

NATIONALISM IN CANADIAN TELEVISION

By

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary Canadian television suffers from a severe lack of indigenous programming. The majority of programming available on Canadian television screens comes from foreign sources, predominantly the United States, and most of the programs watched by Canadian viewers are American. The dominance of American programming in Canada has resulted in a television system in which indigenous programming plays a minor role. If the Canadian television system is to achieve the aims for which it was created, domestic programming must become a vital force in the system. What is needed are domestic programs that deal with Canadian nationalism.

In this thesis, Canadian nationalism will be defined, and methods for creating television programs in which nationalism is an influential force will be proposed. The suggested changes will focus on entertainment programming, as this is the most popular programming category in Canada. The type of programs necessary will be discussed in detail, and other actions that will help create a framework in which creation of these programs is possible will be outlined. This thesis will show why it is vital that nationalism

becomes a significant aspect of entertainment programming, how this can be achieved, and why it should occur as soon as possible.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of television in Canada, the dearth of domestic programming in the medium has been the dominant broadcasting issue. Virtually since its beginnings in 1952, Canadian television has been composed largely of imported programs, the United States being the major source of these programs. Despite the efforts of federal governments and regulatory agencies and the aims of numerous broadcasting acts, this situation has remained the norm. The apparent lack of progress in reversing the scenario does not mean that this issue is any less important now than in the past. This is still the most vital issue in Canadian broadcasting today. People turn to television for clarification, entertainment and stimulation. In a world that seems to be rapidly surpassing man's ability to comprehend it logically, television has become a significant determinant in how people shape their lives. In short, television has become the most important mode of communication for most North Americans. Yet the values and attitudes that Canadians are exposed to on television come from other nations. If, -as Mark Frieman suggests, television is an important constituent "of the social stock of knowledge

on the basis of which people understand themselves and make important decisions both as individuals and as citizens,"¹ then Canadians are basing many of their actions on knowledge and attitudes imported from other peoples. Much of this knowledge is gained from the most-watched type of programming, entertainment programs, which, in Canadian television, is almost exclusively foreign and predominantly American. Canadians are seeing the world as others see it, importing imagination, looking through borrowed eyes. The dangers that accompany the scarcity of Canadian programs, especially entertainment programs, are numerous. In fact, the lack of indigenous programs presents a very real threat not only to Canadian television but to the nation itself. It is to this issue that this paper is addressed: that the manifestation of nationalism in entertainment programming is of primary importance for the survival and development of Canadian television.

The focus of this thesis will be English-language television. Although the residents of Quebec and other French-speaking Canadians add a dimension to Canadian society and television that make both unique in North America, adequate coverage of French-language television would add considerably to the length of this paper. Because of its status as an anomaly in North America, French-language

television (with its unique characteristics and culturally specific aims) deserves more in-depth study than is possible in this paper.

This thesis is an attempt to prove the importance of indigenous entertainment programming to both the television system and the nation itself. The urgent need for this programming will also be demonstrated. It is mandatory that nationalism become a significant aspect of Canadian entertainment programming as soon as possible. To do otherwise means that Canadians are willing to let the most pervasive mode of communication be controlled by outside forces, that they are willing to let foreign powers define the parameters and concerns of life in Canada.

Canadian television programming must attract, engage and entertain. It must also inform, educate and enrich our cultural experience. For if Canadians do not use one of the world's most extensive and sophisticated communications systems to speak to themselves - if it serves only for the importation of foreign programs - there is a real and legitimate concern that the country will ultimately lose the means of expressing its identity. Developing a strong Canadian program production capability is no longer a matter of desirability but of necessity.²

The desire to fulfill responsibilities in creating indigenous programs will determine the success of a truly Canadian

television system. In turn, this will figure greatly in the ability of the nation's residents to define and understand themselves, as individuals and as a cohesive people.

CHAPTER I

NATIONALISM AND ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMMING

The most crucial step in developing and sustaining a truly Canadian television system is the inclusion of nationalism in entertainment programming. The key to Canadian television becoming more than a mere vehicle for the transmission of foreign programming is a thorough understanding of the terms "nationalism" and "entertainment programming" and the relationship between them. Nationalism is a term with a multitude of definitions that has been studied voluminously. For many contemporary writers, nationalism has taken on many negative connotations, with the mere mention of the term suggesting the potential presence of totalitarian authority. On the other hand, the concept of entertainment suffers from a lack of detailed study and is often considered more frivolous than dangerous. The definition of entertainment is best found in what it is commonly believed not to be, rather than what it truly is. The manner in which nationalism can, and must, become a vital aspect of entertainment programming will determine the success of a truly indigenous television system for Canada.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a multi-faceted concept, with each facet contributing equally to its meaning and scope. It involves an awareness, understanding and acceptance of national character, identity, feeling, self-image and pride. Nationalism symbolizes devotion to the interests of one's nation and all that is indigenous to that nation and its peoples. It involves a realization that these characteristics are shared among citizens, thus helping people within a nation to better understand themselves as a national people. Nationalism involves an understanding of what characterizes a country and bonds its citizens together. It indicates a knowledge of what makes a nation unique and a sensitivity to the preservation of factors contributing to that uniqueness. Nationalism involves a belief that specific aspects of a society must be protected and promoted if that nation is to survive. Nationalism is a frame of mind: it is knowing what makes a people special and distinct from others, realizing the importance of maintaining this distinctiveness, and accepting and promoting these idiosyncracies as measures for enhancing the health of the nation.

Nationalism is analogous to the concepts of self-knowledge and self-esteem for individuals. A knowledge of personal strengths and weaknesses, and an acceptance of how these differentiate individuals from their peers, aids in the personal development of individuals. Individuals realize what characterizes them, what makes them special, and take pride in the fact that these characteristics set them apart from others. Individuals embrace the traits considered to be positive to their personal development and strive to correct those characteristics that potentially hinder this development.

Just as self-knowledge is vital to the realization of personal potential and acceptance of self for individuals, nationalism is vital for full development and pride on a national scale. Residents of a nation must realize what sets them apart from other countries, must take pride in these special characteristics and strive to maintain and promote them. Citizens must also realize the negative factors that hinder the development of the nation and take action to alleviate them. Just as individuals must be aware of what makes them special if they are to truly understand and accept themselves, so must a nation be aware of and embrace its indigenous traits. Lack of a sense of nationalism results in a nation without an identity, without pride, and without the

means to develop to its fullest capacity.

In the last half of the twentieth century, the concept of nationalism has come to be viewed with much suspicion. It is a term now imbued with meaning considered to be negative and detrimental. Much of the suspicion that surrounds the concept of nationalism today is not without foundation. Nationalism has been used as justification for atrocities occurring within a nation: witness the crimes of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis, committed for the "good of the Fatherland." Nationalism has come to symbolize the belief that a particular nation is the most important and most morally correct in the world (thus providing sufficient reason for interference with and invasion of other nations perceived to be lacking in the appropriate morality). Many have come to view nationalism as a negative, threatened manifestation of patriotism or the positive love of homeland.¹

As used in this paper, the term nationalism has neither the negative connotation of patriotism nor that of national superiority. Rather, the term connotes self-knowledge and self-correction: not blind faith in one's country, but rather a wide-eyes awareness of that nation.

Neither is the term nationalism used as an antonym for regionalism. In any discussion of Canadian society,

these two concepts are often thought of as opposites. However, as employed here, the term nationalism encompasses the notion of regional idiosyncracies within the country. A large part of what characterizes Canada is its attention to and acceptance of regional differences. Nationalism in Canada is the realization, acceptance and promotion of regional contributions to national thought, sentiment and identity.

In North American commercial television, nationalism is, and is necessarily, a vital component of the medium. Television, in turn, has become an instrument of nationalization. The medium has become a national one, due partly to the practicalities of commercial television and partly to the nature of the medium itself. The relationship between nationalism and television is characterized by interdependence; the nature of television makes it possible for it to become a national medium while nationalism increasingly becomes an important aspect of programming.

In an average week, the medium of television reaches almost all Canadians: 98.5 percent of the population watch television at least once a week.² The number of hours spent watching television each week increases annually. In 1976, Canadians spent 22.2 hours per week watching television; in 1980, 24.0 hours; and in 1984, 23.6 hours.³ Every year,

Canadians spend more time sharing in the same activity simultaneously. Many viewers from all over the country watch the same programming at the same time. This sharing helps to create a commonality of feeling, a national unity. As Michael Novak states, "Television can electrify and unite a whole nation, creating an instantaneous network in which millions are simultaneous recipients of the same powerful images."⁴ National concerns are appropriate for national television: in no other field of communications can the logistics of a particular issue be examined simultaneously by such a large number of people. The activity of watching television creates a bond between viewers that might not otherwise exist.

Television may help to create similarities between the diverse regions and peoples within a nation: it may aid in pulling them together as a singular unit. Marshall McLuhan hinted at this with his famous "global village" concept, outlined in his book Understanding Media. McLuhan argued that communication technologies would shrink the entire world and that people would no longer be isolated from each other. He suggested that, as technology made it easier to know about events all over the world, people would become more aware of others and have more in common with them: people would become residents of one "global village."

Television, one of the most powerful modes of communication, is instrumental in creating this worldwide community.

If television can do all this on a global scale, it can surely do the same at the national level. Not only is the physical activity of watching television shared, but so is the psychological impact of its programs. Commercial television, with its continuing series with weekly installments, allows for large national audiences to deal with the same storylines (and their messages) on a regular basis. All of this contributes to the development of a connective tissue between an otherwise diverse audience: it creates a common national mind set. As Paula S. Fass has said, "Daily exposure to television means that the views, the convention, the sensibilities purveyed on the screen get not only maximum potential exposure but constant repetition, hourly, daily, weekly, yearly. If there was ever a vehicle which could create a public mind, this surely must be it."⁵

To maintain large audiences, commercial television has become an organ of homogenization. Programs that are successful are emulated by others, resulting in a body of programs that are similar in look, structure and content. In the United States, the centralization of television production and the attempts to appeal to the largest possible audience have resulted in the creation of "televisionese."⁶

Televisionese, as described by Michael Novak, is a manner of speaking indigenous to no particular region of a country and characteristic of no particular group. It is an artificial creation of television, a concept existing nowhere outside of the medium but one that is understood and accepted by most viewers. It is the common language with which television speaks to an entire nation. Televisionese and program emulation have contributed to the lack of variety and diversity in commercial television.

Attempts to garner large audiences have resulted in what many theorists call the least common denominator factor. The basic premise of this concept is that television programming should try to appeal to as many people as possible, and that the best way to achieve this is to program for that which most people have in common. What the largest number of people share with each other should dictate the content of television programs. Robert Rutherford Smith notes, "the larger...the audience, the greater the need to safeguard and purify the standards of quality and taste."⁷ The high cost of television production demands a mass audience and must appeal to a common interest. But what, in fact, is more common to an audience than its nationality? And what, in fact, is more common to television's originators - its producers and its writers - than their knowledge of

their land, its people, its lives, and its values?
Nationalism and television are thus inevitably, and
inescapably, intertwined.

Entertainment Programming

At the heart and soul of contemporary North American television is entertainment programming. Television screens are flooded with this type of programming and, not surprisingly, the most watched programs also fall into this category.^a Much is written about the entertainment value of television, and many critics and viewers alike see entertainment as the primary purpose of television. It is, then, quite clear why efforts to enhance the presence of nationalism in Canadian television should be concentrated in this category of programming. Not only is entertainment the most popular type of program, it is the category where the message(s) and theme(s) of nationalism will be most successfully manifested. As Kas Kalba notes, entertainment programs "convey not only emotions and catharsis, but specific images of how social roles can interact, how products satisfy, how institutions operate, and how values are fulfilled." •

Categorizing television programs into specific

formats is a difficult task. There seems to be no standard method: The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) uses one method, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) another, the Canadian Television Network (CTV) yet another, and all three differ from methods employed by networks in the United States. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to devise a system in which all programs fit easily into one category or another.

There does, however, seem to be one basic distinction that can be made between television programs in general. For the purposes of this paper, all television programming will be divided into two basic categories: information and entertainment. Included in the information category is news, public affairs, documentary, religious and sports programs. These are predominantly information-dispensing programs that deal with actual events (including historical events), programs that relay specific data to their audiences.

Entertainment programming is composed of weekly series (comedy, adventure and drama), mini-series, films, variety and what is sometimes called the "performance program" (the televising of a ballet from the National Arts Centre, for example). These programs are often (but not always) the product of a writer's imagination rather than a factual, detailed account of an actual event. The National,

The Journal, Man Alive, and The Fifth Estate are information programs; Not My Department, Danger Bay, Anne of Green Gables, and Lies From Lotus Land are in the entertainment category.

A useful method for distinguishing between information and entertainment programming is to think of the former as non-fictional and the latter as fictional. Obviously, this classification method can be used only as a guideline. The treatment afforded current issues of concern on information programs is often rendered fictional in hindsight: a mini-series based on the life of Hal Banks, Wilfrid Laurier, or Napoleon Bonaparte is bound to rely heavily on historical fact and data. Information programs can quite easily be entertaining, just as entertainment programs can inform and educate. Information programs can be creative and imaginative, but in a manner that differs from that of entertainment programs. Although imagination is the driving force behind entertainment programming, it can also be an important element of information programming. However, imagination is not the defining principle of information programming: the communication of specific (and, ideally, factual) information is. Even this distinction is by no means immutable or comprehensive, but it does set the parameters of the major types of contemporary television.

Therefore, it will suffice to think of entertainment programming as fictional, or semi-fictional, programming.

There are two very obvious reasons why any proposed change in Canadian television should focus on entertainment programming: availability and audience size. Quite simply, entertainment is the most available and the most watched type of programming on television. In Canada, over half (fifty-eight percent or 30,102 of 51,900 hours) of what is available in an average broadcast week is entertainment programming (with the remaining forty-two percent (21,798 hours) being information programming).¹⁰ Time spent watching the available entertainment programs constitutes sixty-seven percent (34,773 hours) of all viewing time.¹¹ These programs are broadcast predominantly during prime time hours (7:00 P.M.-11:00 P.M.), assuring them larger audiences than at any other time of the day. In the prime-time hours, seventy-two percent (8,126 of 11,300 hours) of available programming is entertainment, while seventy-five percent (8,475 hours) of viewing time is spent watching this programming.¹²

The origin of entertainment programming on Canadian television serves as evidence for the contention that change must occur within this category of programming. In a typical Canadian broadcast week, seventy-two percent of available programming is from foreign sources and only twenty-nine

percent is Canadian in origin.¹³ During prime-time hours, seventy-four percent of available programming is imported, yet seventy-six percent of viewing time in this part of the day is devoted to foreign-produced programming.¹⁴ Similar foreign/Canadian ratios appear when programs are divided into smaller categories (drama, variety, and so on).¹⁵ The conclusions are obvious: most of what is available to Canadian viewers is foreign-produced entertainment programming, and the number of hours spent viewing these programs exceeds the number of hours of available foreign programs. Thus, any attempt to enhance the presence of nationalism in Canadian television must take place in the category where most viewers spend their time. Yet, since the advent of cable television (and even prior to that), a Canadian presence in television program production has been virtually non-existent. If Canadians spend most of their time watching foreign entertainment programs, it is not surprising that Canadian nationalism is conspicuously absent from television in Canada.

One important idea about entertainment is the belief that it is an escape, a form of relaxation that does not demand action or thought from its participants and does not influence how they live or think outside the sphere of entertainment. Herbert Schiller states: "One central myth

dominates the world of fabricated fantasy: the idea that entertainment and recreation are value-free, have no point of view, and exist outside... the social order."¹⁶ Popular philosophy has it that entertainment is an activity individuals engage in when they want to "turn off their brains," is something that will amuse without affecting their real lives. Yet what makes entertainment such a powerful force is precisely this notion of its irrelevancy. If irrelevant, it is above suspicion and cannot intimidate - unlike education or other instructive pursuits. People are not expected to learn new ideas and wrestle with their implications when they participate in entertainment: rather, they feel they have to engage passively and let the results be decided by personal emotions.

Yet entertainment does have messages and points of view; it does not exist in a vacuum. Television programs represent the world as it is seen by writers, producers, directors, actors, designers and other production personnel - or at least, if not their view of the world, a view they want others to see. That view is a point of view, an opinion, and their resolutions and conclusions will recommend those resolutions and conclusions to their audiences. Selecting specific topics, excluding others, methods of presentation, and choice of resolution - by these means, entertainment

programs carry messages that highlight the beneficial, or detrimental, effects of particular beliefs and values. Whether or not audiences look for, or even sense, a message, it is there. Whether or not audiences intend to learn, they do. The belief that entertainment has no message and is non-educational, the belief that it is inconsequential and lacking in substance, adds greatly to the ability of entertainment to be influential and to affect viewers. Schiller notes, "For manipulation to be most effective, evidence of its presence should be non-existent. When the manipulated believe things are the way they are naturally and inevitably, manipulation is successful."¹⁷ Viewers who believe the myth of entertainment as a harmless activity do not realize that they are being affected, or manipulated.

There is no such thing as a "turned off" mind. The mind is active at all times, including time spent watching television. Since television occupies a significant amount of average personal leisure time, programming will be the recipient of much viewer thought, conscious or otherwise. Because messages and beliefs are disseminated by a vehicle (entertainment programming) that makes them appear non-existent, their influence will be more pervasive and lasting. Donna Woolfolk Cross remarks,

If we believe entertainment to be "harmless," it will become all the more effective as a carrier of propaganda. If we think we are merely "passing the time," we are less inclined to question or challenge - even to recognize- the basic ideas and attitudes being transmitted. ^{1a}

The concept of nationalism is not, or should not be, manipulation, propaganda, or bias. However, nationalism should be part of entertainment programming and all it implies. Since entertainment programming has such influence on its viewers, it is an appropriate vehicle for nationalism. It is within this influential sphere that nationalism should be examined, defined and strengthened. Entertainment programming provides a large, trans-national audience for these activities. The examination of nationalism through such a medium will be beneficial to both the nation and the television system. Nationalism will enjoy more exposure and more consideration by audience members while attention to nationalism will make television more Canadian in nature.

Canadian television has a long and distinguished tradition of documentary (or information) programming. Canadians excel in this area, and their productions are praised abroad as well as at home. The highest-rated Canadian programs are almost exclusively in this category. The National consistently receives large audiences. The

Journal attracts, on average, over 1.5 million viewers every weekday, while The Nature of Things regularly draws a weekly audience of 1.25 million ¹⁹ - this, in a nation of 25 million. But in spite of domestic expertise in information programming, television in Canada can hardly be called Canadian in nature because of the dominance of entertainment programming originating in the United States. Examination of program listings for an average broadcast day reveals that the programs available to Canadians are essentially the same American-produced entertainment programs available to viewers in the United States.

For Canadian television to be Canadian, indigenous entertainment programming has to become as plentiful and as successful as informational programming. Rather than simply transmitting American entertainment programs to large Canadian audiences, Canadian television must present domestic entertainment programs to these same sizeable audiences.

Dominating television screens across the country, entertainment has deep and lasting, if unconscious effects on its viewers. It is readily acceptable to most of the population. Here is where most Canadians spend their viewing time. Here is where they feel most comfortable. Convinced of the harmlessness of mere fickle entertainment, Canadian audiences discard the protective robes they otherwise wear,

and willingly become receptive. Profoundly affecting all aspects of viewers' lives, helping viewers to better understand and define themselves and the world in which they live,

Entertainment, no less than factual information, serves to define for the individual the central categories of the normal and the inevitable. Through these concepts, individuals come to "understand" why things are the way they are, and to accept that this is how many of them must be. Such explanations are the social glue which holds groups together, which allows them to reproduce themselves over time, and which in special situations may also allow them to change to accommodate a changing environment. On a personal level, such explanations and the typified self-images derived from them allow individuals to make sense of their lives and to accept (and in special cases, reject) their allotted places in the sun. Most of our reality is socially constructed, and culture, including entertainment, is one of its key building materials. 20

Yet in Canada, it is American programs, American messages, American values, American beliefs, American ideas and American ideals which manifest themselves in entertainment programming. Such programming is helping Canadians to become vicarious participants in a contemporary society, but it is not their own.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND TELEVISION

Television is primarily a social instrument. What is portrayed on television "may influence social institutions and the culture in broader ways, not just via explicit messages individually interpreted." ¹ Television is a significant aspect of modern life, both as a commentator on that life and as a shaping influence. As the major fare of contemporary television, entertainment programming is both reflector of and catalyst for action of daily life. In fact, television entertainment programming may be the most effective vehicle for defining and understanding the popular imagination of a people. By portraying life in modern society, with all its strengths and weaknesses, this programming presents opinions on the status quo: it deals with nationalism. Not only does this programming portray the common characteristics of a people, but it comments on these characteristics, negatively and positively. Yet, as we have seen in Chapter I, the nationalism that is manifested on television screens in Canada is not Canadian. It is American.

This chapter will look at the relationship between

television and nationalism in two sections. The first section will demonstrate that nationalism is already present in contemporary North American television and will outline its American character. The second section will illustrate why Canadian nationalism should be a vital aspect in Canadian television. Suggestions on how this could be realized will be offered.

The Status Quo

Television is inseparably interwoven with the society that produces it. It interacts with society both as a reflector of societal interests and values and as a significant influence for shaping interests and values. This two-sided interaction between television and society is the source of much controversy over the value of the medium. As merely a reflection of the status quo (and thus a tool of maintenance for that status quo), it is argued that television is stale, unimaginative, and of little use to its viewers. As a catalyst for societal values and actions, television is often thought to wield a significant influence on its viewers, thus deeming the medium worthy of study and attention.

But even as a reflector of society (which is only one

side of television), the medium has a significant influence. What is portrayed on television gives some indication of what a society feels is important or relevant, providing a telling statement on the values and beliefs of that society. Creators of programming and those individuals who decide what programming will be broadcast are members of a particular society, and the programs they deem fit for broadcast will reflect, at the very least, what these people perceive to be important societal issues. In a commercial television system, programs survive by garnering audiences large enough to attract substantial advertising revenue. Programs that appear irrelevant to audiences or programs which violate what viewers believe to be acceptable standards for television may have difficulty maintaining the necessary audiences. In this way, programs must, to some degree, reflect the concerns and issues important to viewers. Programs must deal in the realm of societal values and beliefs.

What viewers see on television, on both information and entertainment programs, will help shape the way they look at the world. Television will influence what viewers feel are issues of importance in their lives and have an impact on how they deal with these (and other) issues. As Frank Peers says, "television has become not only our primary channel for information about the world, but also the principal source of

the imaginative forms through which we interpret this information and our own experiences." ²

These imaginative forms are found in entertainment programs, providing examples of fictional characters dealing with relatively the same environment in which viewers operate daily. Entertainment programs illustrate how these fictional characters distinguish the important from the trivial, how they are affected by their surroundings, and how they deal with the effects of those surroundings. The characters in these programs are indicative of how many members of a society act (or react) under particular circumstances, while at the same time these characters provide examples of behaviour that can be emulated by viewers. Entertainment programs portray matters of concern common to most audience members and ways of dealing with these matters that are representative of actions likely to be taken by viewers in similar circumstances. Even if the issues and resolutions portrayed on these programs are not already as widespread and common as possible, they may become so strictly by receiving television coverage. If a number of programs deal with the same issue over a period of time, this issue may become a matter of concern to audience members. This concern will be shared with other viewers as television "unites us as discrete beings into a mass audience...." ³ The act of

sharing the same activity heightens the similarities that exist between diverse groups of viewers and can actually create new ones. The common issues that concern a particular society and the actions that characterize usual societal responses to such issues define that society, and thus constitute nationalism. Entertainment programming is, therefore, a very effective force in the carriage, examination and definition of nationalism for any particular society.

Audience identification is a defining characteristic of the relationship between television and its audience. Protagonists are stand-ins, representing the viewers and the events of their daily lives. Viewers become vicarious participants through the protagonists. Viewers share in the challenges, agonize in the moments of despair, and rejoice at times of triumph. Audience members see in the protagonists something that is similar to themselves, something they feel is admirable and of value. As viewers become more appreciative of television characters, they begin to emulate the traits, the actions, and even the beliefs of their fictional counterparts. What the characters say and do takes on added significance for the viewers: characters become role models and their behaviour represents viable alternatives for viewers in their own lives. Because

audience members identify with fictional characters, the former may begin to take on the characteristics and to emulate the actions of the latter. Thus this identification factor helps to determine viewer behaviour, and this behaviour, when shared by a majority of citizens, constitutes nationalism.

Based as it is on repetition and familiarity, the weekly series, the mainstay of entertainment programming, provides an extremely effective vehicle for influencing the behaviour and the beliefs of viewers. On a weekly basis, regular viewers watch as characters on programs deal with the situations and the people that affect the daily life of the fictional characters. Gradually, viewers become familiar with the characters and their personalities: they come to know the characters well. Viewers may come to expect certain behaviours from television characters, behaviour that is consistent with the manner in which characters have acted in the past, and more often than not this behaviour occurs. (This is not meant to suggest that television characters are static and do not evolve over time. Character growth does occur in an effort to keep programs fresh and maintain audiences. Characters do, however, act within certain parameters of expectation, just as viewers do in their own personal lives. Moments of extreme, uncharacteristic

behaviour on the part of characters is as shocking and disturbing as it is in daily life.) Repetition of behaviours and themes affects the audience's willingness to accept such behaviours or messages. As Donna Woolfolk Cross suggests, people are likely to "accept as true those ideas which are repeated to them most often....."⁴ It is possible that the influence of television increases proportionately with an increase in regular viewer exposure to programs. If so, as viewers are exposed to the behaviour and ideas of weekly programs on a weekly basis, they may come to believe that these behaviours are acceptable and the ideas true. Regular exposure to the same material has the potential to add validity, deserved or not, to that material.

Repetition also has an impact outside of the individual weekly program. There is much similarity between the weekly installments of a number of television series. Situation comedies often deal with the same plots and character types. For example, Kate and Allie and The Golden Girls are both programs about grown women sharing a residence and the amusing situations that arise because of this cohabitation. Cheers and Perfect Strangers are comedies that make use of naive characters (Coach and Woody in the former, Balki in the latter) to induce laughter. Drama series also have shared storylines and resolutions, and they often appeal

to the same emotions in their viewers. Knots Landing and St. Elsewhere have both had episodes dealing with the abuse of prescription drugs. Cagney and Lacey and L.A. Law regularly present storylines that appeal to the viewers' sense of justice and conception of right and wrong. Such shared storylines and patterns constitute another form of repetition. Not only are viewers exposed to relatively consistent behaviour and ideas on one particular series, but they see much of the same repeated on other programs. This repetition has the potential to reinforce, in the minds of the viewers, the premises of these programs as true and acceptable.

A third component of the relationship between television and viewers that contributes to the influence of television is the power of the visual image. The truth value or degree of believability attached to the visual image is often greater than that associated with the spoken, or even the written, word. Seeing with one's own eye is often perceived to be more valid evidence of an occurrence than an oral account of the same event. Human beings tend to believe more in what they see than what they hear, and they tend to believe in what they see as true.⁵ As a visual medium, television therefore enjoys potential acceptance as a purveyor of truth. Viewers associate some measure of truth

and reputability to television because they can actually see its content. Thus, what is portrayed on television takes on added significance for viewers. That which can be seen is associated with the truth, and those who see may construct their lives around these truths. What numerous people in North America "see", the source of many of the images they carry with them in their heads, is television. To a considerable extent then, television influences the process of determining what is true and what is not in contemporary society.

An examination of specific American programs illustrates the powerful influence television wields over its viewers. The content of entertainment programs indicates what is (or should be) important to society, as numerous programs seem to draw their storylines directly from the headlines of newspapers that deal with the dominant social issues of the day. Designing Women and St. Elsewhere have both recently dealt with the issue of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Cagney and Lacey, L.A. Law, and The Equalizer have all done episodes addressing the issue of violence against women. Almost every police, medical and adventure program that has been on the air for more than half a season has dealt with the problem of drug abuse and the criminal activity that surrounds the drug trade. Made-for-

television movies and mini-series often focus on a particular ill: Stone Pillow portrayed the plight of the homeless street people; the devastating effects of Alzheimer's disease was the focus of I Remember Love; and The Day After dealt with the issue of nuclear power. In the 1970s, All in the Family and M*A*S*H offered a veritable buffet of contemporary social issues for weekly consumption. The topics that receive treatment from entertainment programs reflect societal concerns, while at the same time they focus attention on issues that may not be well-publicized, thus turning them into matters of societal concern. Not only does television deal with matters of concern that viewers do give thought to, it also acts as a guide for focussing viewer attention on issues that viewers should be thinking about.

What entertainment programs say to their viewers, the messages of these programs, has an impact on the thoughts and actions of the audience. The underlying assumptions and the forms of resolution found in any particular program will indicate the prevailing tone and general message of the program. For the past three television seasons (1984/85 to 1986/87), The Cosby Show and Family Ties have been the two highest rated programs in the United States. Week after week (and year after year), millions of viewers watch as the Huxtable and Keaton families consistently find strength and

comfort (and true happiness) in the family unit. When all else fails, these families endure and nourish their individual members. The family is frequently portrayed as the one constant in life, the "shelter against the storm of change"⁶ encountered in other aspects of life. The positive value of qualities such as family loyalty and mutual respect are not difficult to discern in these and other similar programs. The importance of the family and the benefits of this lifestyle, as portrayed on television, have contributed to the recent rise of traditional values so often discussed in the contemporary media.

Similarly, other underlying assumptions of entertainment programs will affect their regular viewers. The priority afforded to the individual (at the expense of the group or community) is often a dominant characteristic of crime shows: distrust of institutions and governments is another such characteristic element. Criminals are often apprehended and punished through methods that violate the laws of society and personal codes of conduct. These methods of resolving conflict are, however, apparently accepted by the audience as viewers continue watching these programs. The methods are justified in the context of the program because the crime victim must be vindicated before all else, and because of the possible corruption and probable inability

of formalized institutions to see that justice is done. Again, regular viewers will be influenced by the prominence enjoyed by the individual and the lack of faith in institutions, such as the legal and judicial systems, so characteristic of many of these programs.

The effects that entertainment programs have on their audiences will vary in scope and intensity. One fairly common result of watching these programs, especially those dealing with contemporary social issues, is a feeling of catharsis. Audiences may recoil in horror at the atrocities committed in Holocaust, rejoice en masse at the bringing to justice of the criminal in The Ted Bundy Story, or be awakened to the lack of judicial protection available to battered wives by The Burning Bed, yet this may also be the extent of their involvement with these issues. Viewing of these programs may cause viewers to deem racism and violence unacceptable, but this may also be the only action taken by viewers. Social awareness of these issues has been raised by these programs, but social awareness alone will not alleviate these issues: it is only the first step in solving these problems. For the viewing audience, however, social awareness may be their only contribution to resolving these issues. Having watched the programs and having become aware of the shattering effects of racism and violence, viewers may feel

that they have done something to help rid society of these ills. Having spent a few hours feeling the guilt of a society that allows such horrible occurrences, audiences may feel that they have done enough, that they have "paid the price." The vicarious participation that television viewing allows often leads to feelings of having contributed to a solution for societal problems, of having undergone a catharsis by shouldering the blame.

Entertainment programs will also affect how people view the world around them and how they approach their lives. Television influences viewers' conceptions of reality, of good and evil, of right and wrong. Time and budget constraints frequently result in programs in which the lines of conflict are distinct and unwavering. The divisions between good and evil and right and wrong are easily discernible, and crossing of these boundaries is obvious to viewers. Resolutions have to occur within a given framework of time (usually thirty or sixty minutes, including commercials), and this often makes characters symbols of specific ideas rather than fully-developed individuals. These programs offer a black-and-white view of the world. The protagonists in these programs represent all that is positive in society while the antagonists embody all the negative elements of modern life, and viewers will be

affected by these extremes.

There is considerable evidence that millions of people - especially many of the youth - have become inclined toward simplistic solutions to complicated problems, because for years they have seen problems dramatically presented and neatly solved on television within a thirty-minute period. Millions have been tempted to the fantasy that reality is something either black or white, good or bad, desirable or reprehensible - never anything in between.⁷

More often than not, the good will prevail and the "right thing" will be done, sending a message to viewers that proper behaviour will be rewarded and evil actions will result in punishment. Regular viewers may use this message to guide their daily activities. The messages and assumptions of entertainment programs, regardless of what they may specifically be, are bound to have an impact on viewers who are exposed to them on a regular basis and influenced by the power of visual communication. This impact will find expression in the daily lives of viewers.

The various components of the relationship between television and viewers can be offered as proof of the present existence of nationalism in the medium. As illustrated above, television acts both as a reflector of and catalyst for the society in which it is produced: the medium presents

current issues of concern and helps to create new ones by making them subjects of particular programs. Viewers are affected by television through the forces of visual imagery, identification, repetition and imitation. Television has the potential to become more influential on viewers as exposure to the medium increases. Regular viewing will eventually have an impact on how viewers think and act in their daily lives. When particular modes of thought and ways of living are shared by a significant number of people they become constituents of national life, or nationalism. Television, a medium of mass communication, has the potential to influence a large number of people in a similar manner. Thus television not only relays the components of nationalism to its viewers but aids in actually creating new components.

The nationalism that interacts with television in North America, however, is American: it represents the values, beliefs, ideals, myths, and ideas that define life in the United States. In fact, television in North America is an American medium. Television has served effectively as a vehicle for the carriage of American culture to countries around the world. If there was any doubt of the status of the United States as a world power, it has been completely dispelled with the advent of television. The medium is one very important reason for the relatively rapid and thorough

spread of American influence worldwide. As Gerald Craig notes, the United States has built up "the world's most penetrating and effective apparatus for the transmission of ideas [and] Canada, more than any other country, is naked to that force."⁸ Since most Canadians' television diet consists of American entertainment programs, the ideas they ingest daily are those of American nationalism.

This situation is unacceptable (and therefore requires change) only if Canada and the United States are significantly different. The premises of continentalism and arguments supporting a New World ideology, major forces in North America virtually since the arrival of the first settlers, contend that any differences between the two countries and their respective peoples are minute and of no particular relevance. ⁹ The idea that all North Americans share a common history and mind-set that results from settling a new land and creating a new society has always enjoyed substantial support in both nations. ¹⁰

Yet there are differences, differences that have ensured the survival of each country as a distinct entity, despite their many similarities. It is these differences that constitute the culture of each country, and it is the culture of each participant that is the foundation for nationalism. A brief examination of these differences will illustrate the uniqueness of each nation and the dangers of a Canadian television system inundated with American programming and nationalism.

There are general themes and beliefs that should be mentioned in any discussion of the differences between Canada and the United States. Some of these differences have existed since the formation of both nations. The United States was founded on the principles of liberal democracy, individualism, and independence. Canada, on the other hand, was modelled more on the principles of classical conservatism, with its emphasis on society as a community or organic unit. The principle of democracy has made the majority the influential body in the United States, while Canada has allowed for diversity of cultures and duality of languages. The United States has a revolutionary tradition, a history of winning freedom through revolution. Canada became a nation through diplomatic negotiations, and did not

reach full autonomous status until well over one hundred years of existence. Canada has a long history of economic, political and social ties with another nation (Britain), while the United States has set its own parameters of national life since the late eighteenth century. The creation of the United States in 1776 was an experiment heretofore untried, and its actions as a nation were subsequently unprecedented. Conversely, the nation of Canada was modelled largely on existent systems, especially those of Great Britain and the United States, with fewer original aspects than those of her neighbour to the south.

Throughout the years, certain generalizations applicable to the Canadian and American peoples have become clear. The documents on which each nation was founded offer clues as to why these two peoples differ. The Canadian Constitution Act of 1867 speaks of "Peace, Order and Good Government" ¹¹ while the American Declaration of Independence (1776) promises "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."¹² Canadians have become a much more conservative and cautious people than their American counterparts. They pay more heed to tradition than the Americans. Canadians place more importance on the maintenance of law and order, and value the group (or community) more than the Americans, who are a more restless, venturesome people who believe the individual is

the most important social division. The different methods of settling the western "frontier" of each country illustrates this difference quite well. Canadians do not share the Americans' distrust and suspicion of big government. Canada has a history of government institutions and significant government involvement in all spheres of life, and Canadians have come to view government as vital to their survival. For many obvious reasons, Canadians have become increasingly sensitive to foreign interference in domestic affairs and are resistant to accepting leadership from other nations, while the Americans have rarely, if ever, had occasion to develop such feelings. Finally, the presence of a sizeable French Canadian population adds a distinctive element to Canadian life that does not exist in the United States.

These differences between the two nations can be seen clearly in their respective broadcasting systems and the policies that regulate them. The distinctive character of each nation is reflected in the establishment of their broadcasting systems and influences the regulation of these systems. In an article titled "Canada and the United States: Comparative Origins and Approaches to Broadcast Policy," Canadian broadcasting historian Frank Peers outlines his version of the distinguishing characteristics of each system:

I hypothesize in the United States the chief determinant of the broadcasting system was the market system on which the economy is based, but also important were prevailing cultural values, which include the liberal tradition in America, consumerism, and a fear of big government. I hypothesize that in Canada the principal determinants have been geographic location; demographic characteristics, including size of population and linguistic diversity; economic considerations, including the sources of capital and fluctuating levels of prosperity; and the political culture - attitudes toward government, the mixture of ideological strains, and sensitivity about accepting leadership from another people. ¹³

American and Canadian regulatory policies for broadcasting differ primarily in the extent to which they rely on market mechanisms and government regulation respectively in order to determine program content and the economic structure of the industry. The content of American programs is determined largely on a commercial basis, dependent on audience popularity and the willingness of advertisers to pay top price for commercials during the program. In Canada, a certain proportion of what is broadcast has to be Canadian in content (as defined by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission), regardless of audience size or revenue-generating potential. Broadcasting policy in the United States is more concerned with economic consequences

than with the political or cultural effects that are the focus of broadcasting policy in Canada, although neither is based solely on one set of concerns or the other. The Canadian broadcasting system has always been much more a vehicle to "safeguard, enrich and strengthen" ¹⁴ the culture of the nation than a purely market-dependent, economic activity. Broadcasting in Canada has always been viewed as a cultural activity of social significance and collective concern (thus the extensive involvement of the federal government), and policies of broadcasting regulation reflect this view.

It is obvious, then, that there are significant differences between the two countries and that these differences are manifested in particular national activities such as the formulation of broadcasting policy and determining the structure of the industry. These differences help to define each nation and are constituents of Canadian and American nationalism, yet they are virtually non-existent in entertainment programming on Canadian television. Canadians watch American programs, and by doing so they become well-educated in the beliefs and values that define the American way of life. They come to view the world as Americans do, and they learn what is important and of value by watching what Americans deem important and valuable.

There is nothing inherently wrong or subversive with American culture as it is treated on television: it is not dangerous strictly because it is American. What is dangerous is Canadian dependence on these programs to constitute the vast majority of available programming. For Canadian viewers, there is no viable alternative: the kind of programs that would have similar beneficial results for Canadian nationalism simply do not exist. There is no significant amount of indigenous programming that could serve to help Canadians examine what makes them distinctive and defines them as a nation.

Bias, or nationalist slant, is unavoidable in any television programming. Programming from the United States will inevitably have bias by showing what is important to the nation (program content) and how its citizens deal with matters of importance (resolution of conflict, challenge, and so on). Not that American producers and creative personnel have as their primary purpose the annexation of the Canadian people, although this may well be the result. The programs will have an American bias and slant simply because they originate in the United States, just as programming from Britain, Germany or any other nation will portray the domestic concerns and nationalism of those countries.

However, the American bias in these programs is

detrimental to Canadian viewers because American programs occupy such a prominent position in Canadian television. A recent episode of Designing Women dealt with the American involvement in the Battle of the Bulge, suggesting the American presence on the European front in World War II was instrumental in the eventual victory of the Allies. Canada was also deeply involved in the fighting in Europe, but Canadian viewers did not see this. Our World provides a weekly lesson in history, but it portrays what was happening to and in the United States during a particular year, not in Canada. Cagney and Lacey, L.A. Law, Matlock, and numerous other police/private detective/lawyer programs deal regularly with the assumptions behind the American justice system, characterized as it is by the rights of the individual and the concept of "innocent until proven guilty." Canadians have different laws, law-making processes, systems of policing, and characteristics of the judicial system, yet many viewers believe they have the same system as the United States because this is what they see on television. Innumerable series, mini-series, and movies deal with the issue of American blacks and their struggle for equality, and some Canadian audience members have come to view this concern as their own. There is no doubt that racism exists in Canada and that visible minorities suffer from it. The largest

visible minority in Canada, however, consists of orientals rather than blacks, but programs dealing with the problems facing this group are few and far between. As a group fighting for parity and equality, the French Canadians are akin to the blacks in the United States, yet the areas of contention and the methods of alleviating conflict between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians have always varied from the Civil Rights movement in the United States. The inevitable bias of American programming is not by nature negative, but it becomes so in relation to Canadian viewers. As television viewing time increases, Canadians become more familiar with life in the United States, and this is done at the expense of the Canadian nation. Increased familiarity with American culture clouds any realization of Canadian distinctiveness, especially when there are relatively few programs that could reinforce that distinctiveness. Canadian viewers become individuals who gradually take on the character of another nation while simultaneously losing their grip on their own national identity. This situation must be rectified, and the best method for correction is the creation of Canadian programs that deal with Canadian distinctiveness.

Canadian Television

Canadian television urgently needs programs that deal with Canadian matters of concern, Canadian myths and heroes, and Canadian methods of resolution and action. Canada, as a country, is characterized by concern with nationalism and identity. To think of Canada, as Keith Spicer suggests, as "The Woody Allen of nations (our identity is our identity crisis)" ¹⁵ is not much of a deviation from the truth. Canada has always been a nation greatly concerned with actually defining its national identity and promoting the acceptance of that identity among Canadians. What is needed are television programs that reflect this concern for national identity and sentiment and that stimulate efforts to show the value of this identity to the nation.

The kind of programs being proposed here would have Canadians as the protagonists (or the regular characters in a weekly series). They would be programs which deal with the lives of Canadians from all parts of the country. Viewers can best relate to (and will, therefore, watch) that which is familiar, and what is most familiar to them is that which surrounds them daily: family, friends, co-workers, jobs, institutions, and geographic areas. It is quite likely that the average Albertan has been to either Edmonton or Calgary (if he does not live in one or the other) or has been affected by the influence of these cities: the same can be

said for residents of any province in Canada. Canadians know what life in their own province is like, and they know that their fellow residents shape their lives from the same surroundings. Creating programs about people that are familiar bypasses a major step in finding and maintaining a regular audience, that of creating audience familiarity with characters and getting them to care for the characters. Audiences will feel more comfortable with characters that speak the same language, go to the same places, and deal with the same problems as the viewers. Audiences will feel they know these characters. Programs should therefore deal with characters that the viewers are likely to encounter in their daily lives, people that bring to viewers' minds similar situations in which they have found themselves.

These programs should have as their locales places Canadians will likely be aware of. Some current Canadian television programs take great pains to hide their Canadian locations, but there really is no need for this. There is no reason for programs about a doctor in Montreal or a high school in Halifax to mask their Canadian locations. Part of what characterizes individuals' lives is the influence of where they live, and apparently generic locations may make understanding characters' behaviour more difficult than necessary. A program's locale does not have to be fictional

or disguised for its message to be universal (or, in this case, national). There are certain occurrences that happen to and affect Canadians all across the country, and seeing it happen to fellow Canadians on television, be they far or near, helps viewers to realize what they have in common with other Canadians. Again, familiarity plays a role in Canadian locations: most viewers are likely to have at least some knowledge of the places where these stories take place and will feel some personal connection with the show.

As with characters and locales, the creative personnel of these programs should be Canadian, for it is they who know best the geography, the language(s), the concerns, and the ways of life in this country. Canadians should create programs for themselves, because it is they who know best what makes them Canadian.

Canadian characters, locations, or creative personnel are not, however, the most important aspect of the programs being proposed: Canadian perspective is.

Canadian content - indeed any sort of geographically or otherwise specified content - has as its justification its distinctive perspective, not simply the origin of its financing or the nationality of its producers. ¹⁶

These programs should reflect the modes of thought and action

that comprise the Canadian perspective. Programs should show how Canadians view the world and their place in it, how they act, and what they feel is important. These programs should portray the reality of the Canadian experience and show how that differentiates Canadians from other peoples.

Entertainment programs could deal with a host of Canadian issues: government involvement in individuals' lives; the presence of two distinct linguistic and cultural groups within the country; the questions of regional or local versus national identification; the benefits and problems associated with a small population spread over a vast land mass; the implications of years of relatively open immigration policies; or the love-hate relationship with the United States, a nation often viewed as potentially threatening to Canada. The programs could examine the feelings of individuals who live in a society that often requires them to subject their will to the good of the community, or deal with the cautious and rather protective nature of a people who are slow and deliberate in initiating change. Canadian television needs programs that reflect how Canadians live and why they live that way. These programs should provide opportunities for Canadians to examine their lives as individuals and as a nation and to determine (and rejoice in) the shared characteristics that bind them together. The only

way to preserve any indigenous television system in this country is to create programs that speak to Canadians about themselves in terms that are familiar to them.

Entertainment programs also deal with myths and heroes of a nation and its peoples, and Canadian television needs more of this type of program. Myths and heroes act as unifying forces on a nation, as rallying points for its people, and are therefore important contributions to nationalism. Some Canadian programs dealing with this have been produced, and they have been very successful. Anne of Green Gables dealt with a Canadian (albeit fictional) hero and was, in Canada, the highest rated indigenous entertainment program of all time. The National Dream, Billy Bishop Goes to War, and Bethune dealt both with national heroes and the myths that surrounded them, and Charlie Grant's War elevated a previously unknown figure to his proper place as a national hero. These programs were all effective in portraying national heroes and national myths, but there is not enough of this type of programming. Canadian television needs many more of these programs whose topics contribute to the national imagination and distinct intellectual tradition in Canada. These programs intensify the national pride that is so vital an aspect of nationalism and tend to bond people together by creating the opportunity

for nation-wide sharing in that pride.

Some difficulties may arise in the creation of the kinds of Canadian program proposed here. One potential obstacle is the regionalism that is so characteristic of Canada, given the distinctive regional identities and the discrepancies between the different areas of the country, in creating programming that speaks to the vast majority of Canadians. But regionalism does not have to be detrimental if it is viewed as a component of nationalism rather than an opposing force. Programs about particular regions will show the distinguishing characteristics of the area and its people and will, hopefully, foster a sensitivity to and understanding of that distinctiveness in viewers. Television provides a national framework for this to occur, and national exposure for these programs will allow for country-wide education of regions about each other. That there exists any better device than television for promoting increased understanding and tolerance of the regional peculiarities that combine to form a single nation is doubtful. Programs that take into account regional uniqueness may help Canadian viewers realize the many things they do share, despite their differences. Regionalism may well be one of the characteristics of Canadian television that distinguishes it from television of other nations.

Other aspects of both television and Canadian nationalism appear to make any union of the two difficult. Television, and most especially commercial television, has limitations that result from time and money constraints. In Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television, Jerry Mander suggests some limitations on what television can deal with effectively, including the beliefs that, for television, superficiality is easier than depth, the one is easier than the many, and short subjects with beginnings and ends are simpler to transmit than extended and multifaceted information.¹⁷ Other television critics and theorists write of the inability of television to offer proper treatment to nuance and its relatively limited range of emotions. It would seem, then, that television could not possibly deal effectively with such a complicated and emotional concept as nationalism, a concept that requires in-depth examination of its many components for full appreciation. However, television's limitations do not make the presence of Canadian nationalism on Canadian television an impossibility. As we have seen, American programming is infused with nationalism, and there is nothing particularly simple or superficial about the American identity. The same situation could occur in Canada. Television wields its influence through a combination of programs watched over a period of time, and,

over time, a number of programs may present a fairly in-depth examination of the components of nationalism. Focussing on one aspect of national character and identity may stimulate viewers to look deeper into other aspects: television may be a catalyst for expanded thought and discussion about nationalism.

Similarly, certain aspects of Canadian nationalism make it appear to be a subject better treated by something other than television. Canadian nationalism has never been formally defined or described. In fact, it is in a constant state of flux and is the source of on-going debate. This lack of obvious premises may make Canadian nationalism difficult to deal with effectively on television. The cautious nature of Canadians and their respect for traditions and the status quo are not easily portrayed visually. Canada is not as easily represented by visual symbols as is the United States, with its flag, Statue of Liberty, and Mount Rushmore recognized world-wide as symbols of the United States and its citizens. Yet these apparent obstacles do not mean that Canadian nationalism cannot be a significant part of television. Television deals most effectively with that which is current and which is relevant to its viewers at a certain time, and Canadian identity and sentiment have been current issues for every generation of Canadians since the

formation of the country. The distinctive nature of Canadians may provide a challenge to creators of programs, but meeting this challenge could very well create a new style of television that is indigenous to this country. Television provides a perfect vehicle for creating allegiance to and identification with visual symbols of Canada: it can give these symbols more exposure to a large audience than any other medium. Therefore, it is quite possible for Canadian nationalism to be a vital part of television, despite the seemingly difficult nature of that nationalism.

The benefits of creating the kinds of programs suggested here would be numerous and would justify any amount of work that needs to be done. These kinds of programs could add to the quality of television generally. Attempting to deal with the many components of Canadian life and the defining characteristics of the Canadian people would expand the range of possible script topics. Programs could be more diverse and varied, reflecting the special characteristics of each region of the country. Diversity of scripts and new methods of presentation that may be developed in an effort to successfully portray the Canadian experience could lead to a whole new style of television, one that would contribute to the quality of the medium by expanding its potential. Programming of this type could also enhance the relationship

between television and its viewers. By attempting to deal with daily life as it is experienced by the viewers, by portraying things viewers are familiar with and have personal interest in, and by using myths and heroes from the viewers' own country as script topics, the proposed programs will show more respect for their viewers. Seeing familiar places and situations on television will make viewers realize that they are important to the medium as its nourishment as well as its recipients. Anything that makes viewers feel they are actual participants in, rather than mere consumers of, the medium will enhance the relationship between television and its viewers, and this, in turn, cannot help but add to the potential and quality of television.

There are other potential benefits from the creation of these programs. Viewers would be able to see and better understand the contributions of all regions, not just their own, to the national character. The unifying effects of simultaneous viewing of one program by millions of Canadians would be extremely positive. Canada could finally have a national stage on which the various views of what "being Canadian" means could be presented and examined. The television industry in Canada could possibly benefit from increased employment opportunities for domestic creative and technical talent. Creating these kinds of programs would be

consistent with Canadian broadcasting history, a history of treating broadcasting as a collective concern, as a means of preserving Canadian distinctiveness, and as a vehicle for "identifying and strengthening cultural entities, regional identities and community loyalties." ¹⁸ The creation of these programs would fulfill that which has been the goal of Canadian television since its inception: to have Canadians watching Canadian-made programs about their country and their fellow citizens. All the expected beneficial results that made this the ultimate aim of Canadian television will be realized by the creation of these programs.

The future of Canadian television depends on the kinds of programs described in this section. These programs should be more than mere imitations of programming from the United States. Canadian television needs a new, changed style of programming, and this change will find its direction in Canadian nationalism. This style of programming will make television in this country truly Canadian and keep it from becoming merely a distribution vehicle for foreign programs. The proposed programs will help to stem the tide of American influence sweeping over Canada because of massive exposure to entertainment programs from the United States. Much effort and support will be needed to create a large number of indigenous entertainment programs, but to view this as too

extensive an undertaking indicates only a lack of will, not a lack of ability. To believe that this is an impossible task is to believe that Canada is a nation devoid of talented and innovative artists. This is untrue. The necessary resources and talent are available in Canada, and if they are not used to create these proposed programs, distinctive Canadian television has no future.

CHAPTER III

THE URGENT NEED FOR CHANGE

The time for initiating change, for creating the kinds of programs outlined in the last chapter, is now. For three reasons, efforts to change Canadian television should commence immediately. The first of the reasons concerns the type of entertainment programs currently in production and the growth of "familiarity programming," a programming concept characteristic of much television fare in the 1980s. The second reason has to do with the amount of attention given to Canadian nationalism in the past twenty years. The final reason relates to the rapid advance of communications technology and the effects of that advance on Canadian television.

Familiarity Programming

Since the early 1980s, television programs seem to have become more realistic in look and in content than ever before. Unlike earlier television fare, often deemed unrealistic by critics and theorists, contemporary programs

attempt to portray life as it really is, rather than life as it is thought to be. These are programs that strive to recreate people, places, and situations as accurately as possible, programs such as Hill Street Blues and Cagney and Lacey. Storylines of these programs are designed to strike a chord of familiarity in audiences: viewers will recognize elements in the plot that they, or someone they know, have had to deal with, issues that viewers are likely to have faced. The way in which viewers are apt to handle these issues helps determine the way the script writers resolve problems. This is familiarity programming: entertainment programs that deal, as truthfully as possible, with locales, characters, and issues that are familiar to audiences.

Two early examples of familiarity programming are Hill Street Blues and Cagney and Lacey, which portray members of the police force as human beings who, like all humans, have faults and failings. The protagonists are not infallible. They do not always solve the crimes: they fail to carry out their duty as policemen at all times. The characters have personal problems to deal with, problems often affecting their work performance. Characters are often faced with moral dilemmas and, for a variety of reasons, fail to make the proper decisions. As with everyday life, these programs do not always have a happy ending. As with all

people, these fictional characters are not above reproach.

Another example of familiarity programming, Frank's Place, makes effective use of local dialects and jazz music for a relatively accurate depiction of New Orleans. Year in the Life is a program about the Gardiner family and the relationships between the members. It deals with issues that face many families: generational differences, sibling resentment, financial stability, the effect of one member's marriage on the extended family, and so on. This family, like many others, does not always resolve conflicts or deal rationally with moments of crisis. The Gardiners have to face petty jealousies, family pressures, obligations, interference, and all the negative (as well as the positive) things that come with membership in a family. Degrassi Junior High deals with life in a Toronto junior high school. The characters, students and teachers, are far from perfect. The problems and joys that accompany adolescence are dealt with honestly and openly. Students make wrong choices and succumb to peer pressure; teachers give inappropriate advice; new friendships are formed while old ones are abandoned; students realize the responsibilities as well as the freedoms that accompany adulthood. These three programs do not always end happily. In fact, they sometimes do not end at all. Characters refuse to deal with matters, leaving them

unresolved, much the same as people occasionally do in real life. The programs discussed above serve as examples of how familiarity programming can portray life as it is.

Familiarity programming seems to have found favour with viewers and critics alike. Hill Street Blues ran for seven seasons and received numerous awards for excellence. Cagney and Lacey is in its sixth year of production and has also been the recipient of much critical acclaim. Degrassi Junior High, a Canadian production, has been honored in both Canada and the United States and recently received international recognition in the form of an international Emmy award. In their first season of production, both Year in the Life and Frank's Place have received high praise, particularly from television critics. The critical acclaim received by familiarity programming, coupled with the longevity of some programs in this category suggests an audience willingness to watch. Viewers seem receptive to programs that remind them of themselves and their own lives. In spite of the popular myth of entertainment as an escape from reality, viewers - at least some viewers - enjoy entertainment programs that deal with the familiar. And, as Kenneth Pierce points out,

It is not surprising that we delight at
seeing things and people on television

that are familiar to us but usually kept off the screen. The pleasure is one of triumph: the triumph of seeing things we know and value in the public forum. ¹

The growth of familiarity programming is beneficial for the creation of the kind of entertainment programs outlined in the previous chapter. It meets the criteria: programs dealing with familiar Canadian people, places, and situations. If the appeal of familiarity programming is familiarity, it would seem logical that Canadian viewers will want to watch programs dealing with topics familiar to Canadian viewers. The success, in Canada, of American familiarity programming shows that there is an audience for this type of programming. Some Canadian viewers have shown a willingness to watch these kinds of programs - precisely the kinds of programs proposed in Chapter II. If indigenous entertainment programs were introduced into this receptive environment, the programs could benefit from current audience willingness to watch familiarity programming.

Nationalism in Recent Canadian History

The second reason that the programming changes proposed in Chapter II should be initiated immediately revolves around the present social and cultural atmosphere in

Canada. Canadian identity and sentiment, always matters of concern and debate, have become even more pertinent for contemporary Canadian society. Nationalism, as a topic, has received extensive exposure and attention in the past twenty years. Canadian society has undergone significant changes during these years, and each major change has led the residents of the nation to a deeper examination of what Canada is and what being Canadian means. The atmosphere created by this questioning of nationalism is one that is most appropriate for introducing the type of entertainment programs being proposed.

Since the hundredth anniversary of Confederation in 1967, Canadians have been faced with a series of events threatening the stability of the nation, forcing definition of the terms Canada and Canadian. From the late 1960s through most of the 1970s, separatist forces in the province of Quebec gained momentum and popularity, culminating in the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1976 and the referendum for sovereignty association in 1980. Residents of Quebec were confronted with the choice of remaining Canadian, and determining just what that means, or becoming independent. Other Canadians wrestled with the logic of the bicultural - bilingual aspect of Canadian society and examined the possible repercussions of one province separating from the

rest. The rise of separatist forces in the western provinces during the 1970s had similiar results. Some Canadians in that part of the country proposed a type of union with the United States, and Westerners were faced with the questions of what would happen if they "gave up" being Canadians. Although the separatist movement in Western Canada was not as strong as that in Quebec, western separatist groups garnered enough attention to cause some Canadians to question the definition and value of Canadian nationalism.

In the 1980s, repatriation of the Constitution (1981) and the Meech Lake Accord (1987) have also contributed to the debate on Canadian nationalism. Such documents will figure significantly in the definition of Canada and life in the nation. They will, by nature, be part of the official definitions of "Canada" and "being Canadian." Both the Constitution and the Meech Lake Accord have been criticized and defended on the basis of how well either document defines and protects the Canadian way of life - Canadian nationalism. As these events (separatism, repatriation of the Constitution, signing of the Meech Lake Accord) unfolded and received in-depth national coverage from the media, Canadians came face-to-face with the concept of nationalism and its role in the future of the country.

The events of recent Canadian history have

culminated, in the last half of the 1980s, in the debate over free trade. The proposed free trade agreement with the United States, far more than a purely economic agreement, is the source of much controversy about Canadian identity and the Canadian way of life. Decisions concerning what is to be included in the agreement and what is to be protected have been viewed as both progressive and detrimental measures for ensuring the stability of the nation. Supporters of the agreement see it as a vital step for the continued growth of Canada; detractors claim the agreement will bring Canada into a perilously close relationship with the United States, thus threatening the distinctiveness and sovereignty of Canada. The free trade issue may prove to be the impetus for the most in-depth debate on Canadian nationalism in history. As the pros and cons of the agreement are argued, Canadians will be involved in the process of deciding what is important to life in Canada and what needs special treatment in the agreement. Determining what does and what does not go into the agreement may prove to be an exercise in deciding what historical aspects of Canada should be maintained and what new elements will serve to define the Canada of the future. Is the traditional duality of language and multiplicity of culture in Canada worth preserving? Is it wise to maintain the tradition of using the federal government "to compensate for

our disabilities of geography, sparse population and vast differences"? ² Whether or not the proposed agreement is ever put into effect, the debate over free trade will provide opportunity for Canadians to clearly define the vital components of Canadian nationalism.

It is difficult for Canadians to remain unaffected by the recent attention given to nationalism. Events of the past two decades have received national media coverage. The free trade issue is discussed in national magazines, on national television, and in newspapers across the country. Whether or not they are aware of it, most Canadians are thinking about nationalism: extensive media coverage helps to ensure this.

If most Canadians are thinking about nationalism, they should represent a willing audience for the kinds of programs proposed here. These programs will be about Canadians and the way Canadians lead their lives. This type of programming will deal with the defining characteristics of Canada and its peoples - the tenets of nationalism. If viewers have already started thinking about nationalism, it is quite possible that they will be receptive to entertainment programs that deal, directly or indirectly, with the same topic. Indigenous entertainment programs may help in delineating just what nationalism means to Canadians.

Television provides a national stage on which this examination of nationalism can occur, and both information and entertainment programming can make valuable contributions to this examination. It is possible that entertainment programs will help Canadians determine just what nationalism means by portraying the multitude of elements that constitute the Canadian way of life. The time to create such programming is now. The present social and cultural atmosphere in Canada is conducive to acceptance of these programs, and the programs themselves can make a contribution to the on-going probing into Canadian nationalism.

Technological Advance

The third reason the proposed changes to Canadian television must be implemented immediately is the advance of communications technology. As the transmission and reception of television signals becomes more widespread with sophisticated technology, it will become increasingly more difficult for Canadian regulatory agencies and governments to regulate the content of television programming. The introduction of cable television in Canada has already made the percentage of available foreign programs greater than that of available Canadian programs, especially in the prime-

time hours. In an average broadcast week, seventy-four percent of programming available during prime-time is foreign, while only twenty-six percent is Canadian. ³ As other new, more sophisticated methods of transmission and reception are introduced into Canada, the amount of available foreign programming may increase substantially. Before all television screens in Canada are flooded with foreign programming, it is vital that Canadian entertainment programs be created and have time to establish an audience.

Cable television in Canada was the first technological advance to affect (negatively) the amount of available indigenous programming. Canada is one of the most heavily cabled countries in the world:

Proportionately more Canadians than residents of any other country in the world subscribe to pay television, which until recently has provided access primarily to ABC, CBS, NBC, and, in many locations, PBS from the United States. ⁴

By 1984, over eighty percent of Canadian households had cable television. ⁵ For a monthly charge, cable television allows viewers to receive a number of television stations, including American stations. As the number of available stations increases, so does the amount of American programming. The stations from the United States offer, understandably,

predominantly American fare. The number of Canadian private, independent stations also increases with the introduction of cable, but this does not necessarily increase the amount of available Canadian programming, especially during prime-time. Independent Canadian stations account for only 5.72 percent of all Canadian programming available during the prime-time hours. ⁶ Cable television offers more choice to Canadian viewers, but the choice is between different American programs, not between Canadian and American programming.

Cable television has also contributed to a decline in viewing of Canadian programs. In fact, as noted in a study paper prepared for the 1986 Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (Caplan-Sauvageau), the process "of increasing the TV options in a region, will have the effect of reducing the amount of Canadian programs viewed." ⁷ Economist Robert Babe constructed an econometric model to estimate the effect of cable television on audience size for Canadian television stations. He predicts:

...the second American channel placed on cable would cause a decline, on average, of 11 to 15 per cent in Canadian television audience share; the third would cause a further decline of 8 to 12 per cent; the fourth of 4 to 7 per cent, and so on. On the other hand, however, the addition of Canadian station has an insignificant impact upon the viewing

shares attained by all Canadian television stations in a given market.each additional Canadian station would only decrease the share of audience to U.S. stations by 3 or 4 per cent. ⁸

Babe's model is relatively accurate: in 1984, the four American networks carried on Canadian cable systems caused a 19.1 percent decline in the audience share of Canadian television stations. ⁹ Cable television has contributed to a decline in both the amount of available indigenous programming and the percentage of time spent viewing Canadian television stations.

Cable television is not the only technological advance that poses a threat to the indigenous television system in Canada. Transmission/distribution devices such as satellites, fibre optics, microwaves, and microprocessors, continually improved and up-dated, are employed increasingly more in Canadian television, resulting in even greater availability of foreign programming. "The introduction of new delivery technologies and services...fragments audiences,"¹⁰ producing much the same results as cable television. Reception technology has also increased the number of channels and amount of programming available: convertors, adapters, and satellite transmission provide Canadian viewers with a wider choice of stations and

programs, predominantly non-Canadian. As these technologies are perfected and become economically viable for more Canadians, it is not unreasonable to believe that Canadian viewers will take advantage of these services. If this occurs, it occurs at the expense of Canadian programs and Canadian stations and threatens the continued existence of both.

Canadian broadcasting regulation can only lessen, but not eliminate, the potential threat posed by progress in communications technology. Although the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) can, and does, demand a specified amount of indigenous programming from Canadian stations and networks, this same agency cannot regulate the content of foreign broadcasting systems: to do so is a violation of international law. The CRTC does have a limited mandate to sanction or restrict reception technologies used in Canada, but the Commission has set no precedents for disallowing any reception devices in Canada. Cable systems came to Canadian television supported by the argument that, since centres close to the Canada-United States border could receive American stations without the aid of cable, Canadians farther from the border must be assured "equal access" to American stations. ¹¹ The 1968 Broadcasting Act that established the CRTC also makes

reference to the desire to make available a wide choice of programming for all Canadians. This argument of equity in accessibility will quite likely be used to support the inception of new reception technologies in Canada, making it difficult for the CRTC to restrict and regulate such devices. In the wake of technological advance, broadcasting regulation may prove to be an ineffective method for protecting the Canadian television system from inundation with foreign programming.

If the programs proposed here are offered to Canadians now, the programs will have time to establish audiences and to prove their worth to Canadian viewers. The introduction of such programs could provide a defense against the onslaught of foreign programming on Canadian television. As the 1986 Task Force on Broadcasting Policy states: "The appropriate objective for public policy in the face of technological challenge from American television is to offer all Canadians compelling home-made alternatives so that they will choose to resist the foreign seduction." ¹² Any delay in creating these indigenous entertainment programs will prove costly to Canadian television. As former CRTC chairman John Meisel said in a 1981 speech titled "Five Steps to Survival,"

In the past, the electronic media, and television in particular, have contributed significantly to the loss of regional and national identities; they have been among the principal agents of decentralization and the Americanization of our climate... The currently available and newly emerging satellite, microprocessor, and fibre-optic technologies provide threatening avenues for the complete annihilation of what remains a distinct Canadian culture, of its regional and other unique components, and, in the final analysis, of an independent Canadian state. ¹³

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDE: THE KEY TO THE FUTURE

The first, and the most vital, step in making the necessary changes to Canadian television is altering the attitudes of the major participants in Canadian broadcasting: the federal government, the broadcasters (especially private broadcasters), the creators of television programming, and the viewers. Without a significant change in the attitudes of these groups, any efforts to make indigenous television more Canadian in nature will be mere hollow gestures that ring with insincerity. This chapter will be divided into four sections, each outlining the present attitude of one of the participants and suggesting what attitudinal changes would be necessary for the development of Canadian television.

Government

Since the early 1930s, the Canadian broadcasting industry has been regulated by an agency created by and responsible to the federal government, as broadcasting and its regulation falls under federal jurisdiction. In 1932, then Prime Minister R.B. Bennett laid before Parliament three

principles that have formed the basis of federal government involvement in broadcasting (originally in radio and, later, in television):

First of all, this country must be assured of complete control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interferences or influence. Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thoughts and ideals, and without such control it can never be the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened...

Secondly, no other scheme than that of public ownership can ensure to the people of this country, without regard to class or place, equal enjoyment of the benefits and pleasures of radio broadcasting...

[Thirdly] The use of the air...that lies over the soil or land of Canada is a natural resource over which we [federal government] have complete jurisdiction...I cannot think that any government would be warranted in leaving the air to private exploitation and not reserving it for development for the use of the people.¹

These principles have become fundamental components of the Canadian broadcasting system. Considered to be a natural resource, the airwaves became the responsibility of the federal government in order to make sure that the resource was managed in the public interest.

To this end, numerous federal governments have taken steps to ensure the development of a broadcasting system consistent with the principles outlined by Bennett. The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission was created in 1932, and become the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936, a publicly owned and operated broadcasting organization. In 1958, the first regulatory agency to operate independent of the CBC, the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), was created under the assumption that the federal government had jurisdiction over broadcasting regulation:

The grant of a new broadcasting licence is the temporary and conditional alienation of an important and valuable public asset which, by its very nature cannot be shared by others. Such a grant is essentially a political act. ²

With the 1968 Broadcasting act, the BBG became the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC) which, in turn, became the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in 1976.

Various federal governments have created bodies of inquiry that examined broadcasting in Canada and made recommendations for future development: the 1928 Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Aird); the 1951 Royal

Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey); the 1957 Royal Commission on Broadcasting (Fowler Commission); the 1965 Committee on Broadcasting (Fowler Committee); the 1981 Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (Applebaum-Hebert); and the 1986 Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (Caplan-Sauvageau). Most federal legislation concerning broadcasting refers to the necessity of guarding against foreign intrusion into Canadian broadcasting and maintaining a system that will, in the words of the 1970 Broadcasting Act, "safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada." ³ All these actions seem to indicate the seriousness with which successive governments have taken their responsibilities for creating and maintaining a truly Canadian broadcasting system.

Yet there have been other actions by the federal government, especially in recent years, that have hindered the development of just such a system. Many of the recommendations of the numerous bodies of inquiry have been ignored or deemed unacceptable. ⁴ The CRTC has been given broad supervisory powers over the entire broadcasting system, but these powers are undermined by an appeal process that makes Cabinet, not the CRTC, the final authority. Much attention has been given to the need for public ownership and

participation in Canadian television, but private stations and networks have been awarded broadcast licences while being allowed less Canadian programming than the CBC.⁵ The private sector of Canadian television has a questionable record in meeting its Canadian content requirements,⁶ yet licences are still renewed on a regular basis. Foreign cable television, bringing with it an increase in foreign programming and a proportionate decrease in viewing of Canadian programming, has been allowed entry into Canada. The CBC, the cornerstone of Canadian broadcasting, has faced severe budget reductions under the current federal government, making it difficult for the CBC to continue fulfilling its mandate for providing a variety of indigenous programming. As a crown corporation, the CBC is subject to changes in federal government, and the Corporation may have fallen out of political favour with the present government. As Frank Peers suggests,

As for the CBC, there is no doubt that it has lost support where it counts - politically, and the thrust of recent decisions by the CRTC has been to augment the private sector of the industry rather than to authorize additional CBC services.⁷

There is much attention paid, by the public and by

the federal government, to the dearth of indigenous programs on Canadian television, but the federal government has yet to create a framework within which these programs could be created. There seems to be a contradictory nature to the involvement of the federal government in Canadian broadcasting: the underlying principles and ultimate aims of Canadian broadcasting have been kept from full realization by some of the actions of the federal government and its agencies.

The attitude of any federal government in Canada and the individuals who make up that government must be altered. Canadian broadcasting needs a government that is willing to make a true and sustained commitment to the development and continuance of a Canadian broadcasting system, and to support the commitment with actions that will enhance, not handicap, the creation of such a system. Broadcasting is an important issue for Canada, and the governing body of this nation must recognize this importance. The federal government needs to offer more than just lip service to broadcasting when it is politically expedient to do so, something which has happened in the past. The government must be willing to take actions that will ensure a viable Canadian presence in broadcasting. The government must be committed to Canadian broadcasting, and it must be prepared to support that commitment with

actions, some of which will be outlined in the next chapter, that will make broadcasting more Canadian in nature. Without a change in attitude from this body, the potential success of any effort to make broadcasting truly Canadian will be severely hampered.

Broadcasters

The second major participant in Canadian broadcasting that must undergo an alteration in attitude is the broadcasters, especially private broadcasters. Possessors of the necessary broadcast licence, the private sector of Canadian television must change its attitude toward that licence: they must realize that a broadcasting licence is a privilege, not a right, and recognize the responsibilities that accompany possession of a licence. The private sector must realize its obligation to enhancing the development of a truly Canadian broadcasting system. Unfortunately, meeting this responsibility has not always been a priority for private broadcasters. Profit seems to be their major motivation. Herschel Hardin outlines the status quo for private broadcasters in Canada: "For as time has passed, it has become painfully clear that while the profits are endless the responsibilities of the broadcaster are virtually nil..."^a

Federal governments have always stressed the importance of the public sector in Canadian broadcasting. In 1932, R.B. Bennett outlined the vital role for government (the public sector) in Canadian broadcasting in the third of his principles for Canadian broadcasting:

The use of the air...that lies over the soil or land of Canada is a natural resource over which we [federal government] have complete jurisdiction...I cannot think that any government would be warranted in leaving the air to private exploitation and not reserving it for development for the use of the people. °

The Canadian airwaves are a natural resource, and permission to use these airwaves is a privilege, not a right: those who hold broadcasting licences have a duty to use this natural resource in the best interests of the nation and its citizens. This belief has always been a fundamental tenet of Canadian broadcasting, and the public broadcasting agency was created in an effort to ensure proper use of the airwaves. When television first appeared in Canada in the early 1950s, it was clear that the CBC was the most important participant in Canadian broadcasting. It was a

policy of government that any national broadcasting service was to be provided by the crown corporation, and that use of radio and TV channels by private

broadcasters was, at best, a privilege. Private broadcasters were on the air on sufferance, as a supplement to the national system. If they happened to make some profit from the system it was okay; but they had no inherent right to use the limited broadcast frequencies. ¹⁰

By 1952, it was obvious to the participants of Canadian broadcasting that, officially, private broadcasters were licenced in order to enhance the national broadcasting system and to complement the CBC in providing Canadians with an indigenous system. It was equally obvious that the federal government viewed the granting of a broadcast licence as a favour to the licensee that carried with it certain commitments to Canadian broadcasting and to Canadian viewers. At least in principle, these two ideas have governed involvement of the private sector in Canadian broadcasting.

For the privilege of using a public resource, private broadcasters are required to make some type of payment. In other countries, such as the United States, this payment has taken the form of substantial licence fees.¹¹ In Canada, however, a different system is employed:

licence fees to utilize the scarce radio frequencies are quite small. Rather, a regulatory board (the CRTC) has been created to seek out the most qualified

persons or groups to utilize the publicly-owned frequencies, to induce prospective licensees to undertake certain social commitments in the utilization of the frequencies, and to require, by regulation, certain conduct that differs substantially from profit-maximizing behaviour. In other words, the payments to society for permission to use society's airwaves are to be made through services rendered, as opposed to direct monetary payments. Licensees that fail to meet the minimum performance standards set out in their promises to the regulatory board and in broadcasting regulations may be disciplined in the licence renewal process.¹²

The "social commitments" and "conduct" that have been required of private television broadcasters have taken the form of Canadian content regulations. In return for using the publicly-owned airwaves, private broadcasters are required to offer a specific amount of indigenous programming. The percentage of total programming that must be Canadian is determined by the regulatory agency (the BBG and its successor, the CRTC).

Ideally, the creation of Canadian programs, or efforts to obtain Canadian programming to meet Canadian content regulations, should be a priority for private broadcasters. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case. Private broadcasters have done little to enhance the presence of Canadian programming on television. All private

stations and networks combined account for only forty-six percent of available Canadian programming in an average broadcast week, and only thirty-five percent during the prime-time hours. ¹³ American programming receives more attention from private broadcasters than does Canadian programming. Generally, American programs garner large audiences, and advertisers are willing to pay substantial amounts of money for commercial time during these programs. The greater the advertising revenue, the greater the profit for private broadcasters. The profit motive has become top priority for many private broadcasters, and Canadian programming has suffered because of this. All bodies of inquiry that have reported since the inception of private television in Canada have criticized the public sector for its poor performance in Canadian programming. Numerous books on Canadian television lament the private sector's lack of ability or desire to create Canadian programming. Records of CRTC Licence Renewal Hearings are full of references to the private sector's apparent willingness to put profit motives ahead of indigenous programming. Yet the record of private broadcasters remains relatively stable. Canadian programming, the payment for using public airwaves, seems to have been forgotten in the drive to maximize profits.

The first Canadian private television network came

into being with the licensing of CTV in 1961 ¹⁴ Only four years later, the Fowler Committee on Broadcasting spoke disparagingly of the private sector's record of broken promises made to the regulatory agency:

A promise made by a broadcaster to obtain a licence to operate a radio or television station should be an enforceable undertaking, and not a theoretical exercise in imagination or a competitive bid in an auction of unrealistic enthusiasm. Promises made should be carried out, or some good explanation given as to why they cannot be carried out. When performance is flagrantly below the level of the promises made, it should not be necessary to wait until the expiry of the licence to remedy the default...¹⁵

Despite the ambitious plans of private broadcasters offered at licence renewal hearings, the private sector does not always keep its promise(s) to air a variety of Canadian programming. Promises are often made when licences are up for renewal and seemingly forgotten shortly thereafter. At the most recent CRTC hearing for the renewal of CTV's licence in 1986, Commission Chairman Andre Bureau voiced his frustration and displeasure with the network's lack of commitment to Canadian programming. ¹⁶ CTV is not the only offender in the private sector. The Global Television Network and numerous independent stations have also failed to

live up to their commitment to Canadian programming. This failure has led some Canadians to think that a new method of payment for the use of public airwaves is necessary. One such method has been proposed by the Friends of Public Broadcasting, who suggest that "private TV stations and broadcast companies pay a hefty fee to use the airwaves. The fee would be reduced depending on how much Canadian programming is done." ¹⁷ It is clear that the view of a private broadcast licence as a privilege that must be paid for through services rendered is not as dominant in the private sector as it should be. It is also clear that some private broadcasters, despite their promises at licence renewal time, are unwilling to devote more attention to Canadian programming than is absolutely necessary.

If Canadian programming is to be a vital force in the indigenous television system, the private sector must change its attitude towards its role in broadcasting. The private sector must fulfill the purpose for which it was created: it must act as a complement to the CBC in creating a truly Canadian television system, rather than competing with the CBC for audiences and advertising revenue. Private broadcasters have an obligation to Canadian viewers to offer indigenous television fare as payment for broadcasting licences, and if this payment is not received, the Canadian

public is cheated of its rightful remuneration. Private broadcasters must realize that meeting the commitment to Canadian viewers has to take precedent over the making of profit. Only then will private broadcasters be willing to devote more time and resources to Canadian programming.

Creators

The creative personnel that are responsible for the actual production of television programs is another group that needs to undergo a change in attitude. However, of the four major participants in the Canadian television system, this group needs the least amount of attitudinal change. More than any of the others, this group has demonstrated a willingness to take actions that will make the indigenous television system more Canadian in nature. The necessary change for this group is the removal of the attitude that Canadian elements of domestic programs should be hidden as much as possible.

Canadian producers and creative personnel have shown both desire and ability to create Canadian programming, especially in the field of entertainment. The CBC offers an example. During the 1986-1987 and 1987-1988 television seasons, the CBC has devoted the majority of its Sunday

evening prime-time hours to the broadcast of Canadian entertainment programs. ¹⁸ These programs, and programs seen at other times on the CBC, demonstrate that there are Canadians who possess the talent and the willingness to produce entertainment programming. The creation of Telefilm Canada in 1984 was designed to help Canadian producers fund domestic programming. Since then, the CBC alone has generated \$200 million worth of indigenous television movies, feature films, and mini-series. ¹⁹ There is no lack of available talent in Canada, and it appears that there is no lack of willingness to use that talent in creating Canadian entertainment programs.

However, there is still a contention, held by some creators of Canadian programming, that must be changed. Some producers hold the view that, to be successful, Canadian programs must be disguised so that viewers will not know they are watching Canadian programs. Anything that might alert viewers to a Canadian origin is avoided. Programs are set in fictional locales rather than in Canadian settings. Canadian street signs and easily-recognized Canadian landmarks are disguised. Characters make no references to things Canadian. Even Night Heat, the recent Gemini Award winner for best Canadian dramatic series, has been faced with charges of hiding its "Canadianess," a fact that the producers made

reference to in their acceptance speech. 20

All this must change. Creators of Canadian programming must realize that there is no need to hide the Canadian origin of programs. Creators must come to believe that programs can still be successful without being as "un-Canadian" as possible.

Viewers

Perhaps the most important attitudinal change that is necessary for Canadian television to develop is a change in the attitude of Canadian viewers. Viewers in Canada must become receptive to indigenous programming: they must be willing to watch Canadian programs without any preconceived notions about the quality of these programs. For Canadian programs to succeed on television, viewers must be willing to judge the programs on their own merits, not in comparison with foreign programming. The idea that Canadian television is synonymous with mediocrity must be eliminated. A change in the attitude of viewers towards indigenous programming is vital and may well serve as an impetus for attitudinal changes in the other major participants in Canadian television.

Despite the efforts of some federal governments,

regulatory agencies, broadcasters, and producers in Canada, Canadian viewers have expressed a preference for foreign television programming. This preference can be seen in the amount of time spent watching foreign and domestic programming: Canadians spend approximately two-thirds of their weekly television viewing time with non-Canadian programming.²¹ In entertainment programming, Canadians have expressed an overwhelming preference for foreign programming: 91.3 percent of the time spent watching entertainment programming is devoted to viewing foreign programs.²² As Glen Robinson suggests, "the fact remains that Canadian viewers, in impudent disregard of their government's wishes, seem to prefer foreign programs, at least as far as entertainment is concerned."²³

The dominance of American television programming in Canada has affected the manner in which the quality and the success of a program is measured. Because American programs are so prevalent, they have become the norm in Canadian television: they have set the parameters within which a program can be judged. Programs are deemed "successful" or "good" on the basis of how close they resemble American programs. As Frank Peers remarks, "the unique features of the Canadian system [have not] altogether prevented the U.S. pattern from being accepted in the public mind as the

standard by which success is measured." 24

Canadian programming has suffered because of this situation. Domestic programs often present a Canadian locale, a Canadian protagonist, or a Canadian view of a particular situation. By nature, these programs will be different from American programs. Because American programs are used as the standard by which success and quality is measured, the domestic programs are likely to be judged inferior or mediocre. Indigenous programming that stresses its Canadian character will quite often be deemed mediocre strictly because it differs from the norm - American programming. Because domestic programs are perceived to be of low quality, Canadians do not watch them.

The practice of equating Canadian programming with mediocrity is a result of Canadian viewing habits. Because American entertainment programs are readily available in large quantities on both American and Canadian stations, viewers are in the habit of watching these programs. American programs become the normal daily fare, and Canadian entertainment programs represent a break with the norm: Canadian programs do not fit in with the viewing habits of most Canadians. Thus it is unlikely, and perhaps even impossible, for Canadian viewers to arrive at the conclusion that American programming is superior to Canadian after a

prolonged, in-depth comparison between the two. There is simply insufficient domestic entertainment programming with which to carry out such a comparison. If this viewing habit is changed, the negative attitude with which some viewers approach Canadian programs will also change. This attitude change is most important for Canadian television.

Viewer education is one method for changing viewing habits and viewer attitude. Viewers who possess a knowledge of how television operates and how the medium affects audiences may be more aware of which programs they watch and why. These viewers may be willing to watch and judge a program on its own merits rather than using an established measuring system. Children would be the most productive target of such education. It may be too late for adult viewers. Canadians who have grown up watching American television have developed viewing habits and formed opinions that may be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to alter. Viewer education would be most effective for children who do not, as yet, have such deeply ingrained habits or opinions. Since the medium of television is a "major force in the acculturation of children," ²⁵ and, as Tannis MacBeth Williams suggests, "television's content has the greatest potential to influence people who have not yet developed a broader framework for integrating and interpreting the kind

of information presented," ²⁶ children would be the most appropriate focus for achieving the aims of viewer education.

Regardless of the form assumed by viewer education, the goal remains the same: to teach children how television affects them. In The Impact of Television, Tannis MacBeth Williams outlines two forms of viewer education: television literacy and critical viewing skills.

Television literacy involves understanding television programming, including how it is produced and broadcast, familiarity with the formats used, ability to recognize overt and covert themes of programs and commercial messages, and appreciation of television as an art form...Most critical viewing skills curricula cover these topics, and in addition, attempt to teach children to be critical of some of the material presented on television. ²⁷

In Jolts: The Television Wasteland and the Canadian Oasis, Morris Wolfe proposes that television viewing become a classroom subject. "We've introduced sex education; more recently we've introduced the computer. Surely, television is at least as important a subject." ²⁸ Wolfe suggests that younger children learn about television by studying commercials, and that older children learn to watch television critically by examining the structure of program types - the situation comedy, the medical drama, and so on.

²⁰ Robert Walker, a Simon Fraser University professor, recently suggested that bringing artists into a classroom setting would help in teaching children the difference between quality art and "empty entertainment."³⁰ All these proposals have as their ultimate aim the education of children as to how television affects them and how they can watch television more critically.

Viewer education for Canadian children is needed badly. Canadian children need to be aware of the significant influence television wields in their lives, and they need to gain skills that will help them better understand both the direct and the latent messages of television programming. Canadian children need not be taught that Canadian programming is superior to its American counterpart: Canadian programming is neither inherently better than American nor inherently mediocre. Children in Canada do need to learn that all programs should be approached in the same manner and with no preconceived notions of quality. At the very least, viewer education will help produce viewers that are willing to give Canadian programming a fair chance, representing a marked improvement on the status quo.

An alteration of attitude in Canadian viewers may well prove to be the impetus for attitudinal change in the other major participants in Canadian television. If Canadian

viewers were equally as willing to watch both American and Canadian programs, creators of television programs would have less reason to mask the Canadian elements of their productions. With a receptive audience for Canadian programs, and therefore more revenue-generating potential, private broadcasters would have more incentive for airing an increased amount of domestic programming. A generation of Canadians well-versed in the significant role television plays in daily life may put pressure on the federal government to take a more active role in broadcasting. Members of this same generation will form the government(s) of the future, increasing the likelihood of a Canadian federal government that is truly committed to developing and maintaining an indigenous television system. A change in viewer attitude may be the key to ensuring that domestic programming is a vital aspect of the Canadian television system.

CHAPTER V

FURTHER PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

Federal Government and Agencies

At the federal level, the two agencies most actively involved in television are the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). The largest public broadcasting body (CBC) and the organization that regulates all broadcasting activity in Canada (CRTC) must alter their activities and implement certain change if an indigenous television system is to exist. For the CBC, the most vital change needed is in the method by which Parliament allocates funds to the Corporation. For the CRTC, rigid regulation and strident enforcing of that regulation by the Commission is necessary.

Since its creation in 1936, the CBC has been funded by the federal government through annual appropriations from Parliament. Through the years, this Parliamentary funding of the CBC has fluctuated. ¹ For example, shortly after the current federal government's election in 1984, it announced a

plan, since executed, to decrease funding for the CBC. ³ In 1986 - 1987, Parliament contributed \$782.7 million to the CBC's operating funds, a decrease of \$6.9 million from the previous fiscal year. Annual appropriations and unanticipated fluctuation mitigates against long-range planning. How can the CBC develop and create Canadian entertainment programming if the funding to see such a project through to completion is unstable? For the CBC to fulfill its mandate and provide a variety of indigenous programming for all Canadians, the way in which the Corporation receives funds from Parliament must be restructured.

Alternative methods for funding the CBC were investigated by the federal government in the late 1960s. While reviewing the government's White Paper on Broadcasting in 1967, the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting met with then director-general of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Sir Hugh Greene. Greene outlined the differences in how the CBC and the BBC were financed. Rather than Parliamentary appropriation, the BBC was financed "by direct levies of the listeners and viewers, in the form of licence fees established for some period ahead." ⁴ Although the Committee rejected the British idea of imposing direct levies on viewers, it did recommend that the method by which

Parliament finances the CBC be altered. It suggested that the CBC be financed on a five-year basis; this recommendation became part of the original draft of the 1968 Broadcasting Act.⁵ However, this funding strategy was eventually removed from the legislation, largely because the official opposition disagreed with long-term funding, and annual appropriations were reinstated.

The funding pattern proposed by the Parliamentary Committee would be beneficial to the development of Canadian entertainment programming. Perhaps five years is an awkward figure to work with, given that the average tenure of Canadian federal governments is four years. A funding strategy based on a four-year period may be more appropriate: an incoming-government could determine the amount of funding to be earmarked for the CBC during the life of that government. Regardless of the exact number of years used for such a funding scenario, the key is that funding would be long-range. The CBC would know from the beginning of each funding period exactly how much money the Corporation would have to operate with for the next four years. Funding would be relatively stable, and long-range plans for development, based on this stable funding, could be developed by the CBC. Programs could be carried to completion during the funding period, as money for this process could not be decreased

until the start of a new funding period.

Stability is not the only funding problem. Quantity is a concern as well. The CBC makes the largest contribution, among Canadian television stations and networks, to indigenous programming, but there is nothing in the proposed long-range funding scheme that guarantees the CBC will receive sufficient monies to maintain the level of this contribution. There is nothing to ensure that the CBC will not be subject to political manoeuvring. A newly elected government could feel some animosity toward the CBC or could believe that the Corporation does not require any substantial amount of funding. Such a government may allocate a very low amount of money for the funding period, thus hampering the ability of the CBC to continue producing and broadcasting Canadian programming.

However, any government that realizes the importance of broadcasting in Canada, any government that has undergone the attitudinal change outlined in the previous chapter, would be unlikely to put the CBC in this position. A government that realizes the contribution that the CBC makes to broadcasting in Canada should be willing to provide the Corporation with an adequate amount of money.

Recently, the CBC announced a three-year plan to increase Canadian programming, especially entertainment

programming, and to eliminate American programming during the prime-time hours. This plan includes a proposed four-hour weekly increase in domestic drama and an intention to "fulfil a 95 percent Canadian content quota in prime time." * A proposal such as this would be much easier to implement if, for the three year period, the CBC were assured of stable and adequate funding. Under the present system of annual Parliamentary appropriations, money may be available for script development and pre-production work during one fiscal year, while production funding would be unavailable in the following fiscal year. Only through stable, long-term financing will the CBC be able to continue making significant contributions to the Canadian television system.

The second broadcasting agency operating at a federal level that must undergo certain changes is the CRTC. It must take a more active role in the "Canadianization" of broadcasting. It must revise its present regulations and requirements in an effort to make indigenous programming a more potent force in Canadian television. Levels of enforcement must be improved, and the Commission must make better use of its power to penalize those who do not follow regulations. Although regulation alone will not achieve a truly Canadian television system, an effective regulatory board will help create an environment in which an indigenous

television system can flourish.

As the watchdog for Canadian content, the CRTC is responsible for defining that content. However, its definitions are inadequate. Presently, the CRTC allocates points for the number of Canadian individuals involved in a production and deems programs that have earned a specific number of points "Canadian." For the CRTC, a program is Canadian if the producer and all individuals performing producer-related functions are Canadian and if a minimum of six points is earned by Canadians performing key roles in the production, based on the following scale: director or writer - two points; leading performer, second leading performer, head of art department, director of photography, music composer, or editor - one point. ⁷ While this system may guarantee that Canadians are involved in some key aspects of a production, it does not ensure that a production is Canadian in nature.

The concept of Canadian perspective is the criterion which should be used for determining the "Canadianess" of a program. Only programs that attempt to present the Canadian perspective and take no steps to mask this fact should qualify as having Canadian content. Programs that are quite obviously made by, for, and/or about Canadians should be those deemed acceptable for fulfilling Canadian content requirements. These programs would deal with Canadians in

their daily lives or with a Canadian view of events around the world. This Canadian view or Canadian perspective need not be narrowly defined: as long as it is obvious that a program represents some Canadian's experience or some Canadian's view of the world, the program should qualify. The CRTC could then employ a simpler method of determining Canadian content. Either it is obvious to the viewer that there has been some Canadian input (creative personnel, storyline, setting, reaction to events or people elsewhere in the world) into a program and thus it is Canadian, or there is no indication that any aspect of the program is Canadian and it therefore does not qualify as Canadian content. The CRTC could create "viewing groups" in all areas of the country that reflect the diversity among Canadians from all regions. Viewing groups would consist of adult Canadians from all age, income, religious, and occupational categories. These groups would report to the CRTC on their feelings about available programming, and the CRTC could use these reports to help distinguish Canadian programming from non-Canadian programming. Such a scheme would allow for viewer input into Canadian television and would keep the definition of Canadian perspective from becoming too narrow, which it might become if the individuals who comprise the CRTC were to be the sole judges of that definition. The Commission must take steps to

expand the definition of Canadian content so that regulation can fulfill its purpose of ensuring a viable domestic presence on television.

The CRTC must also realize its responsibilities for enforcing regulations and for taking punitive actions against broadcasters who fail to comply with regulations. Since its creation in 1968, the CRTC has not been given to rigid enforcement of regulations or to taking severe actions against uncooperative broadcasters. CRTC records are full of statements made by individual Commission members deploring the performance of some broadcasters in creating and broadcasting Canadian programming. The records also show that the usual punitive action taken is to impose conditions on the renewal of these broadcasters' licences that require the licensees to devote more attention and monetary resources to Canadian programming. Often, the next time these licences are up for renewal, the same process occurs: the Commission states its displeasure with the licensees for failing to meet the imposed conditions and adds new conditions to the renewal. This seems like an endless cycle, and little, if anything, seems to be accomplished that will enhance the Canadian presence on television.

The CRTC must take drastic measures against those who fail to meet the conditions of their broadcasting licence:

the Commission must indicate to broadcasters that such a violation is serious. If, as Robert Babe suggests, "the CRTC believes itself to be more of an administrative than a judicial body,"^a then the Commission must alter its self-image. The Commission was created to judge the performance of broadcasters and to take actions to improve that performance. If a broadcaster fails to fulfill his commitment to the regulatory agency, then the Commission should impose strict conditions of licence renewal. If, by the next licence renewal hearing, the broadcaster has failed to meet these conditions, the CRTC should invoke its power to cancel the licence. Parliament should enact legislation that would allow the CRTC to impose heavy fines against broadcasters who do not meet the minimum requirements for Canadian content programming. Monies collected from these fines could then be allocated to agencies who are involved, in one way or another, in the creation of Canadian programming: Telefilm Canada, the National Film Board, the CBC. If stiff fines or revoking of a licence were potential punishments for failure to follow regulations and conditions of licence, broadcasters might take more seriously their responsibility for providing Canadian programs. Severe punitive measures would constitute a true commitment, on the part of the CRTC, to Canadian programming. Such a committed

regulatory agency would indicate to broadcasters that Canadian programming is to be taken seriously and that the responsibility for providing this programming must be met.

Private Sector

The private sector of Canadian television must begin to monetarily compensate the Canadian public for the use of a public resource, and this compensation should reflect the fact that use of this resource is a privilege. Previously, compensation has taken the form of Canadian programming required of private broadcasters. With the attitude change outlined in Chapter IV, private broadcasters will, hopefully, take this requirement seriously and devote much time and effort to creating domestic programs. However, until this change in attitude occurs on a large scale, broadcasters should be required to pay for the privilege(s) afforded them in a different manner. Until the private sector is willing to create the kind of programming required, it should be forced to help finance those who are actually producing Canadian programming. As Gerald Caplan states, "Private broadcasters already receive \$90 million annually through Government policies and they have an obligation to put some of that back into Canadian production." *

There are a number of ways in which the private sector could contribute financially to the creation of Canadian programming. In its 1986 Report, the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (Caplan-Sauvageau) recommended that two new all-Canadian services, an all-news channel and TV Canada, be created. These new services would be funded through a special levy on cable companies, representing a fee increase of \$1 a month for cable subscribers.¹⁰ The Task Force made other recommendations for the private sector, all with the aim of guaranteeing that conditions of licence "be used to ensure that private broadcasters make a greater contribution to financing Canadian programming."¹¹ Private broadcasters could be required to pay licence fees which would vary with the amount of Canadian programming: the greater the programming, the lower the fee, and vice versa. These fees would then be distributed to agencies such as the CBC, the National Film Board, or Telefilm Canada, agencies that do help to create indigenous programming. A special tax of three to five percent could be placed on the annual profits of private broadcasters, with the monies from this tax going to the same agencies mentioned above. Since private broadcasters make profit because they are allowed access to a valuable public asset, these same broadcasters should use some of this profit to compensate the public for use of this

asset. If private broadcasters will not pay for this privilege with Canadian programming, then they will have to pay with cold, hard cash.

One important reason that some private broadcasters are unwilling to devote adequate resources to Canadian programming is the cost of purchasing programs from the United States. Allan Gotlieb explains how the practice of "program purchasing" works:

U.S. producers make their programs with the intention of recovering their costs and making their profits through U.S. domestic sales. Sales to broadcasters in other countries are "gravy." As a consequence, U.S. producers sell a program in Canada for a fraction of the cost incurred in producing that program. Canadian producers, however, run into costs roughly equivalent to those encountered by their U.S. counterparts. For example, a U.S. program costing \$250,000 to produce may be sold in Canada for as little as \$25,000. Canadian producers must also spend \$250,000 to produce equivalent programming but are faced with competition from a foreign product selling for one tenth the cost of their production. The economics of this situation are self-evident. ¹²

When American producers first started selling programs in Canada, there were only two buyers - the CBC and CTV - and the buyers could set the maximum price they would be willing to pay. With the licensing of the Global Television Network

and numerous independent stations, the number of potential buyers has increased. Canadian networks and stations were now competing for the same American programs, and this competition has driven up the price of American programs substantially. ¹³ Perhaps this competition is a blessing in disguise for Canadian programming. The bidding war for American programs may drive the price of these programs closer to the cost of creating indigenous programming. If this happens, private broadcasters may decide to put money that might otherwise be spent on purchasing American programs into Canadian productions, and the problem of program purchasing will be solved.

However, there is no guarantee that private broadcasters will devote more money to Canadian programming if the price of American programs increases dramatically. Nor is there any assurance that such a price escalation will take place in the immediate future or to the extent suggested. In any case, Canadian television cannot afford to adopt a "wait and see" approach. While waiting for the price of American programs to equal the cost of producing domestic programming, nothing is being done to aid the creation of Canadian programs. Some method for ensuring that private broadcasters fulfill their obligations to Canadian programming must be established immediately, regardless of

what may happen to the price of American programs in the future.

Provincial Governments

For the development of a truly Canadian television system, provincial governments must take a more active role in broadcasting. Because broadcasting and its regulation fall under federal jurisdiction, provincial-level involvement in broadcasting has been marginal. Provincial governments in Canada are only permitted to operate educational television stations or networks, as education is a provincial responsibility. This limitation of the provinces' role in broadcasting has kept Canadian television from developing to its full potential. There are two changes that should be made in order to allow the provinces a larger role in Canadian broadcasting: provinces should be permitted to operate broadcasting agencies that offer more than strictly educational programming, and provinces should incorporate viewer education in the school curriculum.

Because broadcasting in Canada is a federal responsibility, the provinces were excluded from any involvement in this area for a number of years. As former cabinet minister C.D. Howe stated in 1946,

the government has decided that, since broadcasting is the sole responsibility of the Dominion government, broadcasting licenses shall not be issued to other governments or to corporations owned by other governments. ¹⁴

After the enactment of the 1968 Broadcasting Act, the federal government began to investigate a more active role for the provinces in broadcasting. Educational broadcasting was the answer. The provinces and the federal government agreed to a definition of educational broadcasting which stated it was programming

to provide a continuity of learning opportunity aimed at the acquisition or improvement of knowledge or the enlargement of understanding of members of the audience. ¹⁵

Three provinces now operate provincially-funded educational television systems licensed by the CRTC: the Alberta Educational Communications Corporation (ACCESS); TVOntario (TVO); and Radio-Quebec. ¹⁶ In British Columbia, the Knowledge Network acts as an educational network, although it has no production facilities and is not licensed by the CRTC. ¹⁷ Other provinces are also developing plans for educational television broadcasting.

The limitations on provincial involvement in Canadian broadcasting should be eliminated. Provinces should be allowed to create government-funded broadcasting corporations that are permitted to provide a variety of programming, not just educational programming. The provincial agencies could be operated in a manner similar to the CBC at the national level, or they could be established as non-profit organizations. These agencies should be funded by provincial governments for four- or five-year periods, and they should operate on the same arm's length principle as the CBC to avoid, as much as possible, political interference. Provincial broadcasting agencies would be licensed by the CRTC, and the regulatory agency could require, as a condition of granting the licence, that a substantial proportion (perhaps eighty to eighty-five percent) of programming be Canadian. Following the example of West German television, where the broadcasting corporation of each lander (the German equivalent of the Canadian province) supplies programming to corporations in other parts of the country, ¹⁸ programming from one provincial agency could be shared with agencies in other provinces.

The establishment of provincial broadcasting agencies would be extremely beneficial for Canadian television. These agencies could produce all types of programming - including

entertainment - that would reflect life in the individual provinces. The residents of each province would have a vehicle for telling their stories and for examining the way of life in that province. The provincial broadcasting agencies would serve as a platform on which each region and its people could display its distinguishing characteristics. The concept of inter-provincial program sharing would allow viewers in all provinces to see how other Canadians live and would aid viewers in understanding the contributions of each region to Canadian nationalism. Program sharing may also help keep expenditures at a reasonable level for each provincial broadcasting corporation. A high Canadian content quota would help ensure the presence of more domestic programming on television, and the removal of programming restrictions would increase the possibility that some of this domestic programming would be entertainment. The federal government would not have to relinquish its power over broadcasting in Canada, as the provincial agencies would be licensed by the federally-operated CRTC and would have to comply with the Commission's regulations. Establishing provincial broadcasting agencies would increase the likelihood that the entertainment programs proposed in this paper would be created, which would, in turn, make nationalism a vital aspect of Canadian entertainment

programming.

The second provincial-level change that must occur if an indigenous television system is to exist is the introduction of viewer education into the educational system of each province. Such education may be the key to developing and maintaining a television system in which Canadian entertainment programming is a vital aspect. Since education falls under provincial jurisdiction, each province must take the responsibility for designing a method of bringing viewer education into the classroom. Provinces could either incorporate viewer education into an already existing subject area (social studies, for instance), or they could make television viewing a subject to be taught separately. Instruction should begin in grade school and continue through to the last year of secondary school, and students should be required to study television viewing, in whatever form it takes, each year they attend classes.

CHAPTER VI

REPERCUSSIONS AND POSSIBLE DRAWBACKS

Implementing changes to Canadian television will not be a simple process. It could quite likely result in charges of a television system rife with elements that make it unsuitable to a democratic society. The possible negative reaction to such change must be addressed, and the derogatory labels that may be attached to these modifications must be proved inaccurate. This chapter will examine some of the possible repercussions of changing Canadian television. The first section will deal with government involvement in broadcasting and the label of "propaganda" that may be attached to increased involvement. Regulation and the charge of "censorship" that may possibly be made if regulation becomes more rigid will be dealt with in the second section. The third section will examine the problem of financing and the view that such alterations are too expensive to initiate. This chapter will attempt to illustrate that propaganda, censorship, and lack of finances do not have to be the results of restructuring the Canadian television system.

Government Involvement and Propaganda

Many of the changes proposed in this paper depend on the increased involvement of governments, especially the federal government, in Canadian broadcasting. It is possible that opponents to these initiatives could charge that such government involvement will be excessive, that it would be unsuitable for the broadcasting system of a democratic society, and thus constitute propaganda. It could be argued that a more active role for governments in broadcasting would mean governmental control of a vital means of communication in Canada. If the government controlled broadcasting, it could control what information Canadians receive: it could use broadcasting to further its own purposes while simultaneously restricting Canadians' access to anything that might prove detrimental to the government. However, government control and propaganda will not be a result of the changes proposed here. In fact, increased government involvement may be a method for ensuring that Canadian broadcasting does not become an instrument of propaganda for any one agency or group.

The first, and perhaps the most important, factor that will keep governments from complete control of broadcasting is the body of laws and legislation that govern

the nation of Canada. Canada is a democratic nation and the governments are, therefore, instruments of the people. Governments are elected by a majority of citizens, and if a government is unpopular it is unlikely that this government will receive the necessary support from voters. Any government that moves to exercise control over the Canadian broadcasting system will eventually have to face the voting public. It is the voters who bestow authority on governments, and a government that uses the broadcasting system as an instrument of propaganda risks its popularity with and support from the voters. It is unlikely that such a government would be given a mandate for ruling the country for a second term. Actions that would centralize all power over broadcasting in a single governmental body could be challenged in the courts, since even governments are not above the law in Canada. Because governments in this country are sanctioned by the voters and must act within the parameters of the law, the possibility that any government would attempt to exercise complete control over broadcasting is minute.

Federal government involvement in broadcasting is consistent with Canadian history. Much more so than its neighbour to the south, Canada is a nation that has traditionally experienced significant government activity in

areas vital to the survival of the nation, areas such as transportation and resource development. As John Meisel says,

Canadians have consistently seen fit to use the state positively as an instrument for common purposes to a much larger extent than the United States. Our use of public enterprises spans a long period, from the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the establishment of public electrical utilities, the founding of Trans-Canada Airlines, to the formation of Petro-Canada. ¹

It is unlikely that Canadians would have allowed so much government involvement in important spheres of national life if government was seen as a body not to be trusted. Canadians have always used government as an equalization agent, as a way of ensuring that all citizens have equal opportunities and access to resources.

The involvement of the Canadian federal government in television broadcasting, then, is logical. As television has become one of the most important modes of communication in twentieth-century Canada, the federal government has a role to play in maintaining a television system for all Canadians. This role, far from leading to propaganda and excessive governmental control, represents the traditional Canadian response to ensuring development in a significant aspect of

national life.

Government activity in broadcasting may be the most effective means for meeting the goals of Canadian broadcasting. From the first official examination of broadcasting in 1929, the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Aird), through to the present, the goals of Canadian broadcasting have been relatively stable: to develop a system in which the airwaves are owned by the public and administered to by the federal government in trust, in which services are extended to all Canadians, and in which programming is primarily Canadian. ² Whether in the form of legislation or regulation, Canadian broadcasting policy has been aimed at developing such a system. For Canadian broadcasting, as Mark Freiman suggests,

both theory and historical experience seem to indicate that by far the most practical and most likely means to achieve the valid goals of broadcasting regulation is through independent public national broadcasting systems that are generously funded and that are therefore truly independent, truly public, and truly national. ³

Rather than representing excessive government involvement in broadcasting, a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) that is sufficiently funded on a long-term basis may be the key to

achieving the goals of Canadian broadcasting.

A federal government that is actively involved in the broadcasting system of Canada may help ensure that the system does not become an instrument of propaganda for anyone. As Freiman notes,

a monopoly by one broadcaster or one type of broadcasting is as offensive to democratic notions as arbitrary censorship. The functional ideal behind freedom of information in an international context is not of a free flow, but of a free and balanced flow...⁴

Because of the proliferation of American programs on Canadian television, it could be argued that programming from the United States holds a monopoly in Canada. This type of programming is indisputably more multitudinous than its Canadian counterpart, and, as we saw in Chapter III, the apparent monopoly of American programming becomes increasingly stable as technology advances. Government involvement in television, in the form of a CBC adequately financed in order to produce Canadian programming, would represent the "balance" in the flow of information discussed by Freiman. Canadian programming would provide an alternative to American programming and would balance the information available to Canadian viewers. In this manner,

government activity would hinder the development of monopolies in Canadian television, and would thus limit the possibility of the broadcasting system becoming a vehicle for propaganda.

Regulation and Censorship

Many of the changes proposed here are based on rigid regulations for television broadcasting and equally rigid enforcement of regulations by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). It is possible that this kind of regulation would be seen by some Canadians as censorship. Because regulation would deal with the amount of Canadian and foreign programming available on Canadian television screens, opponents may say that such regulation constitutes censorship as it determines what viewers may and may not see. Like the concept of government propaganda, censorship is thought by many to be contradictory to the goals of a democratic nation; therefore, censorship, in whatever form it takes, has no place in Canadian society. However, the broadcasting regulation proposed here does not have to represent censorship and may, in fact, prove to be beneficial to Canadian society by acting as a deterrent to censorship.

Returning to Freiman's ideas on monopoly and the free flow of information helps to show how broadcasting regulation does not constitute censorship. As he states,

The functional ideal behind freedom of information in an international context is not of a free flow, but of a free and balanced flow, and to that end even significant restrictions on incoming programming can be justified as long as they are made in a regulatory context designed to prevent monopoly, preserve balance, and maximize authentic choice. ⁶

Regulations designed to ensure that indigenous programming is present in Canadian television fit Freiman's definition of acceptable regulation perfectly. Guaranteeing that Canadian viewers are offered domestic programs helps to lessen the monopoly held by American programs in Canadian television. If Canadian programs are available to viewers, then viewers will have a true choice between Canadian and American programming, not just between various American programs, the present situation. If censorship is defined as the restriction of available information, then the proposed regulation would have the effect of lessening the presence of censorship in Canadian television. If television screens are flooded with American programs, viewers' access to Canadian programs, and the information contained in these programs, is

restricted. Thus the dominance of American programming in Canadian television constitutes a form of censorship. Regulations designed to ensure an indigenous presence on Canadian television would help to eliminate this situation.

The regulation proposed here is similar to other limitations placed on activity in Canadian society, limitations designed to protect Canadians from potential danger. There are restrictions in all aspects of Canadian life: individuals involved in commerce must conduct their affairs in a manner that will not harm consumers; teachers must follow specified guidelines when educating children; health professionals are limited in actions they can take to cure an ill patient; drivers must abide by a particular set of rules when operating a motor vehicle. All these restrictions or limitations are designed to make certain that Canadians are faced with as few potentially harmful situations as possible.

Broadcasting regulation is created with the same goal as these other restrictions. Regulations concerning Canadian content strive to decrease the harmful effects of a television system dominated by foreign influences. Such a television system is potentially dangerous for Canadians' sense of nationalism, their understanding of their nation, and their feeling as a national people. The proposed

regulations should be viewed as a safety mechanism and should be endowed with the same gravity as the restrictions listed above. As Dore Schary states,

The public is amazingly complacent about the media's trying out all sorts of strategies that might drastically affect the quality of social life without demanding to know what the effect might be. A pharmaceutical house cannot release a new drug on the market without first subjecting it to rigorous tests; yet the public evidently finds social illness far less threatening than physical illness, or it feels that social ills are just too big and too complex to be dealt with rationally. Until public pressure mounts, the media may continue to plead innocent until proven guilty. ⁶

The "social ills" that broadcasting regulation is designed to avoid can be as debilitating as physical illness, and regulation in the social sphere is as important as regulation in any other. The proposed regulations are protective measures, and their existence is vital to the total health of Canadians.

Financing the Proposals

Implementing the proposed changes to Canadian television will have to involve some financial readjustment

of the broadcasting system. Opponents of the changes may make claims that altering the television system would be too costly and that the changes would be economically unsound. Yet many of the proposals made in this paper involve more of a redirection of existing funds than an injection of new monies into the television system. Other proposals that do require an increase in funding for Canadian television may be expensive, but the alternatives will, in the long run, prove much more costly, both economically and socially. The expenses must be met if Canadian broadcasting is to fulfill its goals.

A number of the changes proposed in this paper could be financed with monies from within the television system itself. The proposals for a three to five percent tax on private broadcasters and for financial penalties for broadcasters that fail to meet conditions of licence are examples. Funds collected from taxes and fines are already at work in Canadian television. These funds would simply be redirected to agencies that would create indigenous entertainment programming. For example, the CBC's plan for offering a ninety-five percent Canadian schedule during prime-time would be financed largely with existing monies: the \$20 million spent annually for purchasing American programming would be spent on Canadian productions. 7

Some Canadians may take exception to the taxes and fines levied on private broadcasters, feeling it is unfair that the private sector should help finance the public, government-owned sector. Yet this practice of taxing the private sector to finance the activity of government-owned agencies occurs quite often in Canada. Privately-owned oil companies pay taxes to the government, and part of these taxes help to finance the crown corporation Petro Canada. Airlines pay business taxes and, again, part of this money is used in the operation of another crown corporation, Air Canada. Taxing the private sector as a method of collecting funds for government-owned agencies is not a new activity, and its introduction to the Canadian broadcasting system is no more unpalatable than use of the same method in other spheres of activity. If the practice is acceptable in the resource and transportation fields, it is equally acceptable in the field of broadcasting.

Getting the provinces more actively involved in television would require a substantial increase in funds devoted to broadcasting in Canada. However, if provinces are willing to take a more active role in broadcasting, then they must also be willing to accept the responsibility of financing that role. Provincial broadcasting agencies represent an opportunity for the provinces to make

substantial contributions to national life and give the provinces increased national exposure through program sharing. Although establishing and operating these agencies would represent an expense for the provinces, the expense would be justified by the beneficial aspects of provincial broadcasting. If the expense provides the provinces with positive results, provincial governments should be willing to incur the costs. Provincial governments exist, in part, to provide benefits to the residents of the province and to help the province develop to its fullest capacity, and provincial broadcasting agencies would aid greatly in this provincial development.

Other changes proposed here, such as increased funding for the CBC and the introduction of viewer education into the school system, would cost money. However, changes like this must be examined in terms of total costs and benefits. If the CBC is not adequately financed, the largest source of indigenous programming is threatened. If domestic programs decrease in number, the goals of Canadian broadcasting are not met, and Canadians are cheated of the chance to enjoy the social benefits of this programming. On a strictly economic scale, as less money goes into indigenous programming it is quite possible that this money will be used to purchase American programs. The Canadian television

system then becomes a vehicle for funneling money to the United States. The economic and social costs of not incurring the expense of substantial funding for the CBC are much too high to pay. Canadians would benefit much more in the long run if a source of Canadian programming was maintained.

A similar situation exists for viewer education. If children do not have the opportunity to develop viewing patterns based on knowledge and not on habit, then another generation of Canadians may grow up preferring American programming simply because it is far more available than Canadian. The same drain of Canadian monies to the United States as discussed above would be the result. Socially, failure to introduce viewer education would mean that a potent force in daily life - television - is being ignored by the educational system. If education is aimed at helping students better understand their world and preparing them for a future in that world, then it is only logical to include television as part of that education. If students are aware of how television operates and the impact it has on individual lives, then these students are better prepared to live in a world in which television is such an influential force.

Viewer education, and, in fact, any changes to

Canadian television that require substantial funds to be devoted to the television system, must be approached in a manner that will look not only at immediate costs and benefits, but at long-term as well. Changes to Canadian television will cost money, but the beneficial results of these changes will be more than adequate justification for the expenses that will have to be met.

CONCLUSION

On May 9, 1961, Newton N. Minow, then chairman of the American broadcasting regulatory agency, the Federal Communications Commission, delivered a speech to the National Association of Broadcasters. He suggested that the broadcasters watch their television stations from sign-on to sign-off. Using a reference to a famous T.S. Eliot poem, Minow predicted the broadcasters would not be pleased with what they saw: "I assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland." ¹ Minow's statement referred to the lack of quality programming he perceived on American television. More than a quarter of a century later and in a different nation, Minow's idea is still applicable. The Canadian television system can be described as a "vast wasteland," not so much a wasteland void of quality programming as a system severely lacking in indigenous entertainment programming.

In order to reverse Canadian television's status as a vast wasteland, it is vital that nationalism become an unavoidable aspect of entertainment programming. Canadian television needs entertainment programs that deal with Canadian nationalism: programs made by, for, and, most

importantly, about Canadians. If the amount of domestic entertainment programs does not increase, Canadian television will remain nothing more than a vehicle for the transmission of foreign programs. If nationalism is not a significant part of entertainment programs, indigenous programming will become a pale imitation of foreign programming. Producing entertainment programs that deal with Canadian nationalism is the only way to ensure a Canadian presence in the television system of this nation.

A plan for rectifying the current situation in Canadian television has been presented in this thesis. The proposed changes, or actions with similar goals, are urgently needed. With the status quo in Canadian television called a "national scandal," ² it is imperative that steps be taken to improve the current situation as soon as possible. Any delay in making nationalistic entertainment programs a vital force in Canadian television perpetuates the dangerous status quo, and the longer the delay, the more damage that is done to the indigenous television system.

Canadians can no longer afford to sit by passively as the influential medium of television is dominated by foreign influences. Canadian television must become a vehicle for Canadians to examine their lives as individuals and as a national people. A television system dominated by foreign

programming represents a threat to national security, and this threat must be eliminated immediately. It is time for Canadian television to become what it has supposed to have been for the past thirty years: a television system that speaks to and for the citizens of the nation through a variety of indigenous programming. It is time for Canadian television to be Canadian.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. Mark J. Freiman, "Consumer Sovereignty and National Sovereignty in Domestic and International Broadcasting Regulation," Cultures in Collision, Canadian - U.S. Conference on Communications Policy (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984), p. 110.

2. Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, Policy Statement on Canadian Content in Television, CRTC Public Notice 1983 - 18 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Service, 1983), p. 63.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1. Keith Spicer, "How to Feel Canadian," The Province [Vancouver], 17 September 1987, p. 37.
2. Although the statistics quoted in this chapter are for the year 1984, they are indicative of any year in recent Canadian television history. Harrison, Young, Pesonen and Newell Inc., Canadian TV Viewing Habits, study prepared for the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (Caplan-Sauvageau), Ottawa, January 17, 1986, p. 20
3. Canada, Task Force on Broadcasting Policy (Caplan-Sauvageau) Report (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1986), p. 85
4. Michael Novak, "Television Shapes The Soul," Television as a Social Force, eds. Richard Adler and Douglass Cater (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 15
5. Paula S. Fass, "Television as a Cultural Document: Promises and Problems," Television as a Cultural Force, eds. Richard Adler and Douglass Cater (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), p. 55
6. Novak, Social Force, p. 13
7. Robert Rutherford Smith, Beyond The Wasteland: The Criticism of Broadcasting (Falls Church, Virginia: Speech Communication Association, 1976), p. 14
8. Examination of the list of top programs from any television season will reveal the dominance of entertainment programming. Sources such as Nielson Ratings, TV Guide, or any television critic's top-ten list will verify this.
9. Kas Kalba, "The Electronic Community: A New Environment For Television Viewers and Critics," Social Force, p. 154.
10. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 91.
11. Ibid.

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12. Ibid., p. 93.
13. Ibid., p. 95.
14. Ibid., p. 101.
15. Ibid., pp. 95-97.
16. Donna Woolfolk Cross, Mediaspeak (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1983), p. 93.
17. Herbert Schiller, The Mind Managers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), p. 1.
18. Cross, Mediaspeak, pp. 95-96.
19. Frank W. Peers, "Canada and the United States: Comparative Origins and Approaches to Broadcast Policy," Cultures in Collision, p. 31.
20. Freiman, Cultures in Collision, p. 110.

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1. Tannis MacBeth Williams, ed., The Impact of Television (London: Academic Press, Inc., 1986), p. 407.
2. Peers, Cultures in Collision, p. 15
3. Fass, Cultural Force, p. 37.
4. Cross, Mediaspeak, p. 25.
5. John Berger et al. provide an excellent account of the truthfulness and the power of the visual image in Wayes of Seeing (London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1972).
6. Fass, Cultural Force, p. 44.
7. Roy Larson quoted in Cross, Mediaspeak, p. 120.
8. Gerald M. Craig, The United States and Canada (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 301.
9. A thorough discussion of the tenets of continentalism can be found in Michael A. Goldberg and John Mercer, The Myth of the North American City: Continentalism Challenged (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).
10. Numerous books and articles dealing with the history of North America/Canada/the United States make references to the "New World" ideology and the popularity it has enjoyed in both nations throughout history. For a detailed discussion of this matter see Craig, The United States and Canada, and Allan Smith, "The Continental Dimension in the Evolution of the English-Canadian Mind," International Journal XXXI (Summer, 1976): 442-469.
11. Canada, Department of Justice, A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts 1867-1982 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983), p. 29.

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12. William MacDonald, ed., Select Documents of United States History 1776-1861 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 2.
13. Peers, Cultures in Collision, pp. 11-12.
14. Canada, Parliament, Broadcasting Act, R.S.C. 1970, c.B-11, s.3(a), 3(b).
15. Spicer, The Province [Vancouver], p. 37.
16. Freiman, Cultures in Collision, pp. 116-117.
17. Jerry Mander, Four Arguments For The Elimination of Television (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1978), p. 325.
18. Canadian Radio-Television Commission, Annual Report 1971-72 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972), p. 21.

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Chapter III

1. Kenneth M. Pierce, "The Bunkers, The Critics and The News," Cultural Force, p. 74.
2. Canada, Royal Commission on Broadcasting (Fowler) Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1957), p. 9.
3. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 101.
4. Although it is referred to as pay television in Williams, Impact, p. 424, access to the three major American networks and PBS constitutes what is commonly referred to as cable television, a definition of cable that is consistent with that of the CRTC. Pay television refers to a group of specialty stations that must be purchased as a package for a higher monthly fee than the fee for basic cable service.
5. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 83.
6. Ibid., p. 101.
7. Harrison, Young, Pesonen and Newell Inc., Canadian TV Viewing Habits, p. 106.
8. Robert E. Babe, Canadian Television Broadcasting Structure, Performance and Regulation: A Study Prepared for the Economic Council of Canada (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1979), p. 62.
9. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 104.
10. Ibid., p. 70.
11. CRTC records of Licence Renewal Hearings and Public Hearings for the licencing of most cable systems in Canada make numerous references to this concept of equal access for all. Hersche/Hardin also provides a telling account of the power of this concept in Closed Circuits (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1985).
12. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 76.
13. Peers, Cultures in Collision, pp. 27-28.

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Chapter IV

1. Canada, Parliament, Debates of the House of Commons, vol. III (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1932), pp. 3035-3036.
2. Canada, Committee on Broadcasting (Fowler) Report (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965), p. 102.
3. Canada, Parliament, Broadcasting Act, R.S.C. 1970, c.B-11, s.3(a), 3(b).
4. The most recent Task Force (Caplan-Sauvageau) can serve as an example. Approximately one and one-half years after publication of the Task Force's Report, the federal government is still studying the possibility of acting on some of the recommendations. It appears unlikely that any changes in broadcasting will occur before the next federal election. Should the present government be returned to office, there will have been a long interruption in the process of determining potential changes for Canadian broadcasting. Should another political party take office, and possibly bring with it a new philosophy of broadcasting, the process may have to begin anew. All of these delays make it unlikely that any changes proposed by the Task Force will occur in the near future, if at all.
5. Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, Proposed Regulations Respecting Television Broadcasting, CRTC Public Notice 1986-176 (Ottawa: CRTC, 1986), pp. 4-5.
6. References that can be consulted for information on private sector performance in this area include CRTC records of Licence Renewal Hearings and Chapter 5 of the Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report.
7. Peers, Cultures in Collision, p. 28.
8. Ibid.
9. Canada, Parliament, Debates of the House of Commons, p. 3036.

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10. Warner Troyer, The Sound and The Fury (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons Canada Limited, 1980), p. 167.
11. Babe, Canadian Television Broadcasting, p. 32.
12. Ibid.
13. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 101.
14. Troyer, Sound and Fury, p. 187.
15. Fowler Committee Report, p. 107.
16. "CTV to Air More Canadian Drama," The Globe and Mail, 19 November 1986, Sec.A, pp. 1-2.
17. "MacDonald Hints at TV Licence Fee," The Vancouver Sun, 23 September 1987, sec.D, p. 7.
18. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Annual Report 1986-1987 (Ottawa: CBC, 1987), p. 11.
19. Ibid.
20. CBC, "Gemini Awards," 9 December 1987.
21. Harrison, Young, Pesonen and Newell Inc., Canadian TV Viewing Habits, p. 105.
22. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 96.
23. Glen O. Robinson, "Comment," Cultures in Collision, p. 126.
24. Peers, Cultures in Collision, p. 29.
25. Novak, Social Force, p. 25.
26. Williams, ed., Impact, p. 409.
27. Ibid., p. 418.
28. Morris Wolfe, Jolts: The TV Wasteland and the Canadian Oasis (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1985), p. 137.

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29. Ibid., p. 138.

30. "Teaching Kids the Art of Telling Quality From Trash," The Vancouver Sun, 9 October 1987, sec.C, p. 6.

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29. Ibid., p. 138.

30. "Teaching Kids the Art of Telling Quality From Trash," The Vancouver Sun, 9 October 1987, sec.C, p. 6.

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1. The Annual Reports of the CBC contain figures on Parliamentary appropriations for any given year, and examination of these reports shows how funding fluctuates.
2. See CBC Annual Reports from 1985/86 to 1986/87.
3. CBC, Annual Report 1986-1987, p. 36.
4. Frank W. Peers, The Public Eye (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 377.
5. Ibid., p. 404.
6. "CBC Plan Greeted With Caution," The Vancouver Sun, 15 October 1987, sec.E, pp. 1,3.
7. Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, Recognition for Canadian Programs, CRTC Public Notice 1984-94 (Ottawa: CRTC, 1984), p. 2.
8. Babe, Canadian Television Broadcasting, p. 38.
9. "Boost Canadian Content, Task Force Recommends," The Globe and Mail, 23 September 1986, sec.A, p. 3.
10. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 673.
11. Ibid., p. 672.
12. Allan E. Gottlieb, "Words and Space: Culture and Communications in the 1980s," Cultures in Collision, p. 3.
13. Joyce Nelson, "Global Pillage: The Economics of Commercial Television," Love and Money: The Politics of Culture, ed. David Helwig (Toronto: Oberon Press, 1980), pp. 21-24.
14. Canada, Parliament, Debates of the House of Commons, vol. II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947), p. 1167.
15. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, p. 338.

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16. Ibid., pp. 338-339.
17. Ibid., p. 339.
18. Hardin, Closed Circuits, p. 112.

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Chapter VI

1. John Meisel, "An Audible Squeak: Broadcast Regulation in Canada," Cultures in Collision, pp. 133-134.
2. Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force Report, pp. 8-9.
3. Freiman, Cultures in Collision, p. 117.
4. Ibid., p. 116.
5. Ibid.
6. Benjamin DeMott, "The Viewer's Experience: Notes on TV Criticism and Public Health," Social Force, p. 57.
7. "CBC Plan Greeted With Caution," The Vancouver Sun, 15 October 1987, sec.E, pp. 1,3.

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1. Smith, Beyond the Wasteland, p. 95.
2. "Film-TV Lobby to Take on Ottawa," The Vancouver Sun, 23 October 1987, sec.C, p. 8.

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