distinction is made between the fine arts of ballet, symphony, and theatrical productions of the classics, shown on television and the useful arts of script writing, musical composition, acting, and the like for television soap dramas and advertisments. There are also the technologically oriented skills still considered art by some, such as camera operation, editing and computer graphics which are components in television productions.

The confusion partly exists because "art", in any sense of the word, can be incorporated in broadcasting. The Mona Lisa appears often in television movies, situation comedies, and advertisements. The ballet production of *Swan Lake* can be televised and watched in one's livingroom. CBC FM radio

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[14] Keywords, pp. 40–45.

[15] Ibid., p. 42. Technology appears capitalized here with the (q.v.) denoted beside it in order to direct the reader's attention to other keywords. Bold face words are derivatives of the word under discussion.

programming is focused primarily on classical music. Yet more often than not, the industrial objectives of broadcasting incorporate art for everyday purposes, to produce popular and cheap programming. This incorporation occurs in the production process where artistic skills, such as, script writing, acting, camera work, directing and so on are used to produce game shows, situation comedies, or the evening news. The commodification of art also occurs where an artistic piece is transformed into a television program. Consider for example, the Sam Sheppard play, *A Fool For Love*, that was made into a feature film which is now being shown on television and is for rent in the home video outlets. As such, the "fine arts" are also incorporated to produce commodities. Where this occurs everything to do with "art" that is useful to industry becomes reduced to a commodity. On the other hand, everything to do with "art" that is not useful to industry, because it is not profitable in terms of attracting a large enough audience, never reaches the television screen.

The next keyword, "mechanical", is one that I apply to the broadcasting industry. Here "mechanical" includes the concept of an apparatus, with the machine–like qualities of unconsciousness and inexhaustibility. The machine lumbers along fortified by profitability and scripts, good or bad. The machine's related components, production crews, script writers, set designers, financial contributors, actors, and a whole technical infrastructure operate in unison toward the success of the production, a success based on market criteria. The CBC program, *He shoots, He Scores*, exemplifies this process. Here, a Canadian hybrid of the tremendously popular, and hence successful, American soap dramas, *Dynasty* and *Dallas*, involves a formidable concentration of the CBC's resources. *He Shoots, He Scores* is a success in French–speaking Canada but not in English–speaking Canada.[16] Failure to attract a large following in English, a larger and thus more attractive audience for the advertisers, may force cancellation of both the French and English productions of *He Shoots, He Scores.*

The truly remarkable thing about "mechanical culture", or the broadcasting industry, is its ability to produce and reproduce "culture", in any sense of the word. Mechanical "culture" produces "culture" through programming. Programming is comprised of images, factual and factious, that when put together,

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[16] Information supplied by CBC Public Relations.

depict a story. Regardless of the impact of the story, some meaning is conveyed. It is within this realm of meaning that something "cultural" is produced.

Let us consider a well known program, *Mash*, for example, where a particular reality is produced.[17] Relationships between the characters are explored and relationships that the characters have to war, money, sex, and love, are common themes. For the viewer a part of U.S. "culture" is produced in that program. This is a humorous depiction of how it was, what people suffered and enjoyed, and what was won and lost in the Korean war. However, if the coin is flipped that same program can be said to reproduce "culture". In this case the program depicts familiar ways of life, however generalized they may be. Rituals, such as, sipping on a martini after a hard day's work or the vocabulary used and the attitudes expressed locate the program in middle class North American values. In this way "culture" is reproduced through programming.

Much of what is produced in programming is, in some cases, so familiar that it passes without being noticed as such. For example, situation comedies expressing the very banal pleasures of stupid but lovable characters are always considered to be about somebody else. They are not recognized to be about the person who watches and presumably enjoys these banal pleasures. The verity of the "cultural" reproduction or its authenticity involves a complicated and burdensome discussion that I do not propose to enter into here. However, closely related to the authenticity issue is the power that mechanical "culture" wields. Because of its capabilities of producing and reproducing, it can and does affect the understanding that people have of themselves, the world and their relationship to it. This power has been acknowledged in broadcasting policy discourse:

> Through the broadcast media we also obtain news, information and commentary that influence our attitudes to many issues of the day – social, political, scientific and cultural. It is no exaggeration to say that broadcasting continually colors and even shapes the way we see the world around us.[18]

Mechanical "culture" is an area where meaning is made and is thus a very powerful machine.

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[17] I would have preferred to use a Canadian program as an example here but ironically I could not depend on my readership being sufficiently familiar with Canadian programs.

[18] Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, p. 269.

The next word to be discussed is "community". The history of the word "community" indicates two orientations. The first orientation refers to actual social groups and the second to a particular quality of relationship.[19] The former embodies the notion of the common people, the people of a particular place or a relatively small organized society. The latter refers to notions of sameness, common identity and shared understanding. Both these orientations relate in obvious ways to "culture" in the anthropological sense of progress towards an achieved state of development. At the level of community as opposed to city, town, county, region or nation, there can still be this sense of sameness which is not confined to status quo or the political affiliation one has. Instead this sameness refers to the likes of class, ethnicity, values, history and goals. I use "community" to offer something in place of the levelling tendencies of terms such as "nationalism", "industry", and "mechanical culture". "Community" also conveys a sense of the organic.

The last keyword, "organic", was chosen for its ability to convey a sense of unplanned society and to stress a sense of natural growth within communities. What I am referring to here is the internal processes of communities where neighbourhood groups form committees to oppose toxic dump sites, for example. More specifically related to broadcasting are situations where community groups satisfy their broadcasting needs by providing their own programming, organized according to their specific issues and interests. In Vancouver, for example, a unique community radio station, CFRO, exists, providing alternative programming for specific communities within the Vancouver area and to others by cable. Certainly there is a measure of planning involved in the actual organization of the community broadcasting. But the initiation of these projects often evolves through serendipity. Also I use "organic" in opposition to mechanical "culture" where unconscious mechanistic activity overrides the subtleties of "organic culture".[20] Finally my thinking on "organic" most often relates to smaller communities and the specific internal relationships within those communities. Here the realms of the imagination, personal

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[19] Keywords, p. 75.

[20] For further reading on the concept of organic "culture" and community see Tonnies, Ferdinand, Community and Society,, New York: Harper Torch Books, 1963. For a brief discussion of this concept see Lowy, Michael, Georg Lukacs - From Romanticism to Bolshevism, London: New Left Books, 1979, pp. 32 - 34.

relationships, creative activity, and struggle are not merely incidental, they are instrumental to the community's sense of itself, to its "organic culture".

With these keyword definitions established, I will now turn to the development of a conceptual framework which applies the definitions of "culture" that Raymond Williams has explored, to the definitions of "culture" that emerge in the context of broadcasting.

Culture: A Conceptual Framework

Culture I: Arts and Humanities

In Culture, Williams presents a framework which is useful here to describe the ways in which "culture" can be defined under the rubric of Arts and Humanities. As Williams notes,

> [I]n the more general usage, there was a strong development of the sense of "culture", as the active cultivation of the mind. We can distinguish a range of meanings from (i) a developed state of mind – as in 'a person of culture', 'a cultured person' to (ii) the process of this development – as in 'cultural interests', 'cultural activities' to (iii) the means of the processes – as culture as ' the arts' and humane intellectual works'.[21]

This gives us three ways of looking at "culture". "Culture", as a developed state of mind is "culture" as an attribute, or an entity in its own right. We could think of "culture", then, in the same way as "beauty", "wealth", or "intellect", where all describe a state of being. One is "cultured", as one is beautiful, wealthy, or intellectual.

"Culture", as in the process of this development, refers to the cultivation of and growth toward this developed state. For example, one learns to distinguish between qualities of wine, or one cultivates an appreciation for opera. It is the development, the cultivation and the growth process that is "culture" in this case. Scholarly pursuit, for example, would be considered "culture" by this definition.

Finally, "culture" as 'the arts and humane intellectual works' is fairly self explanatory. Briefly this sense of the term refers to the traditional arts; that is, the visual and performing arts, literature, and the

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[21] Culture, p. 11.

like. It is the music of Bach and Mozart, the Mona Lisa, and the poetry of William Blake, in short, the classics. "Culture" in this sense refers to things or objects belonging to the universe of "the arts" and literature.

Clearly this first set of definitions is highly elitist in its orientation. This orientation for the word "culture" involves the privileged situation of the upper classes. The definitions are framed by creativity and aesthetics, judgements of beauty, elegance, excellence, and refinement. High "culture" provides an umbrella term for these three definitions. Both this term and the elitist orientation of these definitions indicate that culture in this sense is something outside of the reach of the general public and accessible only to those possessing both the wealth to attain "culture" in the latter definition and the sophistication to recognize and develop "culture" as in the first two definitions. Fine wines, original art, tickets to the ballet and theater are all exceedingly costly and not the taste nor a priority for many people. I shall turn now to a mechanical "culture" context to examine three more definitions of "culture".

Culture II: Arts and Industry

Here, Williams' framework will be extended to explain the definitions of "culture" that emerge from the linking of 'the arts' to the commercial nature of broadcasting. One is immediately confronted with the contradiction between industry (based on the forces of markets) and "arts" (based on notions of creativity and aesthetics). Fundamental to these definitions is the fact that broadcasting is an industry, producing in a competitive marketplace.

While it appears that the product of broadcasting is programming one must think further to consider the product of broadcasting as audiences. The broadcaster delivers audiences to advertisers, by attracting audiences with their programs. The programs therefore must be highly attractive to audiences in order to keep them watching or listening, thus appealing to advertisers who provide the revenue for further programming and profit.

Inherent in the production of programming is an "arts" orientation. This orientation differs from that of the traditional arts in two ways. First, "art" in this sense, is once removed from the traditional arts of, painting, symphony, theater or opera for example, in that this "art", film, video, sound reproduction, and computer graphics may involve reproduction of traditional art through technological means. Second, traditional art for the most part is a first hand experience where one goes to the ballet, opera, or gallery to observe works of art whereas reproduced art or mechanical art can be consumed in one's own home. [22]

Mechanical art also differs from the traditional arts in terms of the media employed in the production of a work. Instead of the traditional arts of painting, sculpting, composing classics and choreographing *Swan Lake*, there are the mechanical arts of recording synthesized music on laser discs, taping video productions, creating images through computer graphics and the like. In other words, there is much more mechanical intervention in the creative process. Here, machines, such as the computer and the camera, are the tools of the creative process. Consider for a moment some of the tools of the traditional arts – the paintbrush, the piano, the chisel, or the dance floor. The usefulness of the tool in each case is directly in proportion to the skill of the user. Here the piano, a most sophisticated tool, involves a high degree of learning and experience to operate it expertly. Video equipment and computers on the other hand are being designed increasingly to de–emphasize the degree of skill needed by the operator. This is not to say that there is not ample opportunity to create in a skillful or artistic manner with these tools. It is a question of what the artist does with the machine. Skill is still necessary for the computer user to perform complicated operations. However, with the computer, unlike the piano, a great many people can become proficient at complicated tasks within a very short period of time. Take for example, a computer program called *MacPaint*, where simply by directing the cursor to a chosen graphic and pressing the button, the computer screen fills up with a graphic image that I could not create myself by hand. The creativity lies in the range of operations for which the computer is programmed, as it does with the piano. The creativity of the artist is then increased to that which can be accomplished through

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[22] For a fuller discussion of the concept of the reception of art see *Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* by Walter Benjamin in Marxism and Art, New York: David McKay, 1972.

the machine, but is also confined to it.

Nevertheless, inherent in both the the traditional and mechanical arts is a creative process. In both cases images are created, either through sound or visuals or a combination of both. These images are judged for their specific qualities: for example, their beauty, their ability to stir the passions and so on. However, in the case of the mechanical arts they are specifically produced for their ability to attract a large audience. I am not including in this discussion of mechanical art material that is produced for smaller esoteric audiences as in the case of experimental film and video, and computer or electronic compositions. I am discussing here the products of the mechanical arts, which are produced primarily for commercial sale, as commodities to be bought and sold in the marketplace. The creativity then lies in the process of producing mechanical art and is measured in terms of the size of the audience that the product attracts. The content of the product may in some cases be the reproduction of the traditional arts, like *Masterpiece Theater*, or *Great Performances*, but it is more likely to be entertainment and information, like *Dynasty, Saturday Night Live*, and *60 Minutes* that appeal to a wide and diverse audience rather than to a smaller minority audience. It should be noted also that this commodification of the "arts" is not solely restricted to the mechanical arts, but this issue goes beyond the point being asserted here; that is, that the mechanical arts are judged primarily for their marketability rather than their artistic attributes.

Now returning to definitions of "culture" we can link the framework provided by Williams with the Arts and Industry orientation. In the first case, "culture" as a developed state of mind, under the rubric of Arts and Industry "culture", becomes a developed state of being. "Culture" in this case is still an attribute or a status. The only thing that really changes here then is the context from person to object and from high to mechanical "culture". Rather than thinking of a "cultured" person, for example, one could think instead in terms of products having the status of "culture". The shift from high "culture" to mechanical "culture" indicates a change in the content of the art in terms of the way it is produced, via technology, why it is produced, for profit, and who it is produced for, large audiences.

The second definition is a little more complicated, where "culture" is the process of the development toward that state of being. In this case "culture" is the processes of reproduction and dissemination of information and entertainment through mechanical art: film, video, computer graphics, sound recording, and the like. In other words "culture" is the development and growth of the broadcasting industry. By this definition, then, what goes into the development of the industry, that is, the production and the distribution of the mechanical arts, are the activities which give rise to the state of being a 'cultural' industry.

The last definition of "culture" in this group describes "culture" as the products of mechanical art: movies, rock videos, popular music, variety shows, soap operas, advertisements, and so on. Here as in the third Arts and Humanities definition, "culture" refers to things or objects. The difference between these two definitions is that in this sense "culture" is primarily a product or a commodity. Hence we can think of the products of the mechanical arts as 'cultural' products or 'cultural' commodities.

The Arts and Industry definitions present "culture" as far more accessible to larger groups of people. Here, we are looking at mechanical "culture" with democratic overtones and economic underpinnings. This is a move away from "culture" in the elitist sense where "culture" is the domain of a small privileged segment of society, to a view of "culture" for all. "Culture" in the latter sense is no longer considered in terms of the cultivation of the mind and senses. Rather "culture" in the Arts and Industry definitions is entertainment and information that is within the reach of everyone.

It is important to note here that in both the elitist and mechanical definitions of "culture", there is a separation implied between arts and society. This developed from the arts orientation in the definition of the word "culture". By focusing on the works, practices and products of art, the relationship of the production and consumption of art and its social basis has been obscured. Thus, these definitions can only express "culture" in terms of art, intellect and economics and cannot address the broader social basis from which art arose. It is of course hazardous to attempt a separation between "art" and "social" definitions of "culture", given that both are integrally related. What I propose to do here is to simply point out the

distinctions that are made with regard to "culture" specifically in the social sense. These distinctions are formulated primarily on the relationship that the social group has to the rest of society, either on the basis of inclusion or exclusion.

Culture III: Social

Here, two closely related but separate definitions will be described. Together, they can be summarized as referring to a specific lifestyle. In the first case "culture" expresses the notion of a whole way of life.[23] 'Culture' is everyday life, including the mundane and the ritualized events. A whole way of life here refers to the way one holds their eating utensils, the attitudes one holds on the labour movement, the kind of movies one likes to see, and the like. In some cases this could be viewed as a class based distinction. In others it is a very simple, down to earth perception of what people do in their lives and how they make sense of the world in which they live.

The other definition relates to the specificity of a "culture" or to "culture" in the plural sense of "cultures".[24] Here "culture" is seen as societies, distinct groupings of people, as in national, regional, ethnic and native cultures. The groups are distinctive by identifiable attributes, such as, language, food preparation, architecture and art. Members of the group share a sense of identity and are considered unified by these shared elements.

Clearly the distinction drawn here between "culture" as a way of life and "culture" as a distinct society is a troublesome one in that there may be points of overlap between the two. Take, for example, the Acadians of Cape Breton Island who speak French and have a distinctive lifestyle. However, these people also experience the lack of jobs, poverty and struggle for autonomy which is common to all Cape Breton Islanders, French and English alike. It may well be that in some cases the distinction between the two definitions is difficult to make because "cultures" within "cultures" are being discussed. For the purposes of this paper that is not a problem as the main intent here is to demonstrate that this tenuous

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[23] Keywords, p. 90.

[24] Keywords, p. 89.

separation can be made, as it often is in the CRTCs' decisions.

Now that the definitions of "culture" have been explained, grouped into useful categories, and linked to a vocabulary of keywords, it is time to turn to a more pragmatic orientation, where "culture" can be regarded in practice. The following chapter looks at "culture" as it is used in the regulation of the CBC.

CHAPTER III

CULTURE IN CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY OF THE CBC

Introductory Remarks

This chapter will provide a chronological analysis of the CRTC broadcasting decisions covering CBC television and radio services. A brief description of the major broadcasting issues in the decisions, extension of service and programming, will be included as these two issues provide the basis from which definitions of "culture" can be drawn. Embedded in these issues are a host of others that will be examined as they appear. Specific attention will be paid to the shifts, embellishments, fundamental changes and contradictions in the definitions of "culture" as they emerge.

At its inception, in 1968, the CRTC was preoccupied with coming to grips with the enormous task before it of taking over broadcast regulation from its predecessor, the Board of Broadcast Governors. Regulatory issues were being sifted through, priorized and policy directions determined. Thus, it is not surprising to see that decisions on the CBC were largely in the area of licensing, briefly worded and primarily of a technical nature; for example, "...power or frequency changes, changes in antenna or station sights or requests for direct broadcasts from CBC television network."[1] Decisions from the early years are not reflective of the range of issues before the CRTC, nor do decisions offer much substantive disscussion of those issues addressed. For this reason CRTC Annual Reports will be relied upon to introduce the critical issues related to the regulation of the CBC.

Programming and Extension Of Service

The CRTC Annual Report 1968 - 1969 indicated that the CBC was very much on the regulatory agenda. The issues raised covered services offered in Radio, AM and FM, and television, extension of

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[1] CRTC annual report 1968-69, p. 26.

service and northern service, English and French language programming, Canadian content, technology, and programming standards. Two of these stand out as major issues, extension of service and programming, as noted below:

> In view of the growing concern for providing the widest range of programming choice to the Canadian people, the Commission was preoccupied this year with the extension of first television service where required (English and French) and the provision of alternative television service (English and French) where feasible.[2]

Extension of service is, in very brief and simple terms, the setting in place of the broadcast infrastructure such that as many Canadians as possible can receive a variety of broadcasting services in both official languages. The 1968-69 annual report gives the state of television service for that year:

> Canadian television signals are available to more than 95 percent of the Canadian population. Generally, the 76 basic Canadian television stations provide local service. In addition, 11 CTV affiliates and 46 CBC owned and operated, affiliated or supplementary affiliated stations provide national service in the English language. French-language national service is provided by 14 Radio-Canada owned and operated or affiliated stations. In addition, there are one English-language and three French-language independent stations.
>
> CBC television service is available in English to 89 percent of the Canadian population and in French (Radio-Canada) to 41 percent of Canadians including more than 95 percent of all French speaking citizens. More than half of Canadians can receive service from U.S. stations.[3]

And for radio:

> Signals from Canada's public and private radio stations effectively blanket the country. The AM national service is available in English to 95 percent of Canadians, and in French to 80 percent. The service is provided by 25 main English-language CBC stations plus 60 affiliates and by 7 main French-language Radio-Canada stations and 34 affiliates. In addition to rebroadcasting stations carrying programs from the major originationg AM stations, Canada also has 6 CBC owned and operated FM stations and 171 private AM stations.[4]

It is incumbent upon the CBC, the publicly funded national broadcasting service, to take the initiative to provide service in communities where private broadcasters have found it uneconomical to do

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[2] CRTC annual report 1968-69, p. 3.

[3] CRTC annual report 1968-69, p. 5.

[4] CRTC annual report 1968-69, p. 7.

so. Extension of service is an ongoing concern for the CBC as not only do services have to be established but they also have to be maintained and upgraded. In some cases television signals are too weak for adequate reception. Sometimes there is not service in the predominant language of the community served, and in other cases there is only a single television service available. Accordingly, the CRTC places much emphasis on ensuring that the technological infrastructure is established in poorly serviced communities, maintained for optimal reception, and where funds allow, extended to provide a variety of services. Extension of service is, however, only part of the picture in the provision of broadcast services – the other part is supplying programming

The term programming encompasses a broad array of concerns. Programming can refer to classifications of broadcast offerings such as: news, public affairs, community announcements, drama, variety, music, sports, and so on, or to particular orientations, including Canadian, national, regional or local material. Programming can also refer to specific shows such as *Hockey Night In Canada* or *Cross Country Checkup.* In the 1968–69 annual report the CRTC, under the subheading of *The Main Concern,* discusses programming as follows:

> The uppermost concern of the CRTC as enunciated in the [Broadcasting] Act is for the provision of program service and to set and maintain programming standards.
>
> The CRTC's policy statements and decisions on programming may apply to the system as a whole, to one medium in particular, to classes of stations, or to individual cases.
>
> During the year, certain decisions applying to the Canadian broadcasting system in general were made with a view to allowing further definition of the special programming roles of broadcasting undertakings operating or intending to operate in these bands of the spectrum. Several individual cases were heard in public hearings with respect to program performance.[5]

This brief introduction of extension of service and programming shows them as quite separate from one another but also as interdependent. Extension of service serves little purpose unless programming is created to be carried on the hardware. Alternatively, no amount of programming, regardless of its origin or quality, is of any value where there is no infrastructure to carry it. While the CBC endeavors to realize

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[5] CRTC annual report 1968–69, p. 8.

these two objectives, they are often not accomplished simultaneously due to budget constraints and other considerations, as we shall see. The analysis of the decisions will show an ever-increasing tension between these two aspects of broadcasting.

In the CRTC 1969-70 annual report the CRTC's second year of operation is "characterized as the year for programming". Apparent in this characterization is an impending sense of urgency:

> the Canadian broadcasting system...must now improve rapidly or risk disappearing as a system. To ensure its survival it is more apparent that it must increase the extension of services which the population requires, and improve the quality and variety of these services.[6]

The cause of the danger is explained as follows, showing not only the immediate urgency but also an escalating pace:

> The "Americanization of the (Canadian) unconscious" as well as risks for viability and future development of the Canadian Broadcast System, appeared, just two years after the latest Broadcasting Act, a more imminent danger than it did in 1968.[7]

One of the foremost rationales for publicly funding the CBC was to develop and portray a specifically Canadian identity. However, with the advent and implementation of new technologies such as cable and satellite bringing in U.S. broadcast signals as well as the availability of cheap American programming, the CBC found itself competing for Canadian audiences against an evergrowing proliferation of popular U.S. programming.

The CRTC's response to the situation in 1969-70 was to emphasise the Canadianization of Canadian broadcasting: that which expressed, "both the richness and originality of Canadian life and the community character through regional and local programming."[8] Proposals and policies were formulated to address this 'Canadian identification theme'. In 1969 a policy addressing regional, local and educational programming on cable television systems was established, followed by the development of FM broadcasting policy and, in 1970, Canadian content and advertising regulations for both television and

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[6] CRTC Public Announcement, Dec 3 1969, as quoted in CRTC annual report 1969-70, p. 3.

[7] CRTC annual report 1969-70, p. 5.

[8] CRTC annual report 1969-70, pp. 31-32.

radio were introduced.

The 1969–70 annual report specifically refers to the CBC with regard to the cable policy and Canadian content regulations, both of which tie in directly to extension of service and programming respectively. In the interest of extending a distinctively Canadian broadcast service the CBC French and English networks are given precedence on cable systems and where FM signals are carried by cable, all available Canadian FM stations in both official languages are to be given priority. With respect to programming the CBC was asked to increase the amount of Canadian content programming to 60 percent from 55 percent. With these new policy developments in hand the CRTC directed its attention to other problem areas.

The 1970–71 annual report discussed technology as the major issue in a 'year of transformations'. Finding ways of directing new technologies to serve Canadian broadcasting objectives was the central thrust of this report. Primarily cable television was at issue where there was the potential "to personalize mass communication by serving smaller and smaller segments of the mass, and generalize personal communication by effective communication among larger and larger groups."[9] With cable technology, services could be extended to more communities. The type of programming carried by cable then becomes critical in personalizing or generalizing the messages broadcast. Herein lies the rationale for local and regional services, the programming of which is intended to address the particular concerns of communities and regions. If cable is only a conduit for U.S. programming or urban centered Canadian programming, the personal context possible is consumed by the more general mass programming, such as, soap dramas, game shows, and situation comedies, instead of community announcements, news, and special programming, produced locally or specifically for local audiences.

On extension of service, the 1970–71 annual report noted the disparate nature in the provision of broadcast services, showing that while services were being extended, there was a great disparity between the urban centers and the more remote areas, as follows:

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[9] J.R. Pierce of Bell Labs as quoted in CRTC annual report 1970–71, p. 1.

> On the one hand, residents of some populated areas of the country receive as many as 12 television services through cable systems. On the other hand, certain areas such as northeastern Cape Breton, the north shore of the St. Laurent, or other distant places are deprived of a first service. After 20 years, since the introduction of television, and two technological generations later (off-air television and cable), the obligation to extend service to such areas is of the utmost urgency.[10]

With regard to programming this year, the CRTC was laudatory over the programming efforts made to increase original Canadian themes and images. The CBC's efforts in this direction received the bulk of the praise. However, comments in the subsequent annual reports indicate that these efforts were still insufficient to counter the overwhelming quantity of U.S. programming viewed in Canada.

The 1971-72 annual report focuses on the integration of cable into a single broadcast system comprised of public and private broadcasting components. In this system, extension of service was still a top priority while programming was shifting to more of an industrial issue than one of sovereignty:

> The development and strengthening of a Canadian programming production industry gained recognition as an urgent concern in the light of the actual and expected extension of service and growth of programs.[11]

The problem underlying Canadian programming appears to have altered from that of not enough material with Canadian themes to that of not enough programming produced in Canada, and further to the lack of a viable production industry in Canada. This shift, as it will be shown later, is of major significance in terms of definitions of "culture".

This rather long foreword to the decisions introduces most of the major issues involved in the early regulation of the CBC. These are: extension of service, including English and French services, and the rural/urban discrepancies, and programming including proliferation of U.S. material, mass verses specialized programming and the Canadian production industry. Other issues surface in subsequent years. Having laid the groundwork it is now possible to turn to the decisions for the linking of the issues to definitions of "culture".

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[10] CRTC annual report 1970-71, pp. 7-8.

[11] CRTC annual report 1971-72, p. 1.

In April 1971 the CRTC issued Decision CRTC 71-192 approving and amending CBC television broadcast licences in Nova Scotia. Three English language television licences were granted for Sydney, Cheticamp and Mulgrave with studios located in Sydney. Cheticamp and Mulgrave would receive services from the Sydney studios. In addition, amendments were made to CBC television licences for Sheet Harbour to increase the power of their directional antenna and for New Glasgow to receive services from Sheet Harbour rather than from Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. Three concerns were raised by the Commission in this decision.

The application was approved subject to the condition that a local programming service would be maintained and developed for northeastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. The CRTC also noted that people in northern Cape Breton were without television service of any kind. Finally concern was also expressed over the possibility of the establishment of a second television service disrupting local programming services of the privately owned station in Sydney. It was felt that a second service might draw advertising revenue from the incumbent station, reducing its ability to engage in local programming.

In this decision there is one predominant reference to "culture" with suggestions of others. The emphasis on local programming draws attention to the specificity of the geographical area. Thus, we can assume that there are local concerns, issues, developments, events, and the like, that pertain specifically to this area. One might think here of the working conditions of those employed in and dependent on the Sydney Steel Corporation or the fishing industry for their livelihood, or of the division between Irish Catholics and Scottish Protestants, or about the MicMac Indians, the music, the poverty, and the Acadian heritage. With the mixture of ethnic backgrounds, "culture" could not be defined as that of a specific group but rather as a specific configuration of groups or a particular way of life. Ostensibly, local programming would reflect this way of life. Here, then "culture" refers to the way of life within a specific geographical region or locality. "Culture" in this case is a social concept based on geographical locations.

Geography is also the foundation of "culture" in a national context. While this decision does not discuss the CBC national service it is a given that the CBC local programming services are provided in conjunction with national services. By extension, "culture", in the national sense, would refer to the way of life within the geographical boundaries of Canada. This would include the mixture of ethnic groups, the relationships between the groups, the politics, and so on. Suffice it to say here that if local "culture" is to be considered in this geographical social context, so too must national "culture" to some extent. Many decisions follow which deal with national "culture" in greater detail.

Commercial practices mentioned in this decision set an important precedent with regard to the role that industry plays in broadcasting. Here, industry refers to the constellation of economic activities that intervene in the process of providing services. These activities represent an independent "culture", like bacteria growing in a petrie dish, they have a life or a rationality of their own. Consider for example the following:

> The Commission is also concerned about the effect of the establishment of a second television station in Sydney upon the local programming service now provided by CJCB-TV to Sydney and other local communities in northeastern Nova Scotia.
>
> The Commission is preoccupied with the possible effect of the corporation's commercial operations on the revenues available to CJCB-TV, particularly in the light of the policy followed by the Corporation to require such undertakings to be self supporting.[12]

Here the CRTC's determinations are being made on economic grounds where the viability of the private station is under consideration to the following extent:

> The commission is of the opinion that the Corporation should limit the nature and extent of its commercial activities in the Cape Breton area...[13]

Programming choices are also made on the basis of financial considerations. The rationale for limiting the CBC's commercial activities is that where these encroach on the revenues available to CJCB-TV the latter would be unable to provide local programming. CJCB-TV's reduced revenue base would mean that it would have to rely on programming already produced either in Canada or more likely in the U.S., where programming is more cheaply produced. The question of which broadcaster would best be able to

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[12] Decision CRTC 71-192, p. 2.

[13] Ibid., p. 3.

produce local programming remains unasked.

In 1972, Decision CRTC 72-55 addressed broadcasting as an industry again. This decision approves an application by the CBC to introduce the popular American program *All In The Family* to the English CBC television network. On this the CRTC commented:

> This decision was taken according to what CBC considered to be normal commercial practices. The Commission has reservations concerning such practices on the part of the CBC and intends to continue discussing this matter with the Corporation.[14]

In terms of the industrial nature of broadcasting this decision pointed to the importance of audiences in program selection. By including the popular program, "All In The Family" in its program schedule the CBC was appealing to a larger audience. Audience appeal is important for two reasons. In the case of the CBC it is important to justify the public expenditure of tax dollars on the CBC. More often, audience appeal is important in terms of attracting advertisers to provide revenues for the station. It is not clear from this decision which of these reasons underlies the CBC's application. What does seem clear from this decision is that the CBC is definitely involved in competition with the commercial broadcasters for audiences and that places the CBC firmly within the commercial context.[15]

The concerns over the commercialization of broadcasting arise again a few months later in June of 1972 in Decision 72-197 on CBC Radio Policy. This decision, as well as addressing the industrial nature of broadcasting, touches on a variety of other issues which add new dimensions to the definitions of "culture" already discussed. Of special interest in this decision is the clear emergence of competition between definitions of "culture".

In this decision the CBC is denied approval for an AM network that in the Commission's view would, "shift CBC AM programming away from what is unique and bring it much closer to the

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[14] Decision CRTC 72-55, p. 1.

[15] For an overview of the factors involved in the commercialization of the CBC see "Popular Culture As Local Culture: Regions, Limits, and Canadianism", by Martin Laba, in Communications Canada: Issues in Broadcasting and New Technologies, Toronto: Kagan and Woo Limited, 1988.

programming already available on many of the privately owned stations."[16] The CRTC is of the opinion that CBC AM should provide unique, distinctive, and high quality programming rather than try to increase its audience with commercial fare already available from the private broadcasters. In addition the Commission deferred making a decision on the CBC proposal of introducing FM services in English and French in some areas and the development of a French network, when many areas are still without a CBC first full service.

The definition of national "culture" begins to take on fuller proportions in 72-197. An outline of national objectives are offered, including:

> ...reflecting to a national audience the total range of our living culture: from the instant reporting of topics, views, and day by day creative successes, to the convincing and competent presentation of the long term concerns of our society, of what is best and most durable in our cultural achievements and in our national heritage.[17]

Here then national "culture" is the news, opinions, art, politics, social conditions and history relating to Canada. National "culture", the rationale behind the funding of the CBC, is clearly the intent of the CRTC in the following statement:

> ...the mandate of the CBC remains one of providing a broadcasting service of distinctive quality which is predominantly Canadian in content and character and a continuing expression of Canadian identity.[18]

The dilemma for the CBC is to accomplish the ideals listed above while at the same time appealing to as wide a Canadian audience as possible, thus justifying public expenditure. The CBC proposed to increase the amount of popular programming offered in response to fluctuating markets. The CRTC decided this was too close to commercial broadcasting and not in keeping with the CBC's mandate. In addition the CRTC wants the CBC to phase out advertising on the radio networks except where it is "indispensible to ensure the availability of programs of exceptional interest."[19] Here tensions between national "culture"

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[16] Decision CRTC 72-197, p. 2.

[17] Ibid., p. 3.

[18] Ibid., p. 3.

[19] Ibid., p. 4.

and industrial objectives place the CBC in a double bind. In order to compete for a share of the audience, the CBC must appeal to audiences, but the Corporation cannot use the same marketing tools as their competitors. In addition the CBC cannot increase their independence from public funding by deriving greater revenues from advertising. Thus the CBC is left firmly wedged between a rock and a hard place.

The CRTC's objections to a more commercially oriented CBC also revolved around the regional expression that the CRTC considerd essential in fulfilling the CBC's mandate. It was argued that the commercial emphasis would overly centralize the programming structures, preventing the regions from contributing on an innovative basis, and that marketing pressures would favor urban popularity standards, where audiences are larger, rather than those of the smaller markets in the regions. This, in combination with the CRTC's observation that many Canadians are still without adequate service in outlying areas, contributed to the view that the CBC had much yet to do to fulfill its regional mandate. This not only exemplifies the tensions between regional "culture" and industry but also indicates a measure of competition between the urban-biased national "culture" and regional "culture".

In discussing the problems related to the regions and this proposal to commercialize the CBC, the CRTC raises another definition of "culture": high "culture" which is based on art, and also demonstrates the urban bias of national "culture", as shown in the following quote:

> However, the Commission is deeply concerned about any proposal to build a second CBC radio service in some areas while many other culturally underprivileged areas are still lacking a first full service.[20]

This idea is slightly more developed here:

> If this is so then programs become even more desirable for more distant areas of the country which do not enjoy the cultural facilities and opportunities of the larger centers.[21]

Here, the reader must speculate as to the meanings of, 'culturally underprivileged' or lacking in 'cultural facilities and opportunities'. Let us assume that these terms refer to the likes of theaters, films, symphonies, concert halls, galleries – in other words, the whole urban milieu. Where these terms relate to

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[20] Ibid., p. 5.

[21] Ibid., p. 5.

that milieu the spectre of elitism and urban bias is raised. That is, by having access to these forms of "culture" urban dwellers are essentially better off and without "culture" rural dwellers are in some way lacking. This form of high "culture" is conspicuous throughout this decision. Various adjectives and phrases used to describe CBC radio, such as, "distinctive", "unique", "high quality", "singularly recognized", "of high standard", and "program excellence" all contribute to this particular view of "culture". These qualities are to a certain extent apparently what sets the CBC apart from the commercial broadcasters, and what the CRTC seeks to maintain by denying approval of the CBCs' application in this case. Lastly it is these qualities that the national broadcasting service of the CBC is expected to bring to the regions.

In 1973 a new definition of "culture" is raised which will be referred to as traditional "culture". In a Public Announcement postponing a decision regarding the introduction of French and English CBC television services to Native communities in northern Quebec, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association intervened against the proposal. It objected to television services being introduced into its communities without provisions for Native language programming or access to community broadcasting and communication facilities.

Here, traditional "culture" refers to a specific group of people, distinctive by language, ethnicity, traditions, values, and customs. This definition of "culture" differs from local or regional "culture" in that the boundaries defining these groups of people have little to do with geography. In local and regional "culture", groups were identified in terms of their geographical community and could consist of different communities of ethnicity, class, religion, and language, within the geographical area. In traditional "cultural" communities, groups share the identifiable characteristics of language and ethnicity and they have a history of accumulated experience where customs, beliefs, and practices are handed down from one generation to the next. The Inuit people, for example, may be scattered in small isolated communities throughout the north but their "culture" remains similar from community to community. The intervention by the Inuits is precisely aimed at maintaining this specificity of "culture" such that it is not submerged by language, values and traditions from outside of the "culture". The traditional "culture" has

a form and authority of its own which differs significantly from the larger and more dominant national "culture". This is articulated by the need not only for programming in the Inuit language but also for access to produce programming themselves in such a way that it is meaningful within the Inuit "culture".

Late in 1973, "culture" within the context of specific groups of people is raised again in a decision adding a new dimension to the social definitions of "culture". In this decision the CBC was proposing to take over a private French language regional station, providing Francophones in the Winnipeg area with CBC French language network services. The CRTC, while approving the application, was concerned with the provision of an adequate local and regional station for Franco-Manitobans and directd the CBC to:

> ...complement network services with a substantial amount of programming originating from and designed for French speaking residents of this area.[22]

What was treated largely as a side issue in this decision was the mention of various interventions from people in Ukrainian, Polish, German, Portuguese, Jewish and Italian language groups, whose programming would be displaced by the CBC network services. The CBC, in view of the long standing practice of having multi-ethnic programming on the original station, has offered to continue similar programming for one year or less if the groups can make arrangements with private broadcasters to carry their programming.

A variety of definitions of "culture" are in operation in this decision, each one overlapping in some way with other definitions, but all are related in one way or another to language. Language is the primary basis on which the CRTC distinguishes one group from another in this decision. These language groups are divided into two distinct categories. Official language groups, in this case French-speaking Canadians, and ethnic language groups, Ukrainian, Polish- and German-speaking Canadians, for example form the categories which will be referred to here as official "culture" and ethnic "culture" respectively.

Official "culture" is based on specific groups of people who speak one or another of Canada's official languages, English or French, and it is mostly apparent when either of these language groups are

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[22] Decision CRTC 73-161, p. 1.

the minority group within a particular geographical area. Official "culture" recognizes the right of speakers of Canada's two official languages to broadcasting services in their own language. The CBC is obligated to provide such service wherever it is financially possible to so. Unlike traditional or ethnic "culture", where the speakers of other languages must intervene in the decision making process, official 'cultures' can expect service. However, as with traditional and ethnic "cultures", funding is always the determining criterion as to whether or not services can be implemented.

Ethnic "culture" embraces all linguistic groups in Canada with the exception of English, French and Native language speakers. Language and ethnicity are the determining criteria. These groups are very similar to traditional 'cultures' with the significant difference being that there is no attempt made to preserve or celebrate the roots of these groups' identity. Rather they are acknowledged as different and blended with the dominant national or regional "culture". In other words, the authority of these groups exists only within the group itself and they have a marginal status outside of the group. This is demonstrated by the fact that the CBC would only carry the already minimal programming for one year or less.

Language plays an important role in the definitions of "culture". From this decision it becomes clear that official "culture" and national "culture" are intimately related. Where previously national "culture" was largely a geographical concept, it is here also based on language. Thus for now, national "culture" must be understood as two linguistic groups with some like concerns and interests and some divergent ones, within the geographical borders of Canada.

The role of language at the regional and local level also changes those definitions of "culture" that have been discussed so far. Previously local and regional "culture" referred to a diversity of communities within a single geographical area. Here the focus is on Franco–Manitobans within the Winnipeg area. By focusing on a single linguistic group within a geographical boundary a sense of isolation and insulation rather than integration with the community is apparent. In this way regional or local "culture" can be understood by its pieces, Franco–Manitobans, in this case, rather than by its whole, which would include

the ethnic groups and anglophones.

Toward the end of 1973 the CRTC approved a second French language service in an area lacking full English first service. Here again the difficulties of providing services in a variety of languages is apparent:

> In approving the application, the Commission expects the Corporation to increase as quickly as possible, the availability of the English AM Network service, in a manner that will not deprive the native population in the Thompson area of native language programming.[23]

This is a good example of the pressures brought to bear on the CBC to try and achieve both offical and traditional "culture" objectives.

The First Review Decision – 1974

In 1974, a major policy review was conducted on the renewal of CBC broadcasting licences resulting in a 145 page Public Announcement and Decision. The thrust of the document relates to how the CBC can best achieve the objectives set for it in the Broadcasting Act. The decision is broken into eight sections, each one dealing with specific policy issues affecting the CBC. It is worthwhile to consider this document in detail as it represents a comprehensive package of the definitions in operation in 1974, as well as going far beyond what is usually present in most decisions.

Immediately upon examination this decision presents a host of definitions of "culture". The word "culture" and its variations are rife throughout the document. In the interest of time and effectiveness the focus here will be to concentrate on the more prominent usages of "culture" while attempting to illustrate also some of the more subtle implications.

Section One of Decision 74-70 is entitled *The National Broadcasting Service: Mass Medium or Public Service*, and at issue are the types of programming that should be offered and the configuration of the audience to be attracted by the CBC. Explained in these deliberations are the unique opportunities

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[23] Decision CRTC 73-521, p. 1.

available to a publicly funded broadcasting organization which is not wholly dependent on commercial enterprise:

> Indeed, one might even argue that the immensely powerful cultural medium represented by a national broadcasting service supported by the public purse, should be used to counteract mass concepts, mass behaviour, mass attitudes, mass reactions, mass manipulations, mass psychology.[24]

Instead the CRTC, in rather florid terms suggests that:

> ...the CBC television networks should be a main highway in Canadian cultural communication, not a picturesque but seldom frequented side-road. It should be a service that all Canadians are proud to identify with, even though all may not watch it all the time.[25]

Pragmatically, little by way of concrete suggestions are presented with regard to what the CBC should be doing. Problem areas are described to the effect that the CBC "should endeavor to remain a popular service and that it should guard against becoming the preserve of esoteric minorities."[26] Directions are offered suggesting that what is really needed is balance and choice in the program schedule to the effect that, "The goal should be to maximize, not the audience for every program, but the viewers' chances of discovery, understanding, participation and cultural development."[27] An example is offered, in the document, describing what could be acheived through this type of initiative where instead of a southern Canadian produced documentary on the north, the CBC in collaboration with Inuit and Indian creative talent could be engaged to produce a documentary using a variety of sources and people with experience and knowledge of the north.[28]

Given the preponderance of the word "mass" in this section of the Decision, this analysis must begin with a discussion of the way that the CRTC uses it. Without exception, "mass" is used, in conjunction with commercial broadcasting enterprises, in opposition to public broadcasting ideals, and to

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[24] Decision CRTC 74-70, p. 11.

[25] Ibid., p. 11.

[26] Ibid., p. 18.

[27] Ibid., p. 15.

[28] Ibid., p. 15.

refer to a dehumanizing force leading to amorphous, homogenous, anonymous and dull witted audiences. The following quotation exemplifies this:

> The CBC must not consider its audience as an agglomeration of 20 million more or less accessible revenue-producing customers, but rather as an active community of people, with real and caring communication needs. Is not real communication the very opposite of mass diffusion? Genuine human communication can involve very large numbers of people but it refers to messages exchanged between people as thinking and feeling individuals.[29]

Thus we have the CRTC's definition of mass "culture" as representing much less than human enrichment. Yet the CRTC is fully apprised of the fact that the CBC is not devoid of commercial manifestations and that its audiences are revenue producing customers, as noted in the Decision:

> For instance, for about one quarter of its coverage, the CBC English-language network still must rely on fully commercial stations. Seventy-two per cent of English-language programming in the prime time evening hours, 8:00 to 9:00 p.m. is mass-appeal, industrialized, format programming, imported from the U.S.. In the coming year, the national broadcasting service estimates its commercial advertising revenue would be $50 million. According to the President of CBC, the total effect of eliminating this source of revenue would be significantly more than the amount of revenue lost: he estimated it at $80 million, appoximately one third of the CBC operating budget.[30]

Nor does the CRTC overlook the fact that most broadcasting in Canada, is set firmly within the stronghold of free enterprise, functions on the mass model, and not without a host of associated problems:

> The exploitation of all forms of human expression is largely responsible for certain annoying disorders of the system. The recurring complaints concerning such problems as violence on television, morally offensive programs or distasteful advertising, will be increasingly difficult to deal with in social, aesthetic or moral terms, as long as we fail to understand that their occurrence stems directly from our techno-economic evolution, and results as much from the prevailing rules of exploitation and productivity, as from any deliberate desire to destroy existing social norms. [31]

Inherent then in the CRTC's acknowledgment of the mass "culture" idiom, prevalent in Canadian broadcasting, is industry. Here mass "culture" is the effect and industry the determining force. In this case, industry refers to the larger capitalist system in general and the imperatives thereof, including the maximization of profit, cost effectiveness, efficiency and so on.

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[29] Ibid., p. 11.

[30] Ibid., p. 10.

[31] Ibid., p. 16.

The CRTC is apparently determined to override "certain annoying disorders of the system" with the CBC and public service ideals. The attempt here is to protect the "national interest" from being overwhelmed by "mass culture":

> The Commission cannot agree with the position that the commercial climate in private broadcasting must change before the CBC can effect any change in its own commercial policy. Because of both its mandate and its public funding, the CBC must take initiative in this area. [32]

> A system which is and must remain the cornerstone of Canadian broadcasting must be built with cornerstone elements. When a Canadian program, attracts an audience of practically a million viewers, it is gathering together, at the same moment, one out of every twenty Canadians, and inviting them to demonstrate a common interest, and share a common experience. Such a program should be considered a cornerstone of our public broadcasting system, and all possible means of furthering its development should be encouraged. [33]

In its attempt to correct these problems the CRTC applies definitions of "culture" which are contradictory. For example, two definitions are in operation simultaneously in the last quotation. The first, national "culture", referring to a specific group of people, Canadians and their way of life, is obvious by the references to national unity and identity inherent in the phrases "gathering together...Canadians", "common interest", and "share a common experience". Implied by national "culture" is a set of experiences, interests, values, and the like that Canadians understand collectively. Presumably then, this collective knowledge is what differentiates us from Americans or people from all other countries and makes us recognizable to Canadians. Complicating this, however, is the other definition of "culture" in operation.

Consider for a moment the phrase 'cornerstone elements'. It is highly evocative of regional and local "culture", where regional and local initiatives are the foundations or cornerstones upon which Canadian nationhood is constructed. This definition is developed further below:

> An alternative approach would be to concentrate on finding or, if necessary, inventing means to enable all the various kinds of creative talent from all corners of the country to participate, in order to ensure that our national broadcasting service appeals as much as possible to the

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[32] Ibid., p. 11.

[33] Ibid., p. 14.

full range of interests existing in this country.[34]

Here, a question must be raised: Is national "culture" simply a composite of regional or local "culture" or is national "culture" recognizable for its own characteristics? In terms of the latter one could think of Canada's unique blend of public and private enterprise, its bilingual status and other features which distinguish Canada as a unique nation. Or national "culture" could be a combination of both its regional constituents and its own identifiable characteristics. While not actually stating either as yet, it seems clear that the CRTC vacillates between the two definitions offered here of national "culture". This is not without problems. It is difficult to understand a single term, national "culture", which is called upon to denote both difference and diversity on the one hand, and a sense of sameness, sharing or unity on the other, and sometimes simultaneously.

I return now to the quotation above, to consider the definition of "culture" raised by the term "creative talent". "Creative talent", seen in this decision and many to follow, evokes definitions of "culture" based on art. The CRTC was discussing ways of introducing a greater diversity of Canadian labour into the production of broadcasting. "Creative" applies to these people's abilities to contribute to broadcast productions be they musicians, writers, actors, and the like, or artists possessing technical skills, such as directors, producers, camera operators, set designers, make-up artists, and so on. The hope is that these people and their skills could be drawn from the many regions in Canada and be representative of those regions. In this sense then, "creative talent" can be seen as artistic labour that comes from and draws upon the experiences and background of a particular region. One might think here of the fiddle and squeeze box music from the maritimes and Quebec, the sculpture of the Inuit, or the Ukrainian influenced music of the Prairies. However, "creative talent" is not necessarily confined to folk traditions. Obviously modern values and experiences are incorporated into the notion of "creative talent" with dramatic productions, popular music, public affairs, and other programming falling under this umbrella. Newscasts and magazine format programming for example, involve the creativity of producers and production people. Creative talent thus means an attribute of persons or groups of individuals who have

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[34] Ibid.,p. 14.

developed or are gifted with specific skills, be they artists, intellectuals, or trades people. A distinction can be made on the nature of the creative talent. In the first group, the artists who compose and play the music, who write dramatic plays and scripts, and those who act in the productions and so on are considered to have a different kind of input to the finished product than does the camera operator, set designer, program scheduler, and the like. The first group falls under the rubric of what is considered "the arts". The second group is generally considered to be technical contributors to the production. It, nevertheless, can still be seen as having creative talent and artistic skills. The first group is traditionally understood as artists unlike the others who become artists in terms of their specific skills in broadcast production. In the first case "the arts" involve notions of excellence in form and content. This preoccupation with superior art and skill falls into the high "culture" category.

Here, creativity is a dynamic force leading to refinement of the senses and intellect. The program or form is crafted rather than simply produced in production like assembly. The content of the program is demanding of the viewer, imparting information or providing edification for the soul, mind or spirit. Clues to the presence of this definition of "culture" lie in the terminology used in the decisions including; artistic excellence, quality, standards, acheivements, distinguished, and outstanding, etc., as the following documents:

> Thus, once again, techno-economic considerations place constraints on the striving for cultural originality and artistic excellence in broadcast production. Unique carefully crafted programs involving concentration of resources and orchestration of talent become merely the exception.[35]

A sense is imparted here of something special about such programming, something which is superior to the usual fare. Also if one interprets 'concentration of resources' to include financial resources, it would seem that programs of high "culture" cost more money to make than other ones. Other programming, or what I will refer to as popular "culture", while still employing creative talent, is considered to be of a less refined ilk. It is programming which is commercially oriented, for large audiences, abundant, and usually profitable. The CRTC demonstrates this attitude:

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[35] Ibid., p. 16.

> The Commission has never believed that the CBC should abandon entertainment programming, including popular presentations and sports. Everyone needs moments of complete relaxation and simple enjoyment, where light or superficial entertainment is attractive and desirable. It is understood that the national broadcasting service should retain a suitable proportion of this kind of programming.[36]

In this case words such as "entertainment", "light", "superficial", and "popular" all indicate that the popular "culture" definition of "culture" is in operation.

Bridging both popular and high "culture" is mechanical "culture". Mechanical "culture" refers specifically to the broadcast medium where sophisticated technology in tandem with the arts, high and/or popular, produce the product. Unlike the theatrical production, symphony, or dance performance on stage where people assemble in one place for a two hour performance, mechanical "culture" provides this situation:

> In its endeavor to reach all Canadians, the national broadcasting service has more than matched the systems for distribution of hydro-electric power. It has gradually extended to practically all regions of the country a permanently available, continuous service. In most of Canada, the show goes on for 18 hours a day, 365 days a year. One cultural drawback of this remarkable achievement is that the priority of such a service becomes less to convey the message than to feed the flow.[37]

The result is that:

> It can thus be seen that many contemporary problems concerning quality of programming occur because the modern communications media have an almost insatiable demand for new materials and resources.[38]

"Mechanical culture", as such, is a concept based on both arts and social notions of culture. Initially it is the skills used in production and the products themselves that have a "cultural" status. Equally "mechanical culture" embodies social notions in its ability to produce and reproduce "culture", that is, "culture" as a way of life and reflections of this way of life. "Mechanical culture" will be pursued throughout the rest of this case study.

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[36] Ibid., p.11.

[37] Ibid., p. 16.

[38] Ibid., p. 17.

A note with regard to the confluence of regional "culture" and mechanical "culture" must be made before moving on. The emphasis on drawing artistic and technical talent from the regions inspires the idea of a reproduction occurring of the everyday experiences both grand and small from many areas within Canada. This particular idea while prevalent throughout the decisions is often treated more as an ideal to be pursued than an objective to be realized. More and more decisions demonstrate that industry thwarts the progress toward this particular ideal.

In section two, three tendencies appear – centralism, bureaucratism, and nationalism, each contributing to the shaping of definitions of "culture". Centralism becomes apparent, in this section, as the CRTC points out the difficulties that result from an attempt to depict a Canadian identity. The following quotation describes the situation concisely:

> It is regrettable that actual practices of institutions, both private and public, can create an impression that a "national culture" means the diffusion, throughout the country from the center to its periphery, of well developed patterns, highly polished creative successes and masterpieces from central Canada.[39]

Centralism in broadcasting grew out of the perceived necessity of nurturing a national broadcasting service. Resources were concentrated in the large city-based production centers of the CBC in Montreal and Toronto to establish them as such and to ensure polished products from these centers. The price to be paid, in the CRTC's words, was that, "In doing so, however, they inextricably by-passed some smaller production sources which found it difficult to meet the standards of the mainstream."[40] The problem of centralism reaches deeper than this, however, where the CRTC concludes that:

> It is not unfair to say that of all these regular, established regional network productions, only one can be said to exploit the elements of the physical and social life and the particular characteristics of the region in which it is produced.[41]

This quotation points directly to the tensions between the center and the periphery where centralism dictates the form of expression for regional "culture", meaning in effect that regional "culture" is either produced according to the center's production values, distorting the regional images, or not produced at

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[39] Ibid., p. 24.

[40] Ibid., p. 25.

[41] Ibid., p. 29.

all.

In its treatment of centralism, the CRTC by virtue of the solutions that it posed, reveal bureaucratism. The CRTC suggests a series of corrective measures for eradicating the disparities between centers and the regions. What is shown here is layer upon layer of bureaucratic responsibility. The CBC and CRTC are obvious actors in this process. Section Two refers back to 1929 when the Aird Commission initiated some of the fundamentals of broadcasting policy, and then refers to five more precedent setting policies, including the Massey and Fowler reports, which reiterate the importance of instilling a national consciousness in the CBC. This represents one form of layering where over time a history of bureaucratic response has established a pattern of response toward solutions for broadcasting problems.

Another form of this layering of bureaucratism occurs where a variety of government actors are participating in the process. The CRTC provides an example of some of the actors involved:

> In this respect the Commission is committed to participate in a study group recommended by the parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting, Film and Assistance to the Arts which will consider the matter. The group is to be composed of representatives of the department of the Secretary of State, the Minister of State for Multiculturalism, the CBC and the CRTC.[42]

Here the government agencies through the intergovernmental committee process, establish policies to address the problems.

Bureaucratism is not confined to the national government. Even where provincial and local governments have no jurisdiction over broadcasting they are still involved in the process of policy formulation. Bureaucratism extends to deal with broadcasting problems at all levels of government:

> The Commission realizes what a difficult job it is to build sensitivity to localized hopes and feelings into a complex broadcasting operation. Structures can be invented, committees of regional representatives can discuss ideas and scheduling.[43]

Here reliance on the same structures, formulated on bureaucratism is suggested for the CBC's relations with the regions. To avoid centralist tendencies, it is suggested that the CBC should strike committees

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[42] Ibid., p. 31.

[43] Ibid., p. 30.

with regional representatives. The important point being made here is not so much a critique of governmental bureaucracy as the simple acknowledgement of the extent of the bureaucratization. The extent to which the bureaucratization exists is so great that it takes on a life of its own and can almost be considered a "culture" in its own right.

Linked to bureaucratism and centralism by virtue of its origins in national "culture" is nationalism. Nationalism is suggested by reference to Canadian identity and unity, that which the CBC has been designated to promote. Section Two reflects on the nature of the concepts of identity and unity as they pertain to the national "culture" context. National unity in the CRTC's words means, "being consciously partial to the success of Canada as a united country with its own national objectives, independent from those of other countries."[44] The concept of nationalism is further developed in a passage which the CRTC borrows from Dr. Northrop Frye where unity is, "national in reference, international in perspective and rooted in a political feeling", and identity "is local and regional, rooted in the imagination and in works of culture."[45] The CRTC expands this perspective to include a broader interpretation in which identity can be a shared experience:

> There has been much comment on the fact that the Corporation seems to miss opportunities to actually create a collective Canadian experience on a wide national scale — to provide real occasions for Canadians to share ideas and emotions. Many Canadians look back on the Canada–Russia Hockey series, for instance, with a kind of shared pride that make discussions of "cultural nationalism" seem superfluous. The Corporation is uniquely capable of initiating such occasions which give us a sense of the elements of identity we share from coast to coast.[46]

It is within the context of the collective or shared experience mentioned above that identity remains within national "culture" even though it is referred to as a more specified or local notion. The missed opportunities spoken of above are the opportunities to elicit a nationalist response. That is, to inspire a zealous disposition toward the prosperity of the nation. The CBC's function is to be the conduit for eliciting that response from its Canadian audience.

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[44] Ibid., p. 24.

[45] Ibid., p. 24.

[46] Ibid., p. 31.

This nationalist tendency is based more on the absence of nationalism than on its presence. Much of the nationalist response is generated specifically to counteract the influx of American programming coming into Canada and the perceived effect that this overabundance of foreign programming will have on Canadian audiences. It would appear from the CRTC's preoccupation with nationalism that nationalism is not something natural to, or that which arises spontaneously in the hearts and minds of Canadians. Rather it is fostered to unite and to provide an identity for Canadians based on themes, experiences, images, and events which are unique to Canadians. Inherent in the nationalist tendency is an attempt to inspire confidence in Canadian programming. The tool which the CRTC uses to build this confidence is the Canadian content regulations. Content regulations establish quotas and times when Canadian programs must be given air time. The content regulations must be adhered to by the private broadcasters and especially the CBC. The logic behind the Canadian content regulations seems to be, the more opportunities that Canadians have to view or listen to Canadian material, the more they will enjoy them. As the reliance on broadcasting grows to promote nationalism so does the reliance on mechanical "culture", if one recalls that programming is the essential component of mechanical "culture".

The last area addressed in Section Two is Canada's "multicultural diversity". The term, multicultural, is replacing what has been discussed previously as multilingual. By replacing "lingual" with "cultural" there is an implication of something greater, or in addition to language as the defining characteristics of these groups. However, in the decision there is nothing which describes these characteristics more fully. Alternatively there is a reference to the commercial and nationalist usefulness of multicultural influences:

> As some intervenors said, a better use of these domestic multicultural resources could be a healthy corrective to the continuing imbalance of foreign influences in Canadian life.[47]

The word, "resources", evokes notions of art, music, dance, and the like, but we are left to speculate on whether or not this is what the CRTC has in its collective mind. However, when linked with "domestic multicultural resources", another image is brought to mind. "Domestic resources" alludes to images of trade. This is especially the case given the context of the quotation where an imbalance of foreign

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[47] Ibid., p. 31.

influences are being discussed. Here there is a suggestion that "culture" is being discussed in economic and national terms where domestic resources are manufactured as "national cultural" products. The arts of specific social groups become reproduced and commodified. This link between industry and "culture" is a critical one with regard to the directions which the definitions of "culture" take in many of the upcoming decisions.

Industrial "culture" is discussed more fully in Section Three which is entitled *The Commercial Context*. At issue in this section is the extent to which the CBC should be involved in commercial advertising. The debate centers abound the CBC public service mandate and the industrial climate in which the CBC operates. It is argued that while the CBC relies on advertising for approximately twenty percent of its operating budget, the influence of commercial considerations is disproportionate where selection and scheduling of programs are considered. Advertisers want prime time slots with high audience yielding programs. Thus the CRTC, acknowledging the lack of Canadian produced programs during prime time on the CBC raises the question, "what constitutes the national service especially when the period of maximum audience is so dominated by U.S. programming?"[48]

In its discussion of these issues the Commission vacillates between an abhorrence of commercial broadcasting and a recognition of the financial reality of the CBC becoming commercial free. The following quotation demonstrates the CRTC's initial position:

> As long as television is in a commercial, mass marketing straitjacket, there is little long term hope that it will become freer of the violence, cheap sensation and facile treatment of serious human questions that so easily attract audiences in such an environment.[49]

Here, the CRTC's second position is evident:

> [I]t would cost about $80 million dollars—$50 million in lost revenue, $17 million in compensation to the affiliates, and $13 million as the cost of replacing the commercial time with programming. In addition, an acceptable arrangement for the carriage of CBC programming would have to be worked out with private affiliates.[50]

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[48] Ibid., p. 40.

[49] Ibid., p. 39.

[50] Ibid., p. 40.

The CRTC, rather than pushing for a commercial-free CBC attached conditions of licence to the CBC licence. This eliminated advertising on CBC radio with the exception of programs which are available on a sponsored basis and eliminated commercials from programming for children and from certain classes of programs, including news and public affairs. There were also a number of other innovations limiting advertising on the CBC. However, as long as the CBC remains commercially active the operative definitions of "culture" are bound to rest within an industrial context where programming decisions will still be made according to market criteria.

Section Three also illustrates the tenuous relationship of regional and national definitions of "culture". In areas where it has been deemed impractical to introduce full CBC services, the network has relied on private affiliates. These stations, licenced to provide local service, carry CBC national network programming as well. Problems occur, however, where the affiliates through their contractual arrangements with the CBC must reserve prime time for CBC network programs. The affiliates complained that they do not receive adequate revenues for this. In addition the carriage of these national programs pre-empts the community service for which the station was originally licenced. Underlying both of these issues is lost advertising revenue potential where if the station was independent of the CBC the affiliate would have more say in programming choice and direct access to revenues accrued. However, without the CBC, the affiliates remain financially unviable. Here then is a case of obvious competition between regional and national definitions of "culture" and industrial objectives. The relationship between the three indicates a hierarchy with industry above the others, national "culture" in the middle, and local "culture" compromised the most.

The last point to raise before leaving this section has to do with high "culture". It is noted that in certain cases classes of programs, including programs of artistic merit and high quality dramatic productions, will be exempted from commercial interruptions. This posture attributes a special status to such programs which is typical of the high "culture" model; but it also suggests that these programs exist outside of the industrial context because of their independence from advertising. This issue is an interesting one but unfortunately one that receives very little attention in the decisions. However it is

important to note the continuing allusion to "high culture", and to observe its decreasing importance as the Commission focuses increasingly on the production of popular "culture".

Section four, *Information: The Public's Right To Be Informed*, introduces another tendency which will be referred to here as democratism. This tendency centers around the notion of "reasonable balanced opportunity". This means that all views where possible should be adequately represented through the CBC broadcast services. Embraced in democratism are the notions of freedom of expression, free societies, choice, and completeness in the presentation of available views, to whatever extent possible. Democratic "culture" can be seen in terms of an adjunct of national "culture" incorporating certain ideals, values, and principals which are shared by Canadians.

The last two sections of this decision shed no illumination on the problem under examination here. Thus it is more fruitful to forge onward to future decisions.

The Decisions 1975–1978

The expression of traditional "culture" becomes more apparent in 1975 and 1976 where in a number of related decisions the CRTC discusses Native language programming and 'community'. In most of these decisions the CBC is applying to the CRTC to amend their FM radio licences for small northern communities, such that an organized body of community residents can have access to use the facilities of the CBC radio transmitter. Programs of community interest would be created and broadcast in the Native language of the community. This service would complement the national and special northern services (produced in Montreal in the Inuktitut language), already provided to the community via satellite. The inclusion of the very specialized community programming indicates the recognition of a unique character present in these Native communities, one of a traditional "culture". A decision, renewing a number of CBC northern television licences, underscores the need for the preservation of traditional "culture" felt by Native Canadians:

> Interventions received by the Commission and heard at the May 3 public hearing in Winnipeg, emphasised the impact of CBC television programming in the North, and asked that more of the native peoples' values and knowledge be introduced into the programming now provided to the North.[51]

Apart from the concerns noted above with Native broadcasting 1975 and 1976 are relatively uneventful for the purposes of this study.

The first decision of interest in 1977 is one which links social concepts of "culture", in this case specific groups of people in the Toronto area, with industry. The decision discussed the regional and local programming responsibilities of a CBC television licencee, CBLT. This station offered CBC national service and had special regional and local responsibilities. The major concern expressed is as follows:

> A clear distinction must be drawn between the regional and local programming provided by CBLT to ensure that the relatively limited number of local programming hours adequately reflect the needs of each audience.[52]

The significance of this Decision lies in the word, "audience". "Audience" provides a vital link between the various social concepts of "culture" and "industry" by assuming the role of what were previously referred to as ethnic, linguistic, regional, national, local and official 'cultures'. These groups become homogenized into a single entity known as an audience or consumers of broadcast programmes. A shift takes place from terms which identify and describe people and groups of people, for example, Inuits, Acadians, northern residents or Franco-Ontarians, to a single term which is tied to markets and financial considerations. In the case of this decision where regional and local groups were referred to as audiences the term obscured further what was already a vague identity.

Decision 77-80 only hints at issues of industry. The hint is, however, sufficient to warrant a close examination and to draw out some speculations to keep in mind as we progress through the decisions. Here, the CRTC seizes an opportunity to increase Canadian produced programming:

> In an area where the mass of U.S. produced programming available to audiences is virtually overwhelming, CBLT can help to provide a balance by dividing the maximum numbers of its

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[51] Decision CRTC 76-643, p. 2.

[52] Decision CRTC 77-80, p. 2.

non-network hours to programming of Canadian material.[53]

Remember that this decision refers to the Toronto area where television signals from the U.S. are abundant and readily available. The CRTC was suggesting that CBLT provide alternative programming to this and later in the decision required the station to file a promise of performance describing their efforts in this direction.

With the progression of the decisions, a layering or stratification of the definitions of "culture" becomes more and more obvious. In any single depiction of an issue there may be several definitions in operation. This is the case in decision 77-691 which addressed the role of radio in New Brunswick. This decision discussed local and regional radio in the Maritimes and the relationship this has to the national network service. Later there is an acknowledgement of the opportunities provided for "creative and performing artists in the Atlantic region."[54] Finally, a few remarks were made concerning future considerations with regard to expansion of local service and contributions to regional and national network services. In this case two spheres of "culture" are in operation, each with their own stratifications. The national, regional, and local 'cultures' comprise one sphere with potentially complementary and competing interests. In previous cases, decisions have often shown that national objectives override regional and local intiatives for a variety of reasons, mostly financial in nature. However this decision describes an alternative situation where local talent could be marshalled into productions produced at the local level for distribution at the local, regional, and national levels. The other sphere in operation is mechanical "culture" and industry where talent is turned into a product. In this case the interests of the two are entirely complementary, although the extent to which the mechanical "culture" objectives can be realized rests entirely in the hands of industry. Here industry ultimately makes the decisions on what gets produced and what does not unless there is effective regulation.

Decisions in 1978 show the definitions of "culture" to be similar to those already examined while the relationships between the definitions grow more complex. The issues underlying the definitions are

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[53] Ibid., p. 2.

[54] Decision CRTC 77-691, p. 2.

becoming increasingly more complicated as the CRTC delves further into them. The decisions deal more often now with some specific problem areas rather than deferring them to further study. Subtle changes take place which shift the context of some of the definitions of "culture".

Decision 78-134 while emphasising the financial constraints underlying CBC's plans for the north notes the CBC's commitment to:

> ...establish, possibly in Yellowknife, "a production and training and packaging center, using a lot of decentralized talent in the north, working with a variety of agencies, boards of education, Eskimo brotherhoods, independent free-lance filmmakers and try to begin reflecting the north on television as it deserves."[55]

A subtle but highly significant shift has taken place. Instead of regarding northern peoples as a traditional "culture" with special broadcasting needs, here a new orientation is posited where the people themselves, as potential producers of programming, can interact in the process of broadcasting and attain a measure of control over their own programming. However, this means that to a certain degree, traditional "culture" is being integrated into the mainstream as participants in mechanical "culture" and industry rather than simply as outsiders affected by it. The idea of a packaging center is especially illustrative of this where the northern and Native talents and lifestyle can be reproduced and commodified, from within the "culture" itself.

It is at least partly in the solutions posed by the CRTC and CBC for many of the issues, that the pattern of a mechanical "culture" emerges. Decision 78:164, for example, addresses the problems of Franco-Ontarians. Here the complaint is that the content of the CBC radio and television programs do not adequately reflect the nature of the Franco-Ontarian community. To this the CRTC responds:

> With respect to television service, the Commission notes the CBC's commitment to increase, this year, the number of its radio and television reporters in Sudbury, and, by 1979, to reserve the necessary funds to add a television crew, including a newsman and a camera-man, specifically to cover events in Northern Ontario.[56]

The decision continued, describing a possible production center in Sudbury. The solutions offered are becoming far more detailed than has been seen previously in the decisions. Specific remedies often

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[55] Decision CRTC 78-134, p. 3.

[56] Decision CRTC 78-164, p. 3.

include the application and utilization of more broadcasting technology rather than an assessment of how best to apply the technology or what kinds of technology would be best suited or other such questions. The shift taking place in the decisions seems to be toward an increasing reliance on mechanical "culture" to fix problems.

Decison 78-169 shows this reliance in a different way. This decision addresses the CBC's presence in Alberta and ends with a comment on the CBC's efforts "to concentrate on finding and developing Alberta's talents with a particular emphasis on variety music". There seems to be no notion of the talent being there without "mechanical culture's" help to refine the material.

Another decision is of interest in 1978 but for different reasons. In 1978 and onward the word "culture" becomes evident to a far greater extent than has been seen previously. In decision 78-236 the word "culture" is used several times. Here a brief look at the term as used specifically by the CRTC is important. This decision, renewing a number of broadcasting licences, discusses an intervention from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee requesting an opportunity "for linguistic, social cultural expression through Canada's public network." The CRTC's response requires the CBC "to seek closer contact with the various citizen groups, particularly the ethno-cultural groups". Clearly enough the CRTC refers to "culture" within the context of a specific group of people or that of a traditional "culture". The social context is one in which the CRTC employs the word "culture"- this is certainly the case in 1979 when the CBC was put under close scrutiny from the CRTC in the second major review.

The Second Review Decision - 1979

In April of 1979 the CRTC issued Decision 79-320 approving the renewal of the CBC's television and radio network licences. Many recommendations were made throughout this fifty page decision with regard to the CBC's operations and services. Most, if not all, the definitions of "culture" already outlined in this chapter appeared in the policy review. To avoid repetition, this discussion of the document will focus on new developments in the definitions of "culture".

The most striking development in 79–320 is largely the result of the detail included in this decision. Unlike most decisions, which resemble summaries, this review decision provided more background or context from which the issues can be understood. A number of issues, such as programming, extension of service, northern service, commercial constraints, technology, quality, and ethics are highlighted and briefly addressed with recommendations offered for the CBC's consideration. The issues are assembled to form an aggregate. What seems to unite the issues is a host of ideals describing what the CBC could and should be. However, upon a second glance it is more than apparent that mechanical "culture" is providing the cohesion.

The central organizing thrust of this Decision is Canadian sovereignty and how to achieve this in Canadian broadcasting. The threat of U.S. domination through the overwhelming majority of commercially oriented, mass entertainment, U.S.–produced programs is credited with the potential to destroy Canada's social and "cultural" values. The problem is exacerbated by the lack of Canadian productions to counteract the imbalance of so much imported U.S. programming and a dependency on the commercial mass programming concept as a revenue producer. The solution posed for the CBC to undertake is a new ethos to ensure that the principles outlined in the Broadcasting Act are upheld, especially those which stipulate that the CBC should remain Canadian in content and character. This new philosophical approach would involve discarding an affinity and allegiance to commercial mass programming concepts for distinctiveness and excellence and a Canadian prime time schedule.

Crucial to the success of the new ethos is the development of indigenous Canadian programs. Decision 79–320 outlines numerous expectations of programming:

> "CBC programs must reflect this very diversity of Canada's cultural heritage; the unique expressions of the French Canadian culture; the adaptation to the Canadian experience of the cultural roots of people of British origin; the reflection of the diverse cultures of the peoples of Canada's many other ethnic origins. Our programs must reflect too the regional identities which have within them those differing approaches to life and to living which are part of cultural differentiation.
>
> CBC programs must reflect, as well the common experiences and the common values of Canadians...Our common experience is expressed too in certain common Canadian institutions. CBC programs must be inspired, too, by the history which has shaped Canadians and has molded their social and cultural expressions, has given uniqueness and

> character to the Canadian identity and identities; has contributed the folk heros and the mythology which is so much a part of every society."[57]

In praise of CBC radio network the CRTC states other expectations of programming as that,

> ...which provides a balanced programming of information, enlightenment and entertainment. In practical terms it means that there is a place for popular as well as classical music for serious drama as well as light comedy: for the serious exploration of ideas as well as easy conversation: for in-depth analysis of politics and the arts: as well as local news, current affairs, weather and traffic reports: a judicious balance between regional programming on the one hand, and national network programming on the other.[58]

Even where these programming objectives could be realized other aspects of programming provide difficulties. For example, consider programming in the north where southern produced programming is irrelevant to many northern residents, but where there is no budget to fund local programming endeavors even where the technology has been set in place.

Programming selections provide a variety of other troublesome features. In news broadcasts, "the CBC must guard that militancy and bias do not override objectivity in reporting".[59] Standards must be observed with regard to rights and ethics in programming. Concepts of 'editorial plurality' must be advanced in a country of 'social diversity'. News sources must be diversified. Scheduling of programs is not without difficulties either as the following passage demonstrates:

> "Moreover, we've been forced to reduce the length of our season for our major news and current affairs programs because of sports gobbling up prime time in the early spring."[60]

The CRTC wants increased participation in program planning and development from sources outside of the CBC such as independent producers and their associations. Programming must be close-captioned for the hearing impaired. A regional programming strategy is needed which would include local programming. And the list continues.

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[57] Quoted from CBC submission, requoted in Decision CRTC 79-320, pp. 45 and 46.

[58] Decision CRTC 79-320, p. 48.

[59] Ibid., p. 57.

[60] Quoted from CBC Submission requoted in Decision CRTC 79-320, p. 60.

In short, programming regardless of all the obstacles involved is the mechanism that the CRTC is depending upon to fulfill the the mandate for the CBC as outlined in the Broadcasting Act. What emerges from the expectations of programming and the issues pertaining to programming is a new ethos indeed, but not quite the one envisioned in the Decision. This ethos, predicated on mechanical "culture", endows CBC programming with the responsibility for creating "culture". Here the mechanics of broadcasting are instrumental to "culture" where images are to be chosen, organized, and displayed depicting something specifically referred to as Canadian "culture". Programming does this in two ways – by producing and reproducing images. The former specifies what is to be included as Canadian while the latter reflects that which is already deemed Canadian. Broadcasts of The National Hockey League games on the CBC are typical of the latter where an indigenous theme, a hockey game, is reproduced, on radio in the early days, and on television as well today. An example of produced "culture" would include the recent CBC series, *He Shoots, He Scores*, which resembles the very sucessful American soap dramas, *Dynasty* and *Dallas*, in style and values. *He Shoots, He Scores* incorporates the same indigenous theme, hockey, and uses Canadian actors, scriptwriters, producers, and production staff and it is set in Canada. Canadian labour, themes, and locations are introduced and used to attribute a Canadian context to the productions. But it is highly debatable whether there is anything intrinsically Canadian about these programs.

There are certainly areas of overlap between produced and reproduced "culture", making it very difficult to state categorically what is and what is not Canadian. However the important point to grasp here is not so much to discover what is quintessentially Canadian as it is to acknowledge the notion of a created "culture".

The latter sections of decision 79-320 discuss the commercial activities and other financial concerns of the CBC. Up until this point decisions have only alluded in vague ways to the importance of industry. This decision, however, again due to the greater detail provided, shows a unique catalyst point clarifying the importance of industry and also binding this inextricably with mechanical "culture".

This part of the decision focuses on whether or not "the CBC should be involved in commercial activities and if so to what extent."[61] Four areas are highlighted, including the importance of advertising revenue, the influence of revenue producing activities on programming and planning, the relationship of the CBC to private affiliates, and the CBC's commercial policies and practices. Central to each of these areas is advertising or the sale of commercial time on the CBC network.

With regard to the importance of advertising revenue, the Commission notes the President of the CBC's remarks, "that this is revenue the Corporation could not do without."[62] The CRTC more or less accepts the position that "[t]he corporation does have a mandate to provide a national service and advertising can be considered as a function of that service."[63] This is a fundamental shift from the position on advertising taken by the CRTC in the previous review decision where the Commission questioned the need for advertising at all on the CBC. Here advertising is considered a necessary revenue-producing activity for the CBC.

In its acceptance of commercialization, the CRTC also notes the inherent problems associated with it, highlighting the laments of CBC officials on this matter:

> ...U.S. programming often received preferential treatment in scheduling... 'We think CBC television has been influenced to too great an extent by commercial considerations. Too often our scheduling decisions were dictated more by our sales targets than by our concern for giving Canadian programs the best possible scheduling'.[64]

In terms of solutions to this problem the Commission remains silent. Insted, the CRTC turns to other aspects of advertising. With respect to affiliates, the CRTC understands that the affiliation agreements depend on the CBC carrying some advertising. Without advertising the affiliates would have no source of revenue. Where this would change, so would the CBC's relationship with the affiliated stations that service small and remote areas. This relationship is certainly a factor in the CRTC's acceptance of the

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[61] Decision CRTC 79-320., p. 70.

[62] Quoted from CBC Submission requoted in Decision CRTC 79-320, p. 71.

[63] Ibid., p. 72.

[64] Ibid., p. 71.

commercial aspects of the CBC. It was also a clear indication of the marriage between the CBC and industry.

Concerning the CBC's commercial policies and practices, the CRTC focused on the rates the CBC charged for advertising time. The CRTC recommended that the CBC review their rates and try to generate additional revenue by charging more for air time. The CRTC also recommended that institutional advertising be pursued. This type of advertising does not interrupt programs as frequently, but is still a revenue producer. Finally, the CRTC suggested that the CBC examine the cost benefit ratio of its local advertising practices, recommending that they abandon this, given that the actual revenue produced was not substantial and that it could resolve a number of local advertising issues.

By regarding advertising as an integral part of the CBC, the CRTC ensured that industry maintains a stronghold within the public broadcasting service. Where industry provides financially for mechanical "culture" a relationship of dependency is engendered. This dependency on industry can impinge on the CBC to the extent that what is produced and reproduced becomes mere reflections of what is profitable.

However, the CBC is funded primarily by parliamentary appropriations. For example, the 1978 budget consisted of $541.9 million from parliamentary appropriations and $78.4 million generated from commercial revenues.[65] The money from parliament is subject to considerable constraints, the likes of which include cutbacks ($71 million for the 79/80 fiscal year), government scrutiny of operating procedures, regulatory interventions, political appointments, public exposure, and so on. The result of parliamentary appropriations and commercial dependency is a far from independent CBC. Instead the CBC is situated firmly between bureaucratism and industry as far as finances, objectives, and results are concerned. The tensions between these two spheres will provide another focal point for observations in the up-coming decisions.

Following the lengthy review in April of 1979 there is a noticable interval before another decision of interest appears.

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[65] Decision CRTC 79-320 , p. 74.

Two years later in May of 1981, Decision 81-253 was issued denying the CBC licences "to carry on television broadcasting network operations for the national distribution by satellite of two new non-commercial television services, CBC-2 in the English language and Tele-2 in the French language."[66] The objective of these services was to "re-Canadianize the Canadian Broadcasting Service."[67] Essentially, both services were to broadcast in prime time repeats of the best of Canadian programming with a heavy emphasis on enlightenment, that is programming from the arts, letters, science, and information categories, rather than entertainment programming. Finally some foreign programs would be chosen for quality rather than for commercial appeal. Over 30% of the programming would be original Canadian productions.

The CRTC praised the CBC's attempt to quell the tide of foreign and commercial influences in CBC offerings, but not to the extent of approving the licences. Accompanying the denial of the licence is a statement of the CRTC's concerns:

> The Commission wishes in particular to highlight three major areas of concern: the potential impact of the new services on existing CBC network operations because of the lack of designated funding for CBC-2/Tele-2; the limited reach of these services; and the inadequacy of the production funds for the new services.[68]

All of these reasons are directly related to finances. In the first case the CBC operates from a limited budget. The new services had no accompanying budgetary sources, causing the CRTC to speculate that funding would possibly come out of the funds available to exisiting services. The second concern referd to audiences. Here the CRTC is worried about the potential audiences for the new services coming from the audiences who would ordinarily watch the existing services. This could affect the existing services' ability to attract advertisers should audience numbers dwindle. The CRTC stated their concern over the fact that this audience erosion would not in fact contribute to more Canadians seeing more Canadian

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[66] Decision CRTC 81-253, p. 1.

[67] Ibid., p. 1.

[68] Ibid., p. 3.

television. Instead it is felt that the audiences would simply switch from one channel to another. In addition a major concern is that the form of delivery for the broadcast signal, that is, cable delivered optional service that is only available to subscribers with augmented channel service through a converter, could limit the number of Canadians who could receive the services.

Most of what is discussed in 81-353 lies within the machinations of industry and mechanical "culture". This decision discussed broadcasting in terms of its internal workings: the technologies used, the technicians employed, the techniques used, the programs, and, of course, the ever-present financial considerations.

Another definition of "culture" appears with the discussion around enlightenment programming. For the most part this seems to be a high "culture" orientation which explicitly relegates the entertainment type programming of popular "culture" to commercial broadcasters. Thus the CBC was still laying some claim to a highbrow or 'cultured' status within the network. It appears that the CBC was attempting to have the best of both worlds where they operate a commercially viable popular service on the initial network while still being able to offer the more sophisticated and less mass oriented fare on the proposed network. The latter, while attractive to the CRTC, didnot supercede its financial objections.

Later in July decision 81-460 was issued which was a blanket renewal of the network licences for the CBC and two private networks, CTV and TVA. Of interest to this study is the preamble where the CRTC explains why it will not be holding a full CBC licence renewal hearing:

> As noted in previous announcements, the Commision will hold a number of major public hearings during the next twelve months. In particular those concerning Canadian content, pay television, the review of AM and FM radio regulations, and the licencing of religious broadcasting undertakings, involve key policy issues which will have considerable impact on the development and direction of the Canadian broadcasting system.[69]

An interim two-year renewal of the three networks was thereby granted. A brief reiteration is offered by the Commission expressing the ideals, especially those regarding Canadian programming, outlined in the Broadcasting Act, that it would be looking for when the licence renewal hearing came up.

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[69] Decision CRTC 81-460, p. 1.

The key policy issue mentioned in the quotation above immediately points to mechanical "culture" where aspects of the content and form of broadcasting are under examination. Canadian content and religious broadcasting were obviously content issues dealing with what material would actually be considered for programming. Radio regulations range over a broad spectrum of content issues, including advertising offensive material, Canadian content requirements, rebroadcasting, program logs, foreign broadcasts and more. Pay television, on the other hand, is an issue which includes both form and content. Pay television raises numerous questions regarding the type of technological delivery, the numbers of channels allocated to different levels of service, the programming, the basic service, the augmented service, and so forth. The point here is not so much to attempt a full explanation of the complexities of broadcasting, but rather to show how these complexities are burgeoning. New issues were arising, such as pay television, that further blurred already murky waters. Mechanical "culture" thus took on greater and greater significance. So did industrial interests as the financial stakes grew more lucrative.

The last decision of interest in 1981, 81–613 concerned licence renewals in New Brunswick. Extension of service to Francophone communities and regional programming for these Acadian communities were the areas at issue in this decision. The CRTC suggested a number of ways to enhance regional programming in New Brunswick, including: continuing efforts to show programming that is provincially oriented, some examples of which are mentioned; making certain commitments a condition of licence; regional programming quotas; negotiating for the purchase of specifically Acadian productions and putting regional programming in the weekend schedule.

A number of social definitions of "culture" were raised in the specific group, official language, and regional "culture" contexts, but these are overwhelmed by mechanical "culture". The primary focus of this decision is not so much what is Acadian "culture" and how would it best be represented, rather, it is how could broadcasting be used to produce and reproduce an identity. Corrective measures, such as quotas and conditions of licence, were imposed to achieve the minimum in social objectives.

Later in 1982 a decision arose illustrating the opposite situation to that which occurred in the 1978 decision regarding the CBC finding and developing Alberta's talent. Decision 82-839 described an intervention from an arts based group in the Yukon requesting an increase in the CBC's communication and participation in the social and "cultural" life of the Yukon. This raises questions about how the CBC reflects the regions when it appears that it was not involved in the region to any great extent. This particular decision would seem to lend credence to the view that, in this case at least, "culture" in the regions is produced rather than reproduced. The Commission was very supportive of the CBC meeting with local groups in an attempt to rectify the situation. This more grassroots approach would seem to be in keeping with the notion of providing a reflection of the region and thus could be an example of the positive potential inherent in mechanical "culture". The extent to which this can be realized of course remains an issue of financing, that is, there is only so much money for production at the regional and local levels.

By mid-1982 mechanical "culture" was much more entrenched. The CRTC in two licence renewal decisions, 82-927 and 82-928, drew attention to programming specifics. In both decisions the Commission took issue with various programming deficiencies which included insufficient local news coverage, public affairs programming, entertainment programming, ethno-cultural programming, use of local creative talent, variety programming and so on. Instead of simply insisting on more local programming being generated, now the CRTC was insisting on certain types of programming to satisfy local programming needs. The problem seemed to focus more on the achievement of the right "program mix" where a reasonable representation of the local audience was blended with national, regional, and foreign programming to satisfy the tenents of the Broadcasting Act. A judicious juggling act was required of the CBC to keep within the constraints of its finite budget to produce this programming, regardless of the competition that they faced from other television stations. More and more, the decisions demonstrated a total reliance on programming to solve all the problems.

The Commission seemed particularly enchanted with the notion of increasing the amount of entertainment programming in the regions. This programming category includes drama, music specials,

and on-going series.[70] This focus cames in response to remarks from intervenors that the indigenous talents of these areas could be utilized to a far greater extent, as noted in the following:

> Over the years the CBC has played a prominent role in providing initial support and exposure for many talented Maritime artists through its regional television service and the Commisssion expects it, during this new term of licence, to increase its contribution to the development of local, creative talent in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.[71]

This goal included providing an outlet for creative talent by employing creative people from the regions and utilizing their resources, as well as correcting an imbalance in local programming schedules that lacked local entertainment programming.

These decisions enhance the inadequate definition of local "culture" that has been observed so far. Here this endeavor would indicate an organic basis for "culture" where "culture" exisits in the daily lives of people, both the artists and the audiences. The artists, through their intimate association with this community, provide the reflection of the area to the people who created the "culture" in the first place. Here, these decisions again provide a glimpse of the positive potential of mechanical "culture" where, through the use of broadcasting technology, people can pause to reflect on their own achievements and visions of themselves. However, much of this is abandoned when, in the last paragraphs of the decision, the Commission pointed out that the CBC was unwilling to disclose its budgetary allocation for local productions in these regions or its plans or commitments for entertainment programming. It would appear that this unwillingness to disclose future planning was a strategic ploy to offset budgetary restrictions although, this was not discussed. This situation shows yet another form of dependency that mechanical "culture" falls prey to; that is, bureaucratism, in which government funding decisions are just as restrictive as commercial ones. So here again with mechanical "culture", if social objectives are to be realized they seem to occur only as a fortunate side effect of profitable circumstances.

1983 was a relatively quiet year with regard to decisions concerning the CBC. The CBC network licence renewal hearing scheduled for 1983 was postponed until after the CBC had a chance to respond to

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[70] Decision CRTC 82-928, p. 2.

[71] Decision CRTC 82-927, p. 3.

the recommendations of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee.

Decisions from 1984 shed no further illumination on the definitions of "culture" that have been discussed so far, nor do these decisions raise any new definitions. For the most part the decisions related to licence renewals or amendments in smaller communities where local access and native language broadcasting were at issue. Here nothing arises that has not already been disscussed at length. In 1985 Decision 85-140 provided an explanation for the relatively silent two years preceeding 1985. This decision renewed the English and French language television network licences of the CBC. The decision does not go into any details, deferring an in depth examination of the CBC to the near future. The CBC requested that the review be postponed in light of recent budget reductions and the announced fundamental review of broadcasting policy by the Minister of Comunications. Since 1981, decisions have shown this pattern of granting licence renewals while deferring a full review until one or several major policy issues can be reconciled.

This pattern demonstrates bureaucratism quite clearly. One policy examination is piled up against another one. Many issues remain unresolved while more arise to complicate those already awaiting review. One government agency awaits the deliberations of another, while they all wait to find out what budgetary restrictions will have to be adhered to. Meanwhile another government body is conducting a separate study and so the pattern repeats itself. There seems to be very little cohesive effort to resolve the problems, rather there appears to be a reactive or ad hoc response to problem solving.

Decision 85-960 demonstrates the upshot of bureaucratism in combination with mechanical "culture" and industry. In this decision the CBC applied for a licence amendment that would lift limitations on the nature and scope of the CBC's commercial activities in the Cape Breton area.[72] The CBC was motivated to make this application in the face of significant budget cuts for the 1985/86 fiscal year. The Corporation rationalized this particular cost-cutting measure in the Maritimes by stating that it would only have a minimal effect on programming. Due to conditions of licence restricting advertising,

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[72] See disscussion of Decision CRTC 71-192.

the CBC had to operate a master control system primarily to delete commercial content originated at Halifax. The elimination of this system would have saved the expense of four technicians and two clerical workers and represent an annual saving of $250,000. However without its master control operation the CBC would also lose about $400,000. To offset this loss "the proposed licence amendment would allow the Halifax and Sydney markets to be sold in tandem," and the CBC would pursue other regional and provincial advertising in the area.[73]

The Atlantic Television System (ATV) intervened in opposition to the CBC's proposal stating that there was not adequate advertising revenue to support another media operation. Others also intervened on the basis of job loss and loss of community identity. Intervenors were concerned that some of the community announcements that the CBC substituted in place of the advertising would be terminated. The Commission denied the CBC proposal on the basis that the savings realized would be minimal compared to the loss of forty minutes a day of community information and due to the limited advertising in the area. The CRTC comments directed the CBC to eliminate the $250,000 elsewhere from the CBC Maritime budget but in such a way that programming would remain unaffected.

The CBC was backed up against a wall by bureaucratism. Due to its parliamentary appropriation being reduced, the CBC had to streamline its operations. However, unlike its commercial competitors, the CBC had to do this within specific constraints imposed by the CRTC designed to protect the private broadcasters. In addition the programming must remain untouched.

The CBC relationship to industry here is one of a handicapped player due to bureaucratism. Instead of budget increases the CBC must face streamlining. Instead of being able to make decisions based on competitive markets the CBC had to make do with the milk after the cream had been skimmed off the top by the commercial broadcasters. Nevertheless, within this context the CBC continues to function within mechanical "culture", providing programming in the face of budget cuts. On this, the Commission allows one compromise such that five hours of programming for the Cape Breton area would

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[73] Decision CRTC 85-960, p. 3.

no longer would come just from Sydney but also from studios located in Halifax. So much for locally originated programming.

In September of 1986 the CRTC issued decision 86-839, which addressed a new application by the CBC to broadcast local or regional advertising on its Sydney station, CBIT. The Commission, cognizant of the CBC's serious budget constraints, again denied the application on the basis that removal of the licence condition restricting advertising would bring disruptions to the private station's market, bring further economic hardship to the area, and further reduce the amount of local and regional programming. Much of the discussion in this decision centers around an allegation from ATV,

> ...that CBIT had breached its condition of licence by broadcasting local and regional advertising and about the definition of "national", "national selective", "regional" and "local" advertising.[74]

The CBC admitted that there had been accidental incidents where such advertisements were not always removed. ATV also complained about the unfairly low cost for advertising time charged by the CBC. To this the CBC replied that to make up for the shortfall in its budget that it was embarking on an "aggressive sales strategy".

As this story unfolds with each decision revealing new aspects, a picture emerges that illustrates concisely the industrialization of public broadcasting. What predominates in this decision is the economic rationalization for the reduction of locally produced programming. We have seen the economic justifications for being unable to *initiate* this type of programming especially in the remote areas. This decision, however, documents a *regression* where local programming initiatives were reduced in the face of economic hardship. Consider for example this comment regarding the area's private broadcast station:

> While admitting that CJCB-TV currently produces less programming than it did in the early seventies, it stated that the volume produced has been stable over the past several years.[75]

Keep in mind here that the advertising restriction placed on the CBC (CBIT) was done specifically to provide a measure of market protection to CJCB such that they could provide local service. Here, one of

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[74] Decision CRTC 86-839, p. 5.

[75] Ibid., p. 8.

the Commissioners expressed a minority opinion to the effect that, given the reduction in their local programming offerings, the rationale for imposing the restriction on the CBC no longer exists.[76] Regardless, the rest of the Commissioners were not in favor of approving the application. They prefer to defer and to re–examine the request in the light of the full review process scheduled for the coming year.

Many interventions were noted in the decision, all in opposition to the CBC proposal. Some express concern over the loss of jobs and the effect on local business if inexpensive advertising opportunities were opened up to the Halifax merchants. Ironically the bulk of the complaints focused on the loss the forty minutes of community announcements that the CBC would discontinue. Clearly the first two complaints are industrial by nature. The latter complaint only underscores the desire that people have for local news, that which the private station was supposed to provide.

Cuts to the CBC budget appeared to be felt the most in the poorest parts of the country. The only other decision regarding measures taken by the CBC to make up for for a reduced budget concerns Labrador City, Newfoundland where local public affairs and information programming was to be reduced. Again in the face of industrial woes, that is, the budget constraints, the local programming initiatives fell by the wayside. In this case, Labrador City and another small community, Wabush, lost seventy–five minutes per week of local programming and two hundred and twenty minutes of public service announcements, leaving ten minutes per week of such announcements.[77] The CRTC, dissatisfied with this situation, directed the CBC to try and improve the overall local programming hours to a "reasonable amount."[78] No parameters were stipulated but clearly some reduction in local programming would be tolerated.

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[76] Ibid., p.13.

[77] Ibid., p. 5.

[78] Ibid., p. 6.

The Third Review Decision – 1987

In 1987 the CRTC released Decision 87-140 entitled, Current Reality, Future Challenges, renewing CBC television network licences. This decision, coming eight years after the last review, was framed for the most part within an industrial context. The central organizing issue of the decision was, how would the CBC fulfill its mandate in face of the "current economic challenge."[79] Most of the definitions of "culture" are present in this decision but some have taken on far greater significance than others.

In the introductory remarks the CRTC set the stage for broadcasting in the eighties, noting the challenges that the CBC would be facing. These include, increased competition from private broadcasters and from specialty and general interest discretionary services on cable, as well as budgetary "readjustments". In addition the Commisssion points out that three weeks prior to the start of the CBC's licence renewal hearing, The Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy was released. The CRTC acknowledged that specific recommendations from the report will not be addressed as such, but that the issues contained within would be considered. The Commission listed nineteen priorities for the CBC's consideration. These could easily be categorized under four headings, production, hardware, revenue and social groups. The latter includes, youth and children, women, native Canadians, multicultural groups, francophones living outside of Quebec, and the hearing impaired. Although there are some new groups here, for the most part these groups correspond to the "cultural" groups that have been discussed here already, including traditional and official 'cultures'. Essentially the Commission's expectations outlined in the document with regard to these groups is that the CBC will fairly represent them in mainstream programming, showing their participation in Canadian society. The CBC was also expected to eliminate negative stereotypes in their depiction of the groups. Women were included in this category. With children and the hearing impaired,the CRTC had specific expectations which included quotas for children's programming and closed captioning for the hearing impaired.

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[79] Decision CRTC 87-140, p. 8.

Almost all the other priorities addressed in this decision fell into the production category. Included under production was Canadian content, drama, regional expression, network exchange, CBC northern services, performing arts, and independent production. Together these priorities established an orientation that is unquestionably industrial, but done as such to achieve ancillary objectives as well.

The theme which all of the priorities in the production category shared is mechanical "culture" in which Canadian images and identity are mediated through the CBC's broadcast capabilities. On the surface the goal of the priorities appeared to be to capture the quintessential qualities of "Canadianism" and to give these images back to a Canadian audience. However, even a cursory glance at the substance of these images revealed a different objective. This objective revolved around the creation and exploitation of Canada's so-called cultural industries. I turn now to the priorities for a closer look at this process.

Canadian content was the number one priority for the CRTC. This priority involved replacing U.S. programs with Canadian ones, that is, programs that have been at least partially written, directed, and produced by Canadians and which include Canadian actors. These programs were set in Canada and make reference to Canadian themes, places, people, history,and so on. However, producing and airing the programs is not sufficient where there is no significant audience to take an interest in the programs. Thus the CBC has to "offer viewers programming that is 'attractive' whether it is directed to popular tastes or to specialized interests and with a potential appeal for international audiences."[80] In other words the CBC had to be in a competitive position with its Canadian content programming. The reality is simply that the CBC operates within an industrial context, such that inherent in the concept of Canadian content is competitive attractive programming.

Drama, an adjunct of Canadian content and the Commission's second priority, demonstrated the duality of the CRTC's objective. While discussing the ability of drama to depict Canadian landscapes, heroes, myths, and character, the Commission also added the following remark with reference to

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[80] Ibid., p. 21.

French-language drama's success: "these have consistently achieved large and loyal audiences. Some are so popular that they attract as many as three quarters of the available audience."[81] This preoccupation with audience numbers and popularity is directly related to the market success of the program. Drama productions were being encouraged with the intention of replacing popular U.S. entertainment programming with popular Canadian entertainment programming. In addition there is yet another end where writing and performance skills can be developed. The promotion of this type of production alludes to an industrial preoccupation where the CRTC is interested in the promotion of a Canadian production industry. Underscoring this latter theme are comments the CRTC made with respect to encouraging the CBC to work with the independent production sector:

> The Commission fully endorses the government's encouragement of the independent production sector and the establishment of a strong independent Canadian television and film industry. Such production activity has already proven to be of real and significant benefit to the Canadian Broadcast system. It also has growing importance in terms of the export of Canadian cultural products in international markets.[82]

The phrase, "Canadian cultural products" shows the congruence of "culture" and industry such that "culture" itself has become the industry and broadcasting is merely tangential to it.

In unison with this theme is the notion of capitalizing on the creative resources of performing artists. Here, Canadian feature films, symphonies, visual art, ballet and modern dance, and the like are the raw materials to be processed via the medium of broadcasting and finally delivered to the marketplace as products.

Treated somewhat differently but still very much under the umbrella of production are priorities number three, four and five; regional expression, network exchange, and CBC northern services, respectively. The latter was considered by the CRTC as the most underserved of the regions. The CRTC recommended that the northern region should be awarded comparable status to the other regions. Apart from this, the Native people of the north were still very much viewed within the traditional "culture" context as reflected by the CRTC's comment that the CBC, "has a special obligation to foster and protect

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[81] Ibid., p. 26.

[82] Ibid., p. 47.

the unique lifestyle, cultures and sense of community that exists in Northern Canada."[83]

While what is at stake here is social in essence one must remember that, increasingly, Native people in the north are integrated into mechanical "culture" and becoming broadcasters and producers themselves. However, as the CRTC points out, much of this progress is impeded by the lack of funds to produce and distribute indigenous programming in the North, thus ghettoizing what does get produced. So essentially what is a social issue, that is, the preservation of the integrity of Native people, becomes an issue of finding the financing for indigenous programming. Broadcasting has penetrated these peoples' lives in a manner that is both disruptive and destructive, but there are apparently inadequate funds to improve the situation. Production has a dual role in this situation, as a pollutant, where too much irrelevant programming is introduced in the north and as the solution where, if funding were available, it would simply be a matter of producing more indigenous programming.

This role for production is familiar also in the regional context where within the network service regional productions are in short supply. Here the CRTC insists that funds must be reallocated to increase regional production. The following quotation indicates both the reliance on production as well as giving a sense of the actual participation of the regions:

> Regional expression on the CBC's English and French television networks is now accomplished in various ways: through productions originating with and produced by regional stations and contributed to the networks; through network productions about the regions; and through the production in the regions of network programs. Regional expression is also accomplished through the airing in network news and public affairs programs of certain segments or items produced in the regions, as is the practice for example, in Midday and reflets d'un pays.[84]

It is remarkable, given all these possibilities, that the CRTC's expressed wish, to increase regional expression, has yet to be realized. One concrete suggestion that is offered which would help to curb expenses by sharing financial, technical, and human resources was the exchange of productions between the French and English networks. This, the CRTC hoped, would also foster a better understanding between French and English Canada.

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[83] Ibid., p. 37.

[84] Ibid., p. 30.

Unlike the production category in Decision 87-140 which embraced many of the CRTC's priorities, the hardware and revenue categories merit very little disscussion in the decision and cover only three priorities: technical quality and extension of service in the former and advertising revenue in the latter. On the topic of advertising, the Commission was concerned that the CBC's rates may not be perceived as competitive, directing the CBC to ensure that its rates were comparable to those of its competitors and further, that "the Corporation should pursue available sources of commercial revenue with all reasonable vigor."[85] While this is not much different from the remarks of the last review decision, where advertising was accepted as a necessary component of the national broadcasting service, it is more resolute in tone and adds more of an industrial flavor to the decision.

End Remarks

This brings to an end the examination of the definitions of "culture" that arise out of the CRTC decisions regulating the CBC. From this discussion, nine definitions of "culture" emerge clearly. These include regional and national "culture" which are definitions of "culture" based on social groups and their way of life within a geographical location. Other social definitions are based on language, as in official "culture", ethnicity, as in ethnic "culture" or on both, as in traditional "culture". Mass "culture" is also a social concept but it equally has a claim in the arts-based definitions of "culture". This latter category also includes high, popular and mechanical "culture". However, no matter what the specific definitions of "culture" are, they cannot be isolated in either arts or social spheres. There is always a degree of overlap between these categories, but some definitions rest more easily in one sphere or another. The definitions within a sphere have a special relationship to one another. These relationships will be the topic of the next chapter along with some concluding remarks on broadcasting and "culture" in Canada.

[85] Ibid., p. 105.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

In chapters two and three a number of related but different aspects of "culture" are discussed. This chapter draws these pieces together to form an aggregate and to make some concluding remarks about definitions of "culture". Included here will be a discussion of the definitions themselves, their relationship to each other, and the implications that each of these definitions have with regard to their use in CRTC regulatory discourse. My final comments in this chapter, and thus the thesis, will be a short discussion of the study itself and the directions for future research opened up by the study.

Spheres of Culture

The definitions of culture emerging from the case study form three separate but related spheres: social culture, classical culture, and commercial culture. Each of these spheres contain the definitions of "culture" discussed in Williams' work. However, once situated within the case study these definitions take on more specific characters, becoming increasingly differentiated. During the case study it became clear that many of the specific orientations were of a similar origin, for example, artistic and elitist orientations, industrial and economic orientations, or finally orientations dealing with specific groups of people and their way of life. These origins I refer to as spheres of "culture" which can now be looked at individually.

Classical Culture

The definition of "culture" which is described in chapter two as a general social and then a personal cultivation and refinement process, that which is later transferred to the works and practices of art, is the basis of classical culture. In terms of broadcasting and the CRTC's definitions of "culture", classical culture is that which is demanding of the viewer, or challenging beyond simple entertainment. Classical "culture" can run the gamut of film, video, and sound productions. Included with productions of the actual classics, the music of Bach and Mahler, or the plays of Shakespeare, and the like, would be

documentaries, special film series, other series such as the *Music of Man*, experimental productions and so on.

Classical "culture" is perhaps the most enduring of the spheres of "culture", reaching back in history further than the others and existing in modern usage in a roughly similar form. Today, where modern practice often seems to level human artistic processes to meet the lowest common denominator, much still remains of this classical orientation. Fine arts departments in the universities continue to attract students, if not funding. Fine and performing arts companies struggle to maintain themselves in the face of the less expensive entertainments of television, home video, movies, and the like. The patron of the arts concept continues where generous and wealthy individuals help to finance the continued presence of 'the arts'. An interesting, more recent, development is the corporate sponsorship which is increasingly gaining a major presence in the financial sponsorship of 'the arts'.[1] This latter development in itself says a great deal about the continued presence of classical "culture". It also says something about the relationship between classical "culture" and commercial "culture". This will be discussed in the section on commercial "culture".

The case study of the CBC's regulation also demonstrates this fine arts definition of "culture", mostly in the terminology used to describe the type of programming that is desirable. These terms include, excellence, quality, superior, distinguished and so on. However, there is also a conflicting orientation throughout the CRTC's discourse, which becomes more prevalent through the years. Here the fine arts are downplayed and popular entertainment programming is considered more and more acceptable for CBC programming schedules, with the proviso that this programming is produced in Canada. Interestingly, the same terminology is used to describe both the arts and popular programming. The issue becomes one of quality. Inherent in the move from the arts orientations to popular programming is a shift towards commercial "culture", not only in terms of the content of the

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[1] This is the case certainly in the U.S., to a far greater extent, but it is becoming increasingly popular in Canada for corporations to associate their name with a particular art form. It is a phenomenon now recognized as the fourth wave of advertising. See Liam Lacy, *Courting Culture*, Globe and Mail, April 2, 1988, p. C1.

programming, but in the actual production methods. Programming costs are kept as low as possible in keeping with the commodity status of the popular programming. Here, popular programming is that which is produced primarily for exchange in the marketplace rather than for artistic or intellectual edification. Inherent in this shift towards popular programming are changing perceptions of what constitutes art, what is an artistic medium , who are the artists and who are the technicians. There need not be value judgements made with regard to the merits of one form over the other at this point. Rather it seems that 'quality', judged in terms of audience ratings, becomes the final criterion for deciding what programming should be shown. Essentially then, it is a question of where the lines are drawn between traditional art and popular programming production, recognizing that both may have certain characteristics which can be understood in terms of quality.

It seems from the case study that the CBC is stretched to schizophrenia, trying to be all things to all people. In radio the CBC escapes this problem by having two separate channels, FM, offering a more classical "culture" orientation and AM, broadcasting the popular end of the spectrum. In television, however, the CBC was not provided this opportunity, having its application for CBC–2 / Tele–2 denied. This decision was most unfortunate and certainly an example of short term thinking. CBC has proven that it can provide popular programming, examples of which include, *Danger Bay, Seeing Things*, and *The Beachcombers*. Given the freedom to do this, the Corporation could simply get on with producing popular programming on the original CBC television network, leaving CBC–2 to concentrate on the classical arts programming. It seems most reasonable, given the social objectives outlined in the Broadcasting Act and with the proliferation of commercial broadcasters, that Canada could and should have at least two indigenous television stations with somewhat different orientations. From time to time audience numbers might be less than those of the commercial stations but there would be a semblance of choice and variety offered in the basic program schedule.

One of the main problems with the classical "culture" sphere is the prestige and elitism associated with it. Classical "culture" is often regarded as the purview of wealthy and or intellectual persons. This is considered undemocratic, especially in view of the public funding supporting the CBC. It is certainly

fair criticism to say that the opulence and affluence that can accompany the classical sphere of "culture", such as the theaters, the clothing, the extravaganzas, and the cost, limit accessibility to this type of "culture". Further, there is definitely a degree of learning and skill to attain before one can concentrate on the finer details of artistic work. Classical "culture" involves the engagement of the mind and senses. But there is no need to throw the baby out with the bath water. There are many people who, given the opportunity, would enjoy classical "culture". The main problem exists in the limited access to classical "culture". If a program is not an immediate market success it goes off the air. The commercial imperative does not support non-cost effective programming regardless of any small audience that the program might attract. Also ironically there is a problem with the marketing of the classical "culture" programming. If classical "culture" is to continue in broadcasting it has to *compete* effectively with popular "culture". In other words it has to make the best use of the technology to produce engaging, perhaps flashy, but meaningful – read intelligent – material. Here broadcasting has tremendous potential to produce and distribute programs that can introduce classical "culture" to those who do not have the means or experience to otherwise engage in classical "culture". And for the cynic, who would flinch at the prospect of television reproducing art, I suggest that they do not watch it but equally that they do not try to block others from watching it.

There are still the troublesome class based rejoinders of classical "culture" being the epitome of middle and upper class values and status. Classical "culture" is not necessarily confined to status, prestige, or wealth. It does not take wealth or education to recognize beauty or superior skill, to be moved by it, or to produce it. If, however, classical "culture" is removed from broadcasting it will only serve to increase the status of exclusivity that classical "culture" carries.

Social Culture

Social "culture" refers to "culture" in the plural sense where "cultures" are distinctive groups of people and their ways of life. In terms of the CRTC's discourse, five distinctive groups are apparent, including national, regional, traditional, official, and ethnic "culture". The first two categories, based on

geography refer to Canadian "culture" and "sub-cultures", such as, Maritimers, Westerners, and Easterners. In some cases, where 'local' is used instead of regional, an even smaller geographic entity is being referred to, such as Vancouver, Cape Breton Island, or the Eastern Townships.

These categories are very poorly defined in the discourse and, I suspect, in general. One of the problems with geographical demarcations is the obscuring of all the *detail*, if you like, within the area. Within any large area, regional or local, there are a multitude of different lifestyles, each with its own characteristics and needs. Thus it is very difficult to find commonality within the groups in order to stipulate licence conditions or to advocate policies. Instead most often the status-quo and monetary concerns, which are easy to identify, triumph over the more altruistic goals of addressing and meeting the needs of minority groups.

Almost invariably, in those decisions regarding regional expression, serving the needs of the regions, while seemingly of paramount importance, is in practice reduced to rhetoric. The discrepancy between discourse and practice is blatantly obvious. Time and time again when funding is in short supply, the regions suffer the bulk of the cutbacks: less regional program production, removal of production facilities, decreased programming about and for the regions, and reductions in community information and announcements. If one returns to the legislation where the CBC has a specific mandate to serve the *special needs* of the regions and to *actively contribute* to the flow of programming in and between the regions, it seems quite clear that regional programming should be a priority for the CRTC to act on and not just speak about. Here it is clear that funding and regulation work in opposition to the goals envisioned for the CBC.

National "culture" is rife with problems. Not once in the discourse is there an attempt to go beyond abstract ideals to describe what Canadian or national "culture" is. Granted, this is an enigma: How are policy makers to set policies in the so-called national interest? If national "culture" has the dual facets of being a composite of the regions and an entity with its own peculiarities, so be it. Policy then, must address both of these facets and the contradictions contained within. From this it is clear that the

vague objectives outlined in the Broadcasting Act simply do not give adequate direction with regard to the national purpose of broadcasting; nor does the Act articulate the extent to which the regions should be represented in broadcasting. New broadcasting legislation which clearly defines the roles of regional "culture" and national "culture" is long overdue and absolutely necessary.

Similarly, the roles of marginal "cultures" need further definition. Traditional and ethnic "cultures" are considered both a part of Canadian "culture", and apart from it. This leads to policies and practices designed to placate the disenfranchised, but not the funding to carry through in any meaningful manner. Inadequate funding is especially evident in Native broadcasting where admittedly there is an enormous expense associated with the provision of broadcast facilities and services that would meet the needs of these people. But there could be funding if Native needs were considered the priority they appear to be in the CRTC discourse. It seems clear enough that a particular hierarchy of priorities emerges within the social "culture" sphere. National "culture", which translates to mean central Canada, mainstream, or status quo, dominates over regional "culture". Regional "cultures" rest on the hierarchy according to their wealth and consequent political influence or lack of it. Those regions in the latter category naturally end up lower on the hierarchy. However, a regional "culture's" position may be influenced by official "culture". That is, where there is a significant portion of francophones, for example, in an area consisting mainly of anglophones, additional french language services may be provided, with the ever present proviso that there be adequate funding. Traditional "cultures" are very close to the bottom of the hierarchy with only ethnic "cultures" below them. Ethnic "cultures" receive special services, where they are profitable, where there is surplus funding, or if they produce it themselves on the community stations, where most, if not all, alternative programming originates.

Certainly it is idealistic to expect that all social groups, and these embrace many more groups than those ambivalent categories established in the CRTC's discourse, should have meaningful representation in broadcasting, given the funding situation. However, the CBC is charged with that very responsibility and if it were either to dispense with mainstream programming or to have a separate channel to concentrate on those disadvantaged and disenfranchised social groups, the possibility becomes more

realistic. I am not proposing to ghettoize such programming. Rather the intention is that it could be combined with the programming from CBC-2. Make the original CBC network a profitable mainstream commercial entity with the profits going to CBC-2 for the more specialized programming.

Before leaving the social "culture" sphere, the relationship of this sphere with that of classical "culture" warrants a short comment. In the CRTC's decisions the connection is made in two ways. First the CRTC refers to the regions as lacking "culture" and 'cultural' facilities and then it talks about seeking out the talent from the regions to showcase it to the rest of Canada. Although these two sound contradictory they are not necessarily so. The former, shaped by that centralist tendency to patronize, does take into account that certain facilities are not available in the regions, but clearly this does not mean that the regions lack "culture". Further, regardless of the lack of facilities many fine artistic achievements can be found in the regions where tremendous use is made of the few and limited facilities available. I am thinking here particularly of the Maritimes where resources, funding, and facilities are scarce, but the artistic community is rich and alive with creativity. Obviously it is this creative energy that the CRTC wants showcased to the rest of Canada. Here, the commercial viability of the creativity becomes an issue and is best discussed in relation to that sphere of "culture" which follows.

Commercial Culture

This last sphere marks a more recent evolution in the orientation of the word "culture", developing over the past two decades in the CRTC's discourse. This sphere addresses the issues which arise under the headings, mass "culture", popular "culture", "cultural" industries, "cultural" products, and so on. The commercial "culture" sphere includes the industrial and economic activities associated with broadcasting. The extent to which these associations have influenced both the directions that broadcasting is taking and our understanding of the word, "culture" demonstrates the degree to which commercial values have penetrated our general understanding of the world. Essentially, from the CRTC's discourse, it becomes apparent that the commercialization of public broadcasting is not only inevitable but necessary. It would appear that the commercialization of broadcasting, even public broadcasting, is understood almost as a

naturally occurring phenomenon, so much so that broadcasting is hardly even imagined as anything but an industry.

Clearly the CRTC is leaning in this direction. The case study of the CRTC's regulation of the CBC demonstrates an increasing support for industrial orientations in the definition of "culture". Toward the end of the study it is accepted, not just as a necessary evil but as a natural evolution, that the CBC should adopt an increasingly commercial context. The CRTC finds in favor of protecting private affiliates over and above the interests of local programming concerns and the CBC's financial woes. The CRTC resigns itself to the impossibility of achieving many social goals, outlined in the Broadcasting Act, because there never seems to be adequate financing to realize these objectives. But what about putting these concerns up front as a priority to be realized before more profits are made by the private sector. Perhaps a tax could be levied on licence renewals or profits over and above a certain comfortable margin. This fund could be directed to those areas in broadcasting which are constantly neglected due to lack of funding. Really it is a question of priorities, political and otherwise, that prevents these goals from being addressed. If nothing else the case study shows a creeping cynicism in the policy discourse. This cynicism indicates that the private sector has more control over the fate of broadcasting and thus over "culture" than anyone is willing to admit.

One aspect of commercial "culture" that is clearly problematic is its ability to overwhelm and absorb the other spheres of "culture". We have seen how dependence on the commercial sector for financing has a damaging effect where, for example, regional and Native projects fall by the wayside because there is no profit to be made from these endeavors. A more recent phenomenon has to do with corporate sponsorship of the arts. Here, Classical "culture" is maintained according to the needs, of and as an adjunct, of commercial "culture". Obviously there are also other forces, such as the sheer determination of artists to continue their art in the face of little support, and of others committed to commercial free art, that ensure the continued presence of classical "culture". But the commercialization of art and thus of "culture" is an enormous factor to consider as well as a growing one. The problem with commercial "culture" is not so much its presence as its ability to eradicate the less profitable alternatives,

thus alienating segments of the population who might also wish the quiet relaxation of watching an enjoyable television program in their own home. Instead these people are compelled to consume outside of the home where they have to pay the price of a movie or the rental fee for a video.

Final Comments

Much thought and study has been devoted to the examination of Canadian "culture". Through this study I hope to contribute some original research that could suggest directions for further study. The main limitation is the lack of general applicability that the findings of this study have. This study does not allow me to say anything about industry or government agencies other than the CRTC. Even what can be said about the CRTC is limited, given the body of discourse that I have chosen. Nevertheless one has to start somewhere. Much of what has been said here has been said before. In fact if there is anything truly remarkable about Canadian Broadcasting it is the resurfacing of the same problems over and over again with very little actual resolution of the problems occurring. In part I am convinced that this is an issue of how the problems are perceived and conceptualized. Policy discourse seemed to be the obvious place to begin a study.

Directions for further research are multitudinous. Perhaps the most significant would be a study that details the regulatory discourse regarding the private broadcasters. This study with a chronological map of the important policy documents, regulations, political appointments, changes in government, and other factors influencing broadcasting policy could reveal much about the state of Canadian broadcasting.

Another avenue for research that I see as very necessary is a similar kind of study to the one that I have done with "culture" where instead of "culture", the word "quality" would be identified and defined according to its use in the policy discourse. Judgements of quality are readily apparent in the discourse on broadcasing but they are rarely articulated as such. "Quality", like "culture" is a word full of social processes and values. These need to be articulated and discussed.

As we sit uncomfortably on the horizon of a new Broadcasting Act questions such as where do we stand on issues of culture, quality, and commercial broadcasting will be critical. This will also be the case with regard to "free trade" where "culture", regardless of which definition is finally chosen, *is* on the table.

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