

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL RADIO EDUCATION IN CANADA 1929-1949

by

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ABSTRACT

Radio broadcasting, from its inception, was recognized as a medium with educational possibilities. The decision of the Privy Council in 1931 to vest control of broadcasting in the federal government, therefore, invited Dominion participation in radio education. With the establishment of the CBC, and the implication that it was to develop radio's educational potential, the possibility of having national radio education became more real.

National radio education developed in response to four general forces. First, as the depression closed, the CBC was able to stabilize its financial situation, evolve a policy on controversial programming, establish co-operative relations with certain voluntary educational associations, and sponsor a national investigation into school broadcasting. Second, the arrival of the Second World War created a fervent nationalistic feeling and provided the conditions for an increase in the power of the federal government. The result was an interventionist-nationalist policy, on the part of the Dominion Government, which found cultural expression in national radio education schemes, such as "Young Canada Listens" and "Farm Radio Forum."

The third force involved in the development of na-

tional radio education was related to a general programme shift in Canadian broadcasting from light entertainment to a more serious fare. Besides the use of more abstract content, this programme shift was characterized by the creation of radio programmes to suit specific audience groups, various attempts to overcome the passivity of the radio audience and the use of the radio as a medium for artistic and creative expression. The growth of national radio education in the early 1940's both reflected this general programme shift and provided another channel within which it could be conveyed.

Finally, national radio education developed because of a desire, on the part of provincial educational authorities, to co-operate with a federal agency, the CBC, in the production of educational broadcasts. This desire to co-operate stemmed, in part, from a renewed sense of confidence in the national broadcasting authority and a wish to secure the educational benefits presented by the radio.

Co-operation was achieved eventually on three levels of radio education - inter-provincial, Dominion-Provincial and international. The fruits of such co-operation in educational broadcasting were programmes, such as "Young Canada Listens," "Kindergarten of the Air," "National Farm Radio Forum," "Sports College" and "National Citizen's Forum."

The CBC emerged from the 1940's as a national clearing house for Canadian education. Through its radio broadcasts, publications, and co-operative relations with provincial and voluntary educational organizations, the Corporation helped to provide Canadians with a national educational experience. The CBC also provided the Canadian Government with a useful instrument in international radio education affairs.

Radio's role in education also became firmly established in the 1940's. Broadcasting functioned as an educational aid and was to be integrated into the traditional learning situation. No new methodology or philosophy accompanied the radio into the classroom. True to an early prophecy, the radio had expanded the range of possible experiences available to the learner, but that was where its educational influence terminated.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND OF NATIONAL RADIO EDUCATION

1928 - 1931

The radio, unlike the press, has usually been weighted with a responsibility for public service.¹ Individuals such as Lord Reith in Britain, David Sarnoff in America and Sir Henry Thornton in Canada, all of whom were actively involved in radio during its infant stage, were in agreement that the new medium of communication should serve the public in some way.² One approach to carrying out this public service function was to utilize the radio as an instrument of education.

Very early in the development of broadcasting, Canadians investigated the possibilities of employing the radio for educational purposes. Dr. Henry Munro, Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia, was one of the first educators to experiment with radio in the schools. He agreed with the conclusions of a group of educators in Kent, England, that the proper role of the radio in the classroom was "to provide imaginary experiences for the children on which their own teachers may profitably build."³

In 1928, Dr. Munro inaugurated a regular series of school broadcasts for the Province of Nova Scotia. These programmes centered mostly around musical and dramatic pre-

sentations.⁴ There was little in the way of a deliberate attempt to construct well-planned "radio lessons". Nova Scotia was followed closely in the use of the radio for educational purposes by British Columbia and Alberta.⁵ Until well into the thirties, the rest of the provinces were hesitant about venturing into any formal radio education schemes.

The early experimenters in radio education hoped to derive three major benefits from the use of the new medium. First, broadcasting was seen as a means of overcoming the geographical barriers of distance and terrain. Thus, rural areas could gain the advantages of expert opinion, and high quality forms of entertainment which were usually restricted to urban areas. Second, radio was viewed as an economical way of disseminating information and knowledge. Third, radio was considered to be another instrument of "progressive education" which would help to widen the breadth and scope of a child's experiences.

Many other groups besides the educational community displayed an interest in the fortunes of radio broadcasting. Manufacturers envisioned rising sales from the production of radios, religious groups hoped to use the medium in evangelism and social reform, advertisers recognized that the ability of broadcasting to tap the listener's imagination could be turned to commercial account, and certain

public-spirited Canadians hoped to use the medium as an instrument for the stimulation of nationalistic feeling.⁶ In addition to the confusion caused by competition in the use of radio, Canadians had to face the problems associated with an increased penetration of Canada by American radio stations.⁷

As a reaction to an increasingly more chaotic broadcasting situation, in 1928, the Dominion Government appointed a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Aird, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, to "enquire into the broadcasting situation in the Dominion of Canada and to make recommendations to the Government as to the future administration, management, control and financing thereof".⁸ The Commission held conferences with the authorities of the nine Canadian provinces and all promised their assistance in the organization of broadcasting. The Province of Quebec, however, while agreeing to "collaborate as fully as possible," declared its firm intention "not to waive its rights of jurisdiction, which have been granted to it by the British North America Act and this in so far as radio broadcasting is concerned."⁹

The Aird Commission established what it considered to be the three major functions of Canadian broadcasting. First, the radio was to be used as an "instrument of education...in the broad sense."¹⁰ Second, it was to offer a

means of "providing entertainment" and third, to operate as a "great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting a national citizenship."¹¹ The degree to which the educational, entertainment and nationalistic aims of Canadian radio were fulfilled would, the Commissioners felt, provide a working basis for an evaluation of whether or not the medium was being "operated on the basis of public service."¹²

The major recommendation submitted by the Aird Commission was that, in the "national interest," radio broadcasting had to come under "some form of public ownership, operation and control behind which is the national power and prestige of the whole public of the Dominion of Canada."¹³ The type of broadcasting organization suggested by the Commission was a national company which would be "vested with the full power and authority of private enterprise, its status and duties corresponding to those of a public utility."¹⁴ The recommendations of the Aird Report formed the basis of the debate over the issue of public control of radio during the thirties and also provided a certain ideological support for later policy statements and criticisms of broadcasting.

The Aird Report did not spark an immediate legislative reaction from the Government of Mackenzie King. It was, however, referred for study to the Parliamentary Committee

on Broadcasting under the chairmanship of J.L. Isley.

During the interlude between the submission of the Aird Report and the publication of the findings of the Parliamentary Committee, an organization was formed which was to have a strong influence upon the direction that Canadian broadcasting would follow. This organization was known as the Canadian Radio League.

The Canadian Radio League was a pressure group which devoted itself to securing the implementation of the "principle underlying the Aird Report, i.e., radio as a public service rather than as an advertising medium."¹⁵ The membership of the League, especially its founders, reflected a youthful, nationalistic spirit which had been born in the twenties.¹⁶ The chairman of the League was Graham Spry and the secretary was Alan Plaunt.¹⁷

The League established a series of regional committees to help publicize its aims and gain support for the Aird Report. The various provincial representatives included A.E. "Dal" Grauer in British Columbia, Norman Smith and E.A. Corbett in Alberta, Robert McQueen and F.S. Garret in Saskatchewan, and Hector McInnes and C.H. Mercer in the Maritimes. As its support increased, the League claimed to speak for fifty newspapers with a total circulation of over 2,000,000; women's organizations with 600,000 members; labour and farm associations of 627,000 people; twelve

university presidents and six provincial Superintendents of Education; the leaders of the Anglican, United and Roman Catholic Churches, plus numerous private citizens.¹⁸

The Radio League argued that there were six basic reasons why radio broadcasting "should be a Canadian national institution."¹⁹ Broadcasting, then, because of the limited number of wave lengths available for use, was viewed as a "natural monopoly" and, in order to avoid costly duplication, the medium should be under control of the Dominion Government. The League felt that private enterprise, "even private monopoly," could not "afford a national system without linking up with American advertising interests."²⁰

Broadcasting presented great potential as a medium of education and, for this reason, the League urged that it not be left in the hands of private enterprise. The League conceived of private entrepreneurs as "more interested in selling than creating," with the result that they "were not concerned primarily with the development of Canadian national ideals, taste, or education."²¹ However, the League did feel that "Canadian business should have an opportunity to broadcasting without the huge expense of erecting its own stations."²² Finally, public operation and control of radio was considered to be a necessity because "the potential developments in the future, notably in television, were too vast to be left to the hazard of

passing into the hands of private controllers in some foreign country."²³

The Radio League received a variety of opinions and policy statements about broadcasting. Most newspaper interests feared the radio as a possible competitor in the field of commercial advertising.²⁴ The United Church of Canada hoped that the broadcasting medium would open up new avenues for religious teaching and moral reform.²⁵ The leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada saw radio as essentially a medium for entertainment and education.²⁶ Since radio did possess such educational potential, however, the Catholics of French Canadian origin were very dubious of attempts to vest control over broadcasting in the hands of the Dominion Government.²⁷

The concept of public broadcasting received very strong support from labour and farm groups, for each hoped that the radio would lead to an improvement in their lot.²⁸ The educational community also favoured public ownership of broadcasting. However, the question of what level of government should control the medium was a perplexing problem. Educators from Western Canada and the Maritimes agreed, in general, with the opinion of the Superintendent of Education in British Columbia that the "best use of the radio for purposes of education...can be achieved only by operating it as a national public service."²⁹ The Province of Ontario

was very hesitant in advocating the extensive use of radio in education for, as George Rogers said, the "air is so surcharged with all kinds of advertising, bad music and bunkum, that a school principal might very properly hesitate to install a radio in his school."³⁰

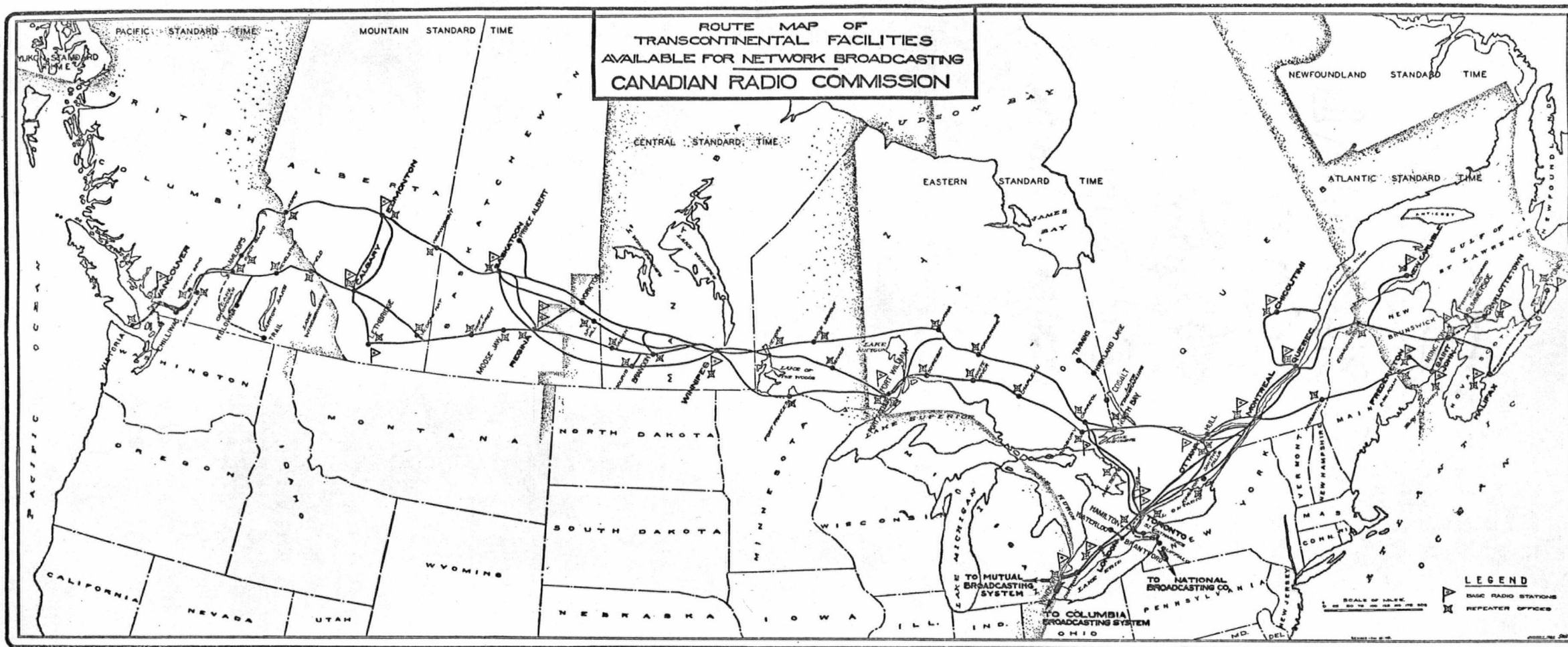
The attempt on the part of the Radio League to gain the support of the educators in French-Catholic Quebec met with a firm refusal. The Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction in Quebec would not offer its support to the League or endorse the principles embodied in the Aird Report. Monsieur Bergeran, Secretary of the Committee, explained to Alan Plaunt that:

"la problème concernant la radiodiffusion au Canada vient d'entrer dans une nouvelle sphère quant à la Province de Québec. Tout récemment, L'honorable Premier Ministre de cette Province a déclaré qu'il entendait garder à notre Province le droit de contrôler la radiodiffusion dans les limites de son territoire. Vu cette attitude, vous comprenez que je ne puis maintenant, m'adjoindre à votre société dont le but est de confier à l'autorité fédérale exclusive la dissection de la radiodiffusion comme moyen d'instruction."³¹

Bergeran's note implied that Quebec intended to challenge the constitutional right of the Dominion Government to control the operation of Canadian broadcasting.

The actual "public interest" that was involved in radio broadcasting during the twenties and early thirties was very nebulous. The public was very often unconscious of any common interest in the fortunes of radio. Even if

the public did feel that radio should somehow serve them, there was no consensus regarding the form that such a service should take. As a result, public demands were not articulated in any clear fashion. A pressure group such as the Radio League, however, possessed a definite organizational base and reflected a degree of consensus concerning broadcasting policy. As the struggle for national control over broadcasting increased in intensity, the League fought hard to ensure that its views were taken into account by the Government. The League wanted radio to serve as an instrument of education and as a medium which would help to build a strong Canadian identity. Thus, the Radio League helped to ensure that broadcasting would serve educational and nationalistic ends. After the nationalization of the new medium had been attained, the programme policy of Canadian radio continually reflected these ends.



This diagram shows the transcontinental wire line facilities available to the Commission for its daily network broadcasting. All repeater points are shown as well as all basic stations on the network. It will be noted that in practically every case duplicate circuits are available, should trouble develop at any time on the other route. There are 6,428 miles of broadcast pairs in this network, or a total of 12,856 miles of single wire. In addition there is a monitor circuit connecting all control points involving 6,428 miles of telegraph circuit.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TIME ZONES IN CANADA

One of the most important problems in network broadcasting in Canada is the variation in time across the country. Few people realize that there is a time difference of six hours between Labrador and the Alaskan boundary, as shown in the above map. The subject of Standard Time is well explained by Mr. C. C. Smith of the Dominion Observatory in an article in the Canada Year Book, 1934-35, an extract from which is reproduced below by kind permission of Mr. R. H. Coats, Dominion Statistician and of the author.

"In Canada, Atlantic standard time, which is the local time at the 60th meridian running near Sydney, Nova Scotia, and is four hours behind Greenwich, is used in the Maritime Provinces and those parts of Quebec and the Northwest Territories east of the 68th meridian of west longitude. Eastern standard time, which is the local time at the 75th meridian running near Cornwall, Ontario, and is thus five hours behind Greenwich, is used in Quebec west of the 68th meridian and in Ontario east of the 90th meridian and in the Northwest Territories between the 68th and 85th meridians. Central standard time, which is the local time at the 90th meridian, is six hours behind Greenwich and is used in Ontario west of the 90th meridian, in Manitoba, in the Northwest

between the 85th and the 102nd meridians and in the southeasterly part of Saskatchewan. Mountain time, which is the local time at the 105th meridian running near Regina, is seven hours behind Greenwich and is used throughout Saskatchewan except in the southeasterly part, throughout Alberta and in that part of the Northwest Territories between the 102nd and 120th meridians. Pacific standard time, which is the local time of the 120th meridian running near Kamloops, British Columbia, is eight hours behind Greenwich and is used throughout British Columbia and in that part of the Northwest Territories lying west of the 120th meridian. Yukon standard time, which is the local time at the 135th meridian, running near Whitehorse, Yukon, is nine hours behind Greenwich and is used throughout the Yukon Territory. Thus in the far-flung area of the Dominion there are no fewer than six different standard times roughly corresponding with the 84 degrees of longitude between the Labrador boundary and the Alaskan boundary. The existence of the different time zones is to-day brought home to the average man by the radio; especially in such programs as the Empire Christmas broadcasts."

— LEGEND —

STATIONS	NETWORKS	WIRE LINES
⊕	TRANS-CANADA Basic	—————
⊖	TRANS-CANADA Supplementary	=====
⊙	DOMINION Basic	—————
⊗	DOMINION Supplementary	=====
⊕	FRENCH Basic	—————
⊖	FRENCH Supplementary	=====
⊙	Non-Network Stations	—————
⊗	CBC Relay Stations	—————
☆	CBC Owned and Operated Stations	—————
☆	Pickup and Rebroadcast	—————

The following additions and changes to this map were in effect by March 31st, 1950.

French Supplementary
CKLD—Thelford Mines.

Non-Network Stations.
CKBB—Barrie, Ont.
CKY—Winnipeg, Man.
CHFA—Edmonton, Alta.
CHUB—Nanaimo, B.C.
CKUM—Ville-Marie, Que.
CKDA—Victoria, B.C.
CKLB—Oshawa, Ont. (change from CKDO).

- MONTREAL STATIONS**
- ⊕ CBF
 - ⊖ CHLP
 - ⊙ CBM
 - ⊗ CKAC
 - ⊕ CJAD
 - ⊖ CFCE
- TORONTO STATIONS**
- ⊕ CJBC
 - ⊖ CHUM
 - ⊙ CBL
 - ⊗ CKEY
 - ⊕ CFRB

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER ONE

¹W. Shramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 61-103.

²G. Archer, The History of Radio (New York, American Historical Society, 1938), p. 31; A. Briggs, The Birth of Broadcasting (London, Oxford Press, 1962), p. 123; E.A. Weir, Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1965) p. 17.

³R.S. Lambert, School Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963) p. 20.

⁴The first programme consisted of an introductory speech by Dr. Munro, a French lesson by Professor C.H. Mercer of Dalhousie University, a scene from Sheridan's "The Rivals" by the King's College Players, a scene from the "Merchant of Venice" by the pupils of St. Patrick's High School, a nature talk by Mr. E. Chesley Allen, musical selections by the Harmonica Band of St. Patrick's School and a lesson on the correct use of English.

⁵Lambert, op. cit., pp. 35-80.

⁶For a detailed discussion of these views see M. Prang, "The Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada," Canadian Historical Review, March, 1965, pp. 1-31.

⁷Ibid., pp. 1-31.

⁸Report of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1929), p. 1.

⁹Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 6.

¹¹Ibid., p. 6.

¹²Ibid., p. 6.

¹³Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁵Papers of the Canadian Radio League (Archives of the University of British Columbia), Plaunt to Grauer, Nov. 13, 1930.

¹⁶Prang, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

¹⁷Graham Spry had been a Rhodes Scholar, was subsequently first executive secretary of The National Association of Canadian Clubs, secretary of the League For Social Reconstruction, personal assistant to Sir Stafford Cripps and later Agent-General of Saskatchewan in London. Alan Plaunt studied at Oxford, and was General Manager of "Farmers' Son" until his death in 1941. He served five years on the CBC Board of Governors.

¹⁸Papers of the Canadian Radio League, "Canadian Radio for Canadians" (League pamphlet, 1931) p. 5.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 1.

²⁰Ibid., p. 3.

²¹Ibid., p. 3.

²²Ibid., p. 4.

²³Ibid., p. 4.

²⁴For a description of this see W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism In Canada (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 210-221.

²⁵See Report of the Committee on Radio and Religion (United Church of Canada, 1930) p. 7.

²⁶Papers of the Canadian Radio League, Rouleau to Plaunt, Dec. 17, 1930.

²⁷Ibid., Rouleau to Plaunt, Dec. 17, 1930.

²⁸Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1936), pp. 400-401. The submission of the Radio League to this committee contained a detailed outline of the nature and extent of its support.

²⁹Papers of the Canadian Radio League, Willis to Plaunt, Dec. 30, 1930.

³⁰Ibid., Rogers to Plaunt, Jan. 13, 1931.

³¹Ibid., Bergeran to Plaunt, Jan. 26, 1931.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION AND THE POLITICS

OF NATIONAL BROADCASTING 1931 - 1936

In 1867 the Fathers of Confederation established a division of legislative authority between the Dominion and the provinces that was related to the three objectives of effective military defense, the integrated economic development of British North America and harmony between the French and English-speaking Canadians.¹ The major aim of the Fathers was to lay the foundation for an integrated economic unit. Therefore, the Dominion Government was given control over those matters related to economic development and defense. It was anticipated by the framers of the BNA Act that the participation of the Dominion Government in these areas would not cause any major conflict between the French and English groups.

To ensure that a cultural clash would not arise in other areas, the Fathers entrusted to provincial jurisdiction those classes of subjects where legislation would have direct cultural implications, e.g. education. This, as one author has noted, was the "essence of the Confederation settlement".²

For those areas of jurisdiction divided at Confederation, it was provided only that they could be occupied

legally by the appropriate authority. There was no compulsion to occupy them, nor was there any direction given as to how extensively the respective fields could be occupied.³

As Canada developed, the extent to which these areas of jurisdiction were occupied depended upon the prevailing philosophy about the role of government in society; the fiscal capacity of the respective governmental authorities to occupy a given field; the interpretation of the directives, as to jurisdiction, contained in the BNA Act, e.g. "peace, order and good government; the pressure of societal needs and the influence of new forms of technology which were non-existent during the Confederation period, e.g. radio.

The severe social and economic problems which developed out of the depression of the thirties caused an alteration in the criteria for the occupancy of the jurisdictional fields assigned to the federal and provincial governments. The traditional political philosophy of a "laissez-faire" role for the state was converted, under the pressure of economic necessity, into a new positive concept of the state as regulator and initiator of socio-economic policy. In Canada, this new interventionist role of the state was symbolized in the proposed Bennett "Little New Deal" of 1935.

During the depression, the fiscal capacity of provincial governments to occupy fully certain jurisdictions was

greatly curtailed. This situation forced the Dominion Government to intervene in order to meet what were, constitutionally, provincial responsibilities. Another factor which tended to increase the power of the federal government was the development of a broader interpretation of the residual power clauses in the BNA Act, e.g. "peace, order and good government."

The depression exposed, in dramatic fashion, the weakness inherent in the economy of the twenties and led to the creation of new social and economic demands. Massive unemployment raised the question of relief, evangelistic religious sects arose to offer immediate salvation, fascist solutions were suggested and "funny money" projects found fertile ground. In most cases, these increased needs of society for help and guidance were directed toward government. The result was that, especially in the case of provincial authorities, these needs expanded to such a degree that they exhausted the ability of governments to satisfy them.

Finally, a new technological invention, the radio, had developed to a point where it was economically feasible and socially acceptable as a medium of mass communication. Most individuals felt that the government must regulate the development and operation of broadcasting, but it was still an open question as to whether this government should

be provincial or federal.

The depression had created a situation, therefore, where the Dominion Government was forced to expand greatly its national economic policy. Federal authorities were also being drawn into the formulation and administration of a national social policy.⁴ After the Report of the Aird Commission had been submitted, the Dominion Government discovered that it might also have to control the operation of radio broadcasting and thereby run the risk of constructing a national policy in relation to cultural matters. This possibility endangered the very basis of the Confederation settlement.⁵

A major problem associated with the assumption by the Dominion Government of control over radio was the fact that the new medium possessed a great potential as an instrument of education. Federal control of radio meant, in effect, that the Dominion Government would have an opportunity to engage directly in education. However, two obstacles in 1930, stood in the way of such national education through radio. The first stemmed from the fact that, under Section 93 of the BNA Act, education was a subject assigned specifically to provincial control. Secondly, it had not as yet been decided legally whether radio was a provincial or a federal responsibility. The provinces, therefore, still retained a chance of preserving this new medium of

education for their own use. In any case, neither the provincial nor the Dominion authorities could plot, with assurance of success, any long-term venture into radio education.

The opportunity to decide the question of jurisdiction over the radio soon arrived. In 1931, the Province of Quebec declared formally its intention to test the constitutional right of the Dominion Government to control broadcasting. As far as the development of national educational broadcasting was concerned, this court decision proved to be of the utmost importance.

The decision of the Quebec Government to challenge the legal right of the Dominion to control radio was a product of two sets of forces. French-Canadians had always considered the control over education to be vital in their survival as a distinct ethnic group. Education performed an important role in the socialization of the young and, therefore, was a very important element in preserving French-Canadian culture. The Government of Quebec could not permit broadcasting, a medium of education with as yet unknown potential, to be vested in the hands of a government dominated by English-Canadians. Quebec's claim over radio was made more urgent by the fact that the new medium recognized no political boundary and, thus, the Province had no defense against undesirable programmes emanating from beyond its borders.

The second set of forces determining the decision by Quebec to take the radio issue to court was related to the rise of a nationalist movement within the Province. This nationalist group was in opposition to the Liberal policy of industrialization, as being destructive of the traditional values of French-Canadian society. Groups, such as L'Action Francaise, envisioned a permanent minority economic status for the French Canadian because of such a policy.⁶

The resentment of the Quebec nationalists was directed toward the three agents which had sponsored the industrialization - the Provincial Liberal Government, the Dominion Government and the American investor. Although it was a minority movement, the nationalism of groups like L'Action Francaise, did direct the attention of French Canadians to the cultural threat that foreign investment and outside control of instruments such as the radio presented. The Dominion Government, in its desire to secure control over broadcasting, was suggesting that the French Canadian relinquish his claim to supervise the operation of an educational medium, and to allow that medium to rest under the complete control of the English Canadian element in Canada.⁷

Quebec's appeal to the courts was not unexpected by federal officials. Premier Taschereau of Quebec received an immediate reply from Alfred Duranaleau, later to become the Minister of Marine, lamenting the fact that:

"the Fathers of Confederation did not foresee the problems of radio in this epoch...Since it presents at once an interprovincial and an international aspect, the Government can only maintain the stand already taken on this subject...that in practice and in law, radio broadcasting can only come under federal power."⁸

The Dominion authorities could also hope that a court decision in its favour would give an added weight of legitimacy to its claims of control over radio, as well as shifting a portion of the French resentment to the courts.

The first decision concerning the question of radio jurisdiction was handed down by the Supreme Court of Canada in June, 1931. In the words of the jurists, the "Parliament of Canada has the exclusive legislative power to regulate and control radio communication in Canada."⁹ Both contesting parties in the dispute realized from the outset, however, that the Supreme Court decision would merely constitute a preliminary finding and, as expected, an appeal was filed by the Province of Quebec to decide whether "the Parliament of Canada has jurisdiction to regulate and control radio communications."¹⁰

The major argument proposed before the Privy Council by Mr. Geoffrion, representing the appellant in the case, showed in a very clear fashion the cultural problems that were inherent in radio broadcasting, especially its educational aspect. Quebec did not dispute the "Dominion right to deal with such matters involved as come directly within

the enumerated heads of section 91 of the B.N.A. Act."¹¹ What was considered to be vital to the Quebec Government, though, was the fact that there were "parts of the subject which are wholly within the Provincial power as to property and civil rights, for instance, and the control of broadcasting for educational purposes and, as to programmes, especially as to the language used."¹² Continuing its argument, the Quebec Government noted that the "fact that broadcasting in one province may interfere with broadcasting in another does not give the Dominion legislative power over the matter."¹³ Also, even if "transmitting instruments are within the Dominion power, receiving sets are not, they are property operating wholly within a province."¹⁴

The argument presented by the Dominion Government for control of the new medium was saved from reliance upon controversial sections of the British North America Act, such as the residual powers implicit in the "peace, order and good government" clause, by two factors. In the first place, there was a precedent which had been established in the decision handed down in reference to the control of aeronautics in Canada. Therefore, the Dominion claimed that "as was...held with regard to aeronautics, radio communication is a matter of national interest and importance, and is a class of subject which affects the body politic of the Dominion; it is moreover a matter as to which there

must be a single legislative authority throughout Canada."¹⁵

The second argument of the Dominion was that the control of radio resided with the federal government in order that it be able "to perform the obligations arising under Section 132 of the B.N.A. Act."¹⁶ As a final insurance argument, the Dominion held that the "final words of Section 91 (B.N.A. Act) exclude provincial authority, as the matter as a whole comes within Section 91, head number 2 (regulation of trade and commerce)," so that the "authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to inter-provincial radio on the same grounds that it was held to extend to inter-provincial aeronautics."¹⁷

True to its original purposes, the Canadian Radio League sent Brooke Claxton to London to present the case of the membership for Dominion control over radio. The League posed three arguments for national control of broadcasting. Broadcasting was considered "by reason of its very nature" to be "inevitably inter-provincial" and not "intra-provincial".¹⁸ The League also felt that broadcasting was an international phenomenon and, thus, Dominion control was required in order to undertake treaties with foreign nations.

The final argument of the League was that "seeing as broadcasting is the most powerful instrument ever devised for the development of public opinion and public taste ...the possibility of releasing propaganda requires that

there be safeguards against it."¹⁹ Also, broadcasting "can become a menace to the national life of Canada not only justifying but requiring action for the whole country by the Dominion."²⁰ Pausing to review the effect of the participation of the Radio League in the court proceedings, Alan Plaunt felt that the organization "instead of being a group of agitators with doubtful motives and half-baked theories," had emerged as "a highly patriotic, nationalistic organization duly qualified to represent the public."²¹

The Privy Council decision handed down by Viscount Dunedin was that, since broadcasting was a subject not explicitly mentioned in the B.N.A. Act, it was assigned to the Dominion Government under the "peace, order and good government" clause. Also, in the view of their Lordships, broadcasting "as a system cannot exist without both a transmitter and can be reduced to a nonentity if the transmitter closes."²² As a result, it was the considered opinion of the Privy Councillors, that "broadcasting is an undertaking connecting the provinces with other provinces and extending beyond the limits of the province, so that the control of radio resides within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Government."²³

The decision of the Privy Council in the Radio Case had, by implication, provided the Dominion Government with

an opportunity to utilize the radio for educational purposes. Whether or not the federal authorities would take advantage of this opportunity, and the exact form that its endeavours in national radio education would assume, depended upon several things. The attitude of the Government in power in relation to the use of radio would be very important in such developments. The type of organization devised to control the operation of radio would determine, in part, the flexibility and amount of experimentation which would be allowed those people engaged in broadcasting.

The ability of the new broadcasting authority to attract qualified personnel, in terms of radio and educational experience, would be significant for a good series of educational programmes. There would also be the need to secure the co-operation of the provincial educational authorities and, along the same line, to devise administrative machinery to facilitate co-operation between the two levels of government. Finally, the financial support provided for the operation of Canadian radio would be a crucial variable in any effective radio education series.

The general significance of the decision in the Radio Case was recognized and reported by the Ottawa Citizen. The Citizen suspected that:

"It may well be a deciding factor in determining the course of Canadian nationhood in the years ahead. Canada's birthright in a great new field of national service has been saved from the disintegrating forces

of narrow sectionalism. It will remain for this Parliament to decide whether Canadian broadcasting is to be swallowed by private monopoly interests in the United States."²⁴

Besides private monopoly interests in the United States, there were similar interests in Canada which desired to "swallow Canadian broadcasting". One such group was the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, who were devoted to preserving the private and commercial nature of radio broadcasting. The decision in the Radio Case had not been viewed favourably by C.A.B. and, as a result, it exerted pressure upon the Government, in an attempt to convince the Dominion not to adopt public control of the radio. Strangely enough, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, like the Canadian Radio League, employed the educational argument of radio to impress the Government with their position.

On February 11, 1931, at the annual meeting of the Association, the executive recommended to its members that all direct advertising should not exceed 5% of the time on any given programme. This suggestion was an attempt, on the part of the private broadcasters, to placate those who demanded that advertising be excluded from radio and that in fact radio should be a public service medium only.

Shortly after this meeting, some of these private broadcasters attempted to demonstrate, to both the Govern-

ment and the public, that they were not unaware of the social responsibility that was implicit in the operation of such a medium of mass communication as radio. Thus, this group announced plans for a series of educational broadcasts, on a coast-to-coast network, during the upcoming autumn. The Vice-President of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, R.W. Ashcroft, explained the network arrangements to the Prime Minister as follows:

"Mr. E.W. Beatty is providing the transmission, Colonel Wilfred Bovey (Director of Extra-Mural Relations at McGill) is arranging for the speakers, and I have secured the necessary radio facilities. We are hoping that the National Council of Education may be induced to sponsor these educational features, notwithstanding the fact that some of the Council's personnel have apparently been hypnotized by the propaganda that has been instituted by the newspapers under the guise of the Canadian Radio League, which is nothing more or less than a very clever ruse to divert radio advertising expenditures to newspaper columns...We intend to pay the various professors for giving the educational addresses...and I am personally contributing one-half of the total amount."²⁵

By 1931, there were very few people in Canada who did not advocate that education should be one of the prime purposes of radio. The first agency to control radio in Canada, however, made only feeble attempts to convert the radio into an educational instrument.

The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 established a three-man commission, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, to control the operation of Canadian radio. The chairman of the CRBC was Hector Charlesworth,

the burly editor of Saturday Night magazine. The vice-chairman was Thomas Maher, a successful forestry engineer and reported to be an active Conservative Party organizer in Quebec. The third member of the trio nominated to govern Canadian radio was Lieutenant Colonel Steel, a technical adviser to the Parliamentary Committee of 1932. When viewed in relation to its potential in the field of educational broadcasting, two factors immediately become clear about the CRBC. There was a noticeable lack of any extensive knowledge or experience in both radio programming and education. These two disabilities of the Commission hindered the growth, during its existence, of any substantial amount of national educational broadcasting.

When the Bill was being introduced in the House to establish the CRBC, the Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, had surrounded the new agency with an aura of idealism. Mr. Bennett announced that:

"This country must be assured of complete control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for the 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...In view of these circumstances and of the further fact that broadcasting is a science that is only yet in its infancy and about which we know little yet, I cannot think that any government would be warranted in leaving the air to private exploitation and not reserving it for the use of the people." 26

The experience of the CRBC, however, was to do considerable damage to the visions of grandeur which had preceded the operation of national radio.

The only significant attempt by the CRBC to develop a national radio education scheme was its sponsorship of a series of inter-university cup debates. The Commission provided free air time for the participants and donated a shield to the winners. Charlesworth himself felt that, of the children's programmes broadcast, "many...should be denied the use of the air, for they appeal solely to the fear instinct in children and excite their nerves."²⁷ He was also sure that as a result of such programmes, "in every large city thousands of children lose sleep necessary to their health, through the false excitement such broadcasts create."²⁸ No attempt was launched, during the period in which the CRBC controlled Canadian radio, to co-operate with provincial educational authorities in the production of instructional broadcasts.

In 1933, the Prime Minister recruited the services of Mr. Gladstone Murray, of the British Broadcasting Corporation, to inquire into and report on the operation of radio broadcasting in Canada. Murray expressed the feeling that the lines of authority within the CRBC were far too diffused for effective decision-making. He, therefore, recommended the appointment of a chief executive, "prefer-

ably described as a General Manager or Director General, responsible to the Commission".²⁹ Such a General Manager, in Murray's view, should be "demonstrably free from political partisan association."³⁰ Murray also recommended to the Prime Minister that the network programmes, originated under the Commission auspices, should be "of exceptional quality and variety," and if not, they should not be permitted air time.

The Government received, read and then discarded completely the Murray Report. Nevertheless, the criticisms expressed in the Report were recognized as valid by the press. The Winnipeg Free Press considered the Commission to be "one of the Bennett Government's most serious political liabilities" and felt that it "was incredible that the Commissioners could have forfeited public esteem in so short a time."³¹ The Prime Minister, himself, declared, in the House of Commons, that "no one knows better than I the unpopularity for the moment of this commission."³²

In his usual confident and boisterous way, Hector Charlesworth listened to the mounting criticism of his Commission. When forced to make a statement concerning the Commission's behavior, Charlesworth calmly explained that "there has been no muddle in anything that the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission has done. The only muddle being muddle-brained comments in the Canadian newspapers."³³

Although Charlesworth could exhibit such disdain for public criticism, 'Saturday Night', his own magazine, was forced to report that:

"after innumerable conversations with all sorts of people, and a careful consideration of letters received from listeners in all parts of the Dominion...from no one have I succeeded in procuring the statement that the Commission has done a really good job."³⁴

In addition to the news media, another very important group had observed the Commission's activities with a critical eye. This group was the Canadian Radio League. The League evidenced mounting concern over the fact that the Commission had not fulfilled the ideals of radio broadcasting, as suggested by the Aird Report. This was especially so in relation to the educational function of the medium. Thus, the League declared that "education was one phase of its operations to which the Radio Commission was expected to give at least reasonable consideration and co-operation."³⁵ The Radio League recognized the fact that the commission was "not expected to work directly through schools or in any way that might impinge on the rights of the provinces in educational matters."³⁶ Even with this qualification, the League still lamented the fact that the Commission "has made no appreciable attempt to co-operate with the provinces though there is no doubt leaders in education in every province would have welcomed intelligent co-opera-

tion."³⁷ In conclusion, the League declared that the "failure of the Radio Commission to give any intelligent lead to educational broadcasting...is a permanent reflection of its lack of...interest in public service broadcasting."³⁸

The public criticism of the Commission eventually forced the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee in 1934, to investigate the activity of the CRBC. Dr. Morand, of the 1932 Committee, was selected to chair the investigation. The major recommendation handed down by the Committee was that "radio broadcasting could best be conducted by a General Manager."³⁹ The report of the Committee was not sufficiently negative to force the abandonment of the CRBC and, as a result, the life of the Commission was extended for another year.

The life of the CRBC was very short after the investigation of 1934, however, for a new Liberal administration had gained control at Ottawa. The Liberals had no liking for the CRBC, especially after the notorious "Mr. Sage" broadcasts.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, a kind word can be spoken about the CRBC, for it suffered under the disability of operating a radio broadcasting "system" with a minimum amount of financial support.⁴¹ This fact alone would have hampered the development of more serious forms of programming, most of which are more costly in terms of acting personnel and script-writing. Also, the radio was

still perceived by most of the audience as a novelty. People were more interested in the fascinating aspects of electronic communication than in listening to the content of the broadcast.

Even though excuses can be made for the failure of the CRBC to engage in more serious forms of programming, its failure in educational radio was basically due to itself. The CRBC was divided against itself and was continually being accused of partisanship.⁴² These two elements would have made any provincial education authority hesitant in establishing co-operative relations with the Commission.

The Government of Mackenzie King, therefore, established a Parliamentary Committee in 1936 to "inquire into the operations of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and to what, if any, changes shall be effected in the existing system of radio broadcasting."⁴³ The committee hearings were inaugurated, in a very appropriate fashion, by a report on the complaints that were received by the CRBC in reference to its programming in the year 1934. In this report the three aspects of broadcasting which received most criticism were programme quality, American interference and the lack of good reception of Canadian stations.⁴⁴ These were exactly the areas of broadcasting that the Aird Report had considered to be in need of reform, if radio was to remain a Canadian enterprise.

The Canadian Press Association was represented by William B. Preston, who declared that the Association was "quite agreeable to supplying news bulletins free of charge for it is in the national interest that the news of this country be safeguarded and kept under Canadian sponsorship."⁴⁵ The Press Association also felt that "news on the air should be just as accurate...just as impartial, and just as free from propaganda as the news that the Canadian press is supplying by land."⁴⁶

Radio education received a publicist, before the Committee in the form of Mr. Paul Coffey, the President of the Young Men's Canadian Clubs. Mr. Coffey outlined to the Committee the large number of groups which drew material from the Association.⁴⁷ This was done in order to give weight to his conclusion that "people throughout the country are actually listening to the radio and are actually interested in educational programmes, so long as they are presented in an interesting manner."⁴⁸ Specifically, Coffey felt that "people want educational addresses on subjects showing the importance of the functions of government, the importance of the various mineral resources, agricultural resources, and on the subject of history, not just the history of the country as it built up but also the history of the various peoples in the country."⁴⁹

At the instigation of C.D. Howe, the new Minister

of Marine, the Canadian Radio League was requested to prepare a brief outlining its proposals for the new broadcasting system. The members of the League who collaborated in the production of this memorandum were Alan Plaunt, Brooke Claxton, J.W. Dafoe, E.A. Corbett, Vincent Massey, Gladstone Murray, and Graham Spry. The report by the Radio League contained recommendations very similar to those finally made by the Parliamentary Committee.

The Report of the League expressed the view that "broadcasting is a special medium not susceptible to ordinary types of public control" and, therefore, a "public corporation which combines the greatest possible degree of flexibility and absence of interference in management with Parliamentary control over major policy, is best suited to its character and needs."⁵⁰ The Report also noted that it was important to establish a "buffer in the form of a Board to protect the executive of such a corporation from community of partisan pressure."⁵¹ This proposed Board was to accept the "immediate responsibility for the policies of the Corporation."⁵²

The League Report also recommended that it was desirable that provincial interests and aspirations receive due consideration, but this could "best be achieved through Provincial Advisory Committees working in conjunction with the regional programme officials of the Corporation."⁵³

Thus, the Board members were to "consider themselves as trustees on matters of board policy for the Dominion as a whole, rather than as narrowly representative of provincial or regional interests."⁵⁴

The final recommendation of the Radio League Report was the appointment of a General Manager to administer the Corporation. The person chosen to fulfill such a position was to have a "vision of the potentialities of Canadian broadcasting as an instrument of entertainment, education and national unity."⁵⁵ Therefore, the general conception of the new broadcasting agency was of a "public corporation headed by a single executive responsible to a non-partisan board, to whom has been entrusted responsibility for the immediate formulation and direction of policy, as distinct from the control of Parliament over major policy."⁵⁶

The League Report envisaged many benefits from such a means of organizing radio broadcasting. The immediate effect would be "the production of programmes of originality and intrinsic Canadian value, the credit for which would be given to the Government, which had made them possible."⁵⁷ In a long-term perspective, the Report considered that a "national chain of stations...would be a national property as important to the continued existence of Canada as a nation, as the transcontinental railways were to its inception."⁵⁸ The Corporation would also provide the "Canadian

people with distinctive and varied entertainment, education, and commercial information."⁵⁹ Canada would also "have an instrument of indirect tourist propaganda."⁶⁰

In terms of national advertising, Canadians would possess a medium through "which whatever she has of unique value might be interpreted to the rest of the world."⁶¹ Finally, as an insurance measure, Canada "would keep in her hands an instrument, the possibilities of which are unpredictable."⁶²

The Parliamentary Committee also heard from Mr. E.A. Weir, an ex-programme director for the CRBC. Mr. Weir reminded the utopians, who viewed the radio as some form of educational panacea, that "programmes depend primarily on their entertainment value and that programmes to which people will not listen might as well never be broadcast."⁶³ Nevertheless, Weir considered that there were still very great opportunities in the field of educational radio which "are as yet unexplored."⁶⁴ There was, for example, a "vast field for both adult and child education, of the informative and imaginative nature, hardly scratched."⁶⁵ Weir drew on his past experience and noted that "this would necessitate careful co-operation with many organizations but it would be well worthwhile and it need interfere in no way with the field of provincial rights."⁶⁶

It was very clear that most people felt that education should be a prime function of radio; that this radio education should also contribute to certain cultural and nationalistic ends; and that it should be an entertaining form of education. No one, however, would make a declaration, or even a speculation, as to how such a national education over the air waves was to be designed, controlled, and operated within a federal structure that had assigned education specifically to provincial jurisdiction.

The Report of the Parliamentary Committee reflected the influence of the proposals that were tendered by the Radio League. The Committee advised the Government that:

1. It has been...demonstrated that a Commission of three cannot be moulded into a unit that can formulate and execute policies.
2. Radio broadcasting could best be conducted by a General Manager.
3. The Act of 1932 should be repealed and replaced by a corporation.
4. The corporation should enjoy the fullest possible freedom in so far as its internal activities are concerned.
5. We reaffirm the principle of complete nationalization of radio broadcasting in Canada.
6. In the matter of news broadcasts, the closest possible co-operation should be maintained between the Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian Press.

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The Liberal Government was now in possession of a Report by the Canadian Radio League, a Report of the Parlia-

mentary Committee, a technical Report by C.P. Edwards, of the Radio Branch of the Department of Marine, plus a wide sampling of public and expert opinion on Canadian radio. After consideration of all of these sources, the new Canadian Broadcasting Act was made ready for presentation. The Honourable C.D. Howe, in introducing the Bill to the House of Commons in June 1936 stated that:

"This Bill follows very closely the report of the Committee and I believe that had the earlier legislation conformed more nearly to the reports of the Royal Commission and the Parliamentary Committee that preceded the introduction of that legislation, perhaps we should not have wandered afield in our attempt to reach the ultimate goal."⁶⁸

The new Canadian Broadcasting Act was given Parliamentary assent on June 23, 1936. The Act established a public corporation, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, under the direction of a General Manager to "carry on a national broadcasting service within the Dominion of Canada."⁶⁹ To fulfill this purpose the corporation was empowered to:

1. Maintain and operate broadcasting stations.
2. Establish...such stations as the Corporation may from time to time consider it necessary to give effect to the provisions of this act.
3. Make operating agreements with private stations for the broadcasting of programmes.
4. Originate programmes and secure programmes, from within or outside Canada, by purchase or exchange and make arrangements necessary for their transmission.
5. Make contracts with any person or persons, in or outside of Canada, in connection with the production or presentation of the programmes of the Corporation.

6. Publish and distribute whether gratis or otherwise, such papers, periodicals and other literary matter as may seem conducive to any of the objects of the Corporation.
7. Collect news relating to current events in any part of the world and in any manner that may be thought fit.
8. Make arrangements or agreements with any organization for the use of any rights, privileges, or concessions which the Corporation may consider useful for the purpose of carrying out its objects.
9. Acquire private stations either by lease, or subject to the approval of the Governor in Council, by purchase.
10. Do all such other things as the Corporation may deem incidental or conducive to the attainment of any of the objects or the exercise of any of the powers of the Corporation.⁷⁰

In addition to the General Manager, the CBC was to "consist of a board of nine governors appointed by the Governor-in-Council and chosen to give representation to the principal geographical divisions in Canada."⁷¹

The concept of public ownership had long formed an integral aspect of the Canadian experience. The building and operation of Canada's transcontinental railway systems provide ample evidence for this statement. It was not until the depression, however, that the Dominion Government displayed any marked tendency to investigate the possibilities of using the public corporation as the method of administering its various "public enterprises." The public or crown corporation differs from other corporate

organizations in that it has its own statute. This fact immediately places the public corporation in a close relationship with the government. At the same time, though, such an administrative device attempts to overcome the difficulties, in a capitalist society, of permitting a maximum of private enterprise within the context of public direction and control.⁷²

Besides the administrative advantages to be derived from utilizing a public corporation to control broadcasting, there were four other forces at work in favour of its adoption. The Canadian Radio League had advocated that a public corporation should be used to operate broadcasting. The example of the British Broadcasting Corporation was also available to the Canadian Government. The well-publicized "New Deal" of Franklin Roosevelt included many public corporations, such as the National Recovery Administration.

Finally, the severe shock which the depression had administered to the economy caused many groups, such as the League for Social Reconstruction, to question whether or not private enterprise was the most effective basis for operating the country. The solution proposed by these groups was that of national social planning. Such planning was intended to serve as a means of insuring that all members of society received a share in the benefits of industrialism, not through a Darwinian competition with others, but as a

right which was guaranteed them by the state.⁷³ Although the Liberal Government of Mackenzie King did not subscribe to "social planning," as advocated by the League for Social Reconstruction, it did after 1935, begin to follow a policy that was nationalist and interventionist.⁷⁴ Thus, the public corporation could be supported by liberals and socialists alike, for it insured that radio would remain a Canadian resource and that it would be under national direction.

There was a paradox inherent in the attempt to employ the public corporation as a means of both controlling broadcasting and ensuring that the system was free from partisan pressures. No matter how independent the broadcasting authority was supposed to be, the Minister of the Crown under whose department the Corporation resided, i.e. the Department of Transport, was forced to assume the final responsibility for the decisions and actions of the Corporation's agents. Besides this factor, the CBC was also forced to rely upon Parliament for the funds that it required for effective operation. Therefore, the financial and ministerial responsibility of the CBC meant that, in reality, it was an arm of the Dominion Government.

The Broadcasting Act of 1936 established no formal administrative machinery to facilitate the co-operation of the CBC with the provincial education authorities. As the testimony before the Parliamentary Committee of 1936

had illustrated, though, there were many people who felt that the national broadcasting authority should co-operate with provincial educational authorities in the production of national education programmes.

When such co-operation between the CBC and provincial-educational authorities did develop, it was viewed by those involved as a confrontation between the Dominion and Provincial governments. The fact that the co-operation centered around education, though, did not hinder the success of these ventures in national educational radio. Success depended upon the mutual agreement by both provincial and CBC officials that national radio education was needed, combined with their willingness to ignore constitutional restraints to fill this need. The result was the development in Canada of one of the most respected educational broadcasting enterprises in North America."⁷⁵

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER TWO

¹D.V. Smiley, "The Two Themes of Canadian Federalism," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 31, Feb. 1965, p. 82.

²Ibid., p. 83.

³W. Eggleston, The Road to Nationhood (Toronto, Oxford Press, 1947), p. 3.

⁴The six acts of the "Little New Deal," although later declared to be unconstitutional, illustrate this point (Trade and Industry Commission Act, Minimum Wages Act, Limitation of Hours of Work Act, Weekly Rest in Industrial Undertakings Act, Unemployment Insurance Act and the Natural Products Marketing Act).

⁵Smiley, op. cit. pp. 84-85.

⁶H. Quinn, The Union Nationale (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963) pp. 30-47.

⁷For a discussion of this point see: K. McNaught, "The National Outlook of English-speaking Canadians," in Nationalism in Canada, ed. P. Russell (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp. 61-72.

⁸Reported in the Montreal Gazette, Feb. 9, 1931.

⁹As reported in C. Plaxton, Constitutional Decisions In Canada (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1939), p. 137.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 137.

¹¹Ibid., p. 137.

¹²Ibid., p. 138.

¹³Ibid., p. 138.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 140.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 141.

¹⁸Papers of the Canadian Radio League, "Brief submitted to the Privy Council," 1931, pp. 1-4.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 1-4.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 1-4.

²¹Papers of the Canadian Radio League, Plaunt to Spry, 1931

²²Plaxton, op. cit., p. 140.

²³Ibid., p. 141.

²⁴"The Radio Case," Ottawa Citizen, Feb. 10, 1932.

²⁵See M.E. Prang, "Origins of Public Broadcasting in Canada," Canadian Historical Review, March, 1965, p. 20.

²⁶Debates in the House of Commons, May 18, 1932, pp. 3035-3036.

²⁷H. Charlesworth, I'm Telling You (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1937), p. 100.

²⁸Ibid., p. 89.

²⁹Murray Report on Broadcasting in Canada, 1933 (unpublished), pp. 1-10.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 1-10.

³¹"The Canadian Broadcasting Commission," Winnipeg Free Press, Sept. 7, 1933.

³²Debates in the House of Commons, May 11, 1933, p. 4887.

³³E.A. Weir, The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 155.

³⁴"Canadian Radio," Saturday Night, Sept. 23, 1933, p. 12.

³⁵Papers of the Canadian Radio League, "unpublished memorandum", 1934. p. 1.

³⁶Ibid., 1934, p. 1.

³⁷Ibid., 1934, p. 2.

³⁸Ibid., 1934, p. 2.

³⁹Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1934), pp. 1-10.

⁴⁰Weir, op. cit., pp. 200-203.

Mr. Sage was introduced as "a shrewd observer who sees through the pretenses, knows the facts, understands the true issues of the present political campaign." However, Mr. Sage was also a Conservative.

⁴¹In its last official report the CRBC declared that "The extent of programme organization by the Commission is dependent upon the amount of money made available for programme expenditures. Up to the present the modest sum allotted for this purpose has not permitted the production of elaborate programmes of an expense type of extensive engagement of the most renowned concert artists." Annual Report of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1936), p. 10.

⁴²Weir, op. cit., pp. 149-152.

Early in 1933 Charlesworth and Maher had a basic disagreement over an attempt by Maher to programme in the French language. This split never healed and was carried into other areas of programming.

⁴³Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1936) p. 1.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 67.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 67.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 22.

Some of these groups were Wheat Boards, Teachers Associations, Dominion Archives, D.B.S., Department Stores, Mining Associations.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁰Papers of the Canadian Radio League, "Report of Radio League on Canadian Broadcasting," unpublished, 1936, pp. 1-25.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 1.

⁵²Ibid., p. 1.

⁵³Ibid., p. 2.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 7.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 8.

⁶²Ibid., p. 6.

⁶³Ibid., p. 400.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 400.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 401.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 401.

⁶⁷Ibid., p.1-10.

⁶⁸Debates in the House of Commons, June 15, 1936, p. 3709.

⁶⁹Canada, 1 Edward VIII, Chapter 24, (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1936) p. 1.

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 1-2.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 1-2.

⁷²See: J. Hodgetts, "Administration and Politics - The Case of the CBC," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 1960, p. 454.

⁷³See: Social Planning for Canada (Toronto, T. Nelson & Sons, 1935), pp. 1-50, League for Social Reconstruction.

⁷⁴See: W.L. Morton, Kingdom of Canada (N.Y., Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1963) pp. 465-492.

⁷⁵Education on the Air, (proceedings and reports of the Ohio University School of the Air, 1929-1952). Over the years many CBC educational broadcasts received awards from Ohio University School of the Air. For example "Voices of the Wild" (three times), "Our Canadian Bookshelf" (twice), "Julius Caesar" (twice), Social Studies (twice), "Children of the Commonwealth" (three times).

CHAPTER THREE

THE CBC AND NATIONAL RADIO EDUCATION

1936-1939

The early years of the CBC were very difficult, for the CRBC had not bequeathed a very healthy broadcasting system. The Corporation had to search for good broadcasting personnel, establish its relationship with the Dominion Government, formulate policy in the major areas of programming and operate on a very tightly controlled budget. As far as national educational broadcasting was concerned, the years 1936-39 were spent by the officials of the Corporation in a series of controversies. The outcome of grappling with such issues was that, by 1939, the CBC and many other people who were interested in using the radio, possessed far clearer concepts of national programme policy.

At the same time as this clarification in programme policy was occurring, the provincial governments began to be less suspicious of co-operation, with a national agency, in radio education. The same provincial governments had also become more accustomed to the intrusion of federal authority into their jurisdictions.¹ The result of these two changes was that, in 1939, Canada had its first major investigation into the possibilities of commencing formal national educational broadcasting.

Although formal educational broadcasts to schools were not prevalent during the early years of the CBC, the Corporation did produce many programmes which were considered to be of general educational value. In music, for example, the Sunday afternoon concerts of the New York Philharmonic Society and NBC Metropolitan Opera Company were broadcast. The CBC was also able to retain the services of Sir Ernest MacMillan, Conductor of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and Principal of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, and Wilfred Pelletier, Conductor of the Metropolitan Opera Company orchestra, as its musical advisers.

The CBC also produced some excellent dramatic programmes during the depression. In 1938, the Corporation introduced the "CBC Dramatic Hour," whose productions emanated from various centers throughout Canada. In Quebec the counterpart of "CBC Dramatic Hour" was "Le Radio Theatre". Probably the most well known of all the CBC drama in the depression, though, was its series of Shakespearian plays. Leading Shakespearian actors, recognized on the international stage and screen, were engaged for the star roles in the various programmes. The plays were produced under the distinguished direction of Charles Warburton of New York, with able assistance from Rupert Lucas, head of the CBC's drama department.² The CBC received much favourable comment concerning its Shakespearian series, especially "from educa-

tion authorities in all parts of the country."³

Most of the material for news broadcasting during the depression was supplied to the CBC by the Canadian Press. As the threat of war increased, however, the CBC news broadcasts began to shift from mere reporting of events to commentaries on the news from a variety of viewpoints. The Canadian radio listener in the depression also was able to hear numerous programmes of "special interest". These programmes extended from the abdication speech of King Edward VIII to a broadcast by Eamonn de Valera on the new constitution of Eire.

Children's programmes began to appear more frequently during the late thirties. The CBC sponsored children's series, such as "The Magical Voyage", which formed part of a general effort to "get away from the blood and thunder type of broadcast which has proven so objectionable to many parents and adult education groups."⁴ The problem in programming specifically for a child audience was to remove the "element of violence without losing the element of adventure necessary to hold the interest of a juvenile audience."⁵

There is no accurate way of discovering the effect, in terms of education, that these more serious programmes had upon the audience. The reason was that, during the early period of Canadian radio, there were very few audience-

reaction studies undertaken.⁶ One can suggest, however, that as more programmes of artistic and general educational value were broadcast, the Canadian listening audience probably came to the realization that the radio could be used for other purposes besides entertainment. Possibly E.A. Corbett was correct in his feelings that, as far as the desires of the radio audience were concerned, the "tone has to be set...there must be a conscious aim to cultivate a wider, deeper and more lasting point of view."⁷

The Board of Governors of the CBC, unlike the three man Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, possessed individuals of varied abilities and experience. The chairman was Leonard W. Brockington, counsel for the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, a scholar and noted orator. Rene W. Morin of Montreal, a graduate of McGill University and a lawyer, was appointed to the position of Vice-Chairman. Other Board members were N.L. Nathanson, of the Famous Players Corporation in Toronto; Monseignor A. Vachon, Dean of the Faculty of Science, Laval University and a member of the National Research Council; Mrs. Nellie McClung, a well-known authoress and pioneer in the woman's suffrage movement in Canada; Alan B. Plaunt, graduate of the University of Toronto and Secretary of the Canadian Radio League; Colonel Wilfred Bovey, Director of Extension at McGill University and J.W. Godfrey, K.C. of Halifax. It was quite evident that the Dominion Government, in approaching the

problem of the appropriate personnel to operate Canada's radio system, desired to have individuals with broadcasting, educational and legal experience, for these had proven to be the three areas in which the CRBC had been lax.⁸

On November 4, 1936, Mr. Leonard Brockington, in a programme entitled 'Canada Calling,' introduced the new Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to the citizens of Canada. Mr. Brockington commenced the broadcast by reassuring the people of Quebec that "due regard...will be paid by us all, in what we believe to be the national interest, to the maintenance of just and generous relations between the two mother races."⁹

The struggle for the national control of Canadian radio had not received its major impetus from any form of grass roots movement. Rather, the leadership for the struggle was derived from groups of brilliant young nationalists, "progressive" educators and intellectuals, for these were the individuals who, in its early stages, were most aware of the potential of radio as a medium of mass persuasion. After the establishment of the CBC, however, the Corporation was forced to devise some means of relating itself to the public which it was to serve. In his address to the citizens of Canada, therefore, Brockington offered "one word of reassurance" to his audience:

"Please do not think that because some of the directors of this corporation are university professors and some

are labelled as high-brows that you are going to be harrangued over your radio as though you were children. The merry heart is the one that knows the furthest and truest education can well come from delight in the wonders of the world around us."¹⁰

Brockington's reassurance that the CBC was not to be an over-intellectual organization also stemmed in part from a reaction to a prevalent suspicion, in the depression, of intellectuals. An example of such anti-intellectualism was the battles for academic freedom undertaken by Professors Underhill and Grube against Premier Hepburn of Ontario.¹¹ The notion, contained in Brockington's radio address, that the Canadian audience was not to be treated as a group of children was reminiscent of the controversial radio instruction sheet that had been issued by the United States Federal Bureau of Education encouraging all broadcasters to "present your specialty on the level of thirteen-year olds," and not "to over-rate the intelligence of your listeners."¹² This directive had received a fair amount of publicity in Canada during the early depression and it appears that, at some time, Brockington had also read it.

The CBC was apparently not satisfied that Brockington, an English Canadian, could publicize the Corporation effectively in French Canada. Thus, Rene Morin was requested to address his fellows in Quebec concerning the CBC and its role in the Canadian nation. Morin was very tactful in his broadcast, for he attempted to circumvent the controversial as-

pects of the new "national cultural corporation" by appealing to the aesthetic sense of the French Canadian.

He explained that:

"broadcasting is a marvellous instrument of artistic recreation and educational propaganda...If radio cannot be considered as an art, it is, nevertheless, a means of expression and a power to impart knowledge; its purpose, therefore, under Government control is well determined. It intends to serve the cause of education and also to instil a taste of the beautiful. The educational value of broadcasting will be fully exercised."¹³

The CBC had inaugurated its public relations with a plea that Canadians view the radio, not as a tool for certain "high-brows" nor as a new field for French-English competition, but as an educational medium which was to "emphasize characteristic Canadian material in its own programmes and to relay over its network the best programmes available from other sources."¹⁴ Radio audiences, however, are not of one mind and, as a result, the demands upon such a new medium were not uniform. Besides this, the officials within the Corporation discovered very quickly that a consensus, in relation to the "national interest" that the radio was to serve, had not been achieved. The interplay between these various demands and competing concepts of the "national interest," as expressed in the earlier endeavours, by the CBC to evolve an educational policy for radio and create the administrative machinery necessary for implementation of that policy, forms our next assignment.

THE EUGENICS CASE

If one leafed through the pages of a magazine, such as Saturday Night, during the depression years directing attention solely to the advertisements contained therein, it would be very difficult to discern that the society was in the midst of a massive economic depression. In fact, from the themes contained in the various forms of advertisement, one would probably conclude that Canada was passing through some form of sexual revolution. Not only was the sexual motive stressed for movie goers, but it also provided a reason for purchasing diverse consumer goods such as cosmetics, furniture and cigarettes. The theme of sex was very much in the minds of the depression generation, especially so in urban areas, and it probably served the function, as the radio, of providing another emotional outlet for the frustrations of subsistence living.

In February 1937, the Eugenics Society of Canada contracted with station CFRB Toronto for fifteen minutes of broadcasting time, in order to present "an educational broadcast on the subject of 'Eugenics and Sterilization'."¹⁵ Prior to the programme Mr. W.L. Hutton, the President of the Society, inquired of the CBC "as to any regulations you may have in regard to such addresses" and what "the standards are by which suitability of such material is judged."¹⁶ Mr. Hutton's inquiry implied another question, which was

to prove very difficult for the Corporation's officials to answer. Since the Eugenics Society had defined its proposed broadcast as "educational," the CBC in either permitting or rejecting the proposal, was forced into a position where it had to establish suitable criteria for what constituted an educational broadcast and what did not.

Soon after Gladstone Murray had received Mr. Hutton's query, the gears of the decision-making process within the CBC began to function. Murray immediately referred the question to Dr. R.E. Wodehouse, Deputy Minister of the Department of Pensions and National Health, for an expert opinion. After due consideration of the issue, Dr. Wodehouse replied to Murray that "there is no objection to the subject of eugenics being discussed over the radio, but when this is extended to include sterilization and birth control, this is an entirely different matter."¹⁷ It appeared, therefore, that Dr. Wodehouse considered eugenics, the scientific study of the reproduction process, to be an aspect of education. However the subject of sterilization, which was defined as the process of rendering one incapable of producing an offspring, was not felt to be worthy of the term education.

Why did Dr. Wodehouse not consider a discussion of sterilization to be a suitable subject for an educational broadcast? In Dr. Wodehouse's own words, it was because

of the fact that "there are several million people resident in Canada who have quite decided views on this subject and whose sensibilities might be very much affected by such a broadcast."¹⁸ At this point in the decision-making process concerning the proposed eugenics programme, the basis used for evaluating whether or not the topic could be classed as educational was the possible effects it would have upon certain groups in society. There was little discussion by the Corporation's officials of whether or not the proposed broadcast could meet the criteria which are usually associated with the term "education."¹⁹ For example, would the proposed broadcast have transmitted worthwhile information, did it involve a cognitive perspective or was there, in the programme format, ample opportunity for the audience to select and weigh evidence? These were questions which were not posed, for they would not help to determine the social and political effects that the programme might have. This was the opinion of Alan Plaunt who wrote to Brockington that he "was really disturbed by the situation...for the impression was undoubtedly been created that we are more concerned with censorship than with production."²⁰

After the receipt of Dr. Wodehouse's statement, Mr. Murray decided to prohibit the airing of the Eugenics broadcast. This decision, however, resulted in criticism by people, such as Plaunt, within the CBC and from interested

parties outside the Corporation, such as Frank Underhill. Such a reaction forced Murray to undertake a re-evaluation of his previous decision in the Eugenics case. The result of this consideration was a decision that was at least based, in part, upon one aspect of the purely educational ramifications of the proposed programme.

Murray communicated to Mr. Hutton that "since the policy of the Corporation is to make broadcasting a forum for subjects and views of the widest reasonable basis, consideration has been given to alternative methods of broadcasting the sterilization aspect of eugenics."²¹ The alternative method which was eventually decided upon was that "if the subject is to be broadcast, it should be dealt with only in a forum which opposing views are fairly represented."²² By using this format and "given speakers of responsibility and good taste," broadcast discussions of sterilization "would not be discouraged by the CBC."²³

The Eugenics case serves as an example of the great difficulty that the CBC was to experience in its early attempts to define an educational policy for the broadcasting medium. In most cases, the CBC would rely upon the programme format as the major means of presenting educational broadcasts whose content might lead to controversy. The use of the forum proved to be very effective in this regard, for it permitted the expression of a variety of opinions

and allowed the audience to weigh the evidence and decide the issue themselves. In the forties, projects in adult education, such as Citizen's Forum, made great use of this technique. However, the manner in which the decision of censorship was arrived at, in the eugenics affair, indicated that officials in the CBC, such as Murray, held a relatively low evaluation of the critical capacity of the radio audience and a high opinion of the potential of broadcasting for indoctrination.

The eugenics affair had demonstrated that, prior to evolving any workable policy in relation to educational programming, the CBC would have to establish a policy in relation to controversial broadcasting. Once it was clear who or what group could use the broadcasting medium, and what could be said over the air, it would be far easier to evolve a policy for educational programming. The CBC was eventually forced to confront these issues because of the activities of a newspaper magnate.

George McCullagh was born in 1905 in London, Ontario. He commenced his professional career as an assistant financial editor in the Globe and Mail. A stock promotion made a great deal of money for him, and in 1933, McCullagh in the spirit of Horatio Alger had become a millionaire. After his great success in the speculative market, McCullagh proceeded to purchase the Globe and Mail, of which he became President and publisher.

McCullagh symbolized the successful self-made man and found it very perplexing to understand why Canada's national leaders were unable to grapple effectively with the crisis in foreign and domestic affairs. McCullagh's impatience with what he felt was "national lethargy" led to his decision to attempt to spark a grass root revival, dedicated to the reinstitution of the leadership which he considered to be a prerequisite to recovery, in both domestic and foreign affairs.

Thus, McCullagh, the secular evangelist, as religious revivalists before him, decided to employ the radio to launch his reform campaign. In 1938, McCullagh sponsored a series of five "intimate man-to-man broadcasts to awaken public consciousness" and "to arouse a desire on the part of the masses...to take an interest in public affairs."²⁴ The specific aims of the radio broadcasts were, in McCullagh's mind, to "arouse public opinion to reject the clap-trap the politicians have preached for years."²⁵ The programmes were also intended to function as a means of extending the influence of the Globe and Mail.

George McCullagh possessed a "radiogenic" personality and he used it very effectively for his own ends. McCullagh argued over the air that Canadians "do not need great brilliancy in the administration of public affairs," for all they required was "rugged honesty, clear purposes, tireless energy and unswerving loyalty to principles which

we, as citizens of average intelligence, can appraise fairly." He was also quite certain that unemployment had to be abolished, for "it contributed to the disintegration of Canadian manhood."²⁷ One solution to the depression that was proposed by McCullagh was to:

"get our children back to the reading of such simple and dream-building literature as Horatio Alger, instead of allowing them to absorb the vicious doctrines of defeatism. You successful men can all recall the days of our youth when you read such books as 'Bound to Win', and 'Strive and Succeed,' and would go to bed awaiting eagerly for the next day to appear so you could go out and conquer the world."²⁸

In case the reading of books, which were laden with the success theme, did not instill the desire to achieve in the minds of youth, McCullagh recommended that "each family should set up a forum in the home where children could read the editorial page and ask their parents questions."²⁹

There were three themes which were implicit in McCullagh's broadcasts. First, politics was conceived of as essentially a question of morals and, thus, the political system by its very nature was always prey to the forces of corruption. To make the system efficient once again, therefore, McCullagh advocated the removal of the source of corruption, namely the politician. Secondly, private enterprise and the competitive model of the economy were still conceived of as being basically sound. The reason for the disruption in society was, in McCullagh's view, due to the unwarranted interference by the Government into

what was felt to be a self-regulating system. Thus, McCullagh's solution to the depression was less, not more, government intervention.

McCullagh felt that the main factor which the depression had revealed was the lack of leadership in the society. What was needed, therefore, was a socio-political system which would facilitate the training of leaders. These leaders would eventually guide Canadians out of the depression. Along this line of thought, McCullagh also advocated the abolition of provincial governments, for he considered that these authorities caused a decentralization of decision-making and, as a result, were "luxuries we cannot afford."³⁰ McCullagh also attacked the Federal Civil Service and specifically labelled the CBC as a "dangerous bureaucratic tyranny."³¹ Finally, McCullagh stressed the need to form a system of rule in Canada which would be presided over by a single omnipotent national government.

As a result of his charismatic appeal and his "positive" approach to the depression, McCullagh sparked the rise of a group that became known as the Canadian Leadership League. The League was devoted to the implementation of the principles outlined by McCullagh in his radio broadcasts. However, early in 1939, when McCullagh attempted to purchase air time on the CBC network for a new series of programmes, he was refused. The immediate reaction of McCullagh to this decision by the CBC was to charge that pressure from the Liberal Government forced the action. In reply to

this charge, the Prime Minister, Mr. King, stated that the "business of controlling and regulating radio broadcasting has been placed by this Parliament under the CBC, which is an autonomous public body with which the Government does not interfere."³²

The General Manager of the CBC also notified McCullagh, as to the reason behind the prohibition of his proposed broadcast. Murray declared that the CBC "was established ...as a non-partisan public trust to control all broadcasting in Canada in the public interest."³³ The programme policy of the CBC was described to McCullagh as an attempt "to encourage the fair presentation of controversial questions which indeed is regarded as part of the educational function."³⁴ Viewed in this perspective, Murray felt that permitting an individual to "buy network time to propound views" would imply informal approval of three things. These three things were:

- "1. The representatives of a profit-making corporation influencing public policy in favour of his corporation.
2. A profit-making corporation using opinions as a direct and indirect sales medium.
3. An individual sponsoring his own opinions by virtue of the advantage of wealth."

³⁵

It was the considered opinion of the Corporation that these were three things to which it could not give approval and still retain its position as a public service agency.

The CBC later issued a press release which outlined the philosophy behind the ruling in the McCullagh case.

In the opinion of the Corporation:

"This policy is based on the principle of encouraging the free discussion of all subjects of public interest in round-table discussions, debates, talks and forums for which the corporation provides time without charge ...For from being a restraint on free speech, the Corporation's policy is an assurance that liberty of discussion is preserved, that all main points of view are fairly presented and that the possession of wealth does not confer the right to use network broadcasting to influence opinion." ³⁶

The McCullagh affair forced the officials within the CBC to evaluate the Corporation's position in relation to controversial broadcasting. Implicit in such a decision was the question as to the nature of the "public interest" that the CBC was to guard; especially whether or not certain forms of broadcasting were in the "public interest" and should be given air time. The solution to this problem became even more perplexing for, during the discussions of a policy for controversial programming, certain outspoken criticisms of the mounting crisis in Europe were voiced over the CBC network. Mackenzie King, an experienced practitioner of the "art of the possible" in foreign relations, reacted to such broadcasts over the CBC by informing Leonard Brockington of "the anxiety I felt lest the broadcasts of certain...commentators, selected and remunerated by the CBC, should be held in Great Britain and Europe, as well as

in Canada, to reflect directly or indirectly the views of the Government of Canada."³⁷ In the view of the Prime Minister, such a conception of the broadcasts would "be inevitable, seeing that it is everywhere known that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is a publicly owned system."³⁸ Mr. King was aware, however, that "in the case of a comparatively new medium, such as broadcasting, the methods and forms employed to facilitate discussion of controversial questions are...subject to experimentation and revision in the light of experience."³⁹

In 1939, the Board of Governors of the CBC took a major step in formulating an educational policy for national radio. This step was the establishment of a formal policy to guide the Corporation in controversial broadcasting. The policy reflected an attempt by the CBC to ensure that minimal economic profit could be gained from utilizing controversy to attract listeners. As far as the Board of Governors was concerned, the policy arrived at was to "ensure that the medium of broadcasting may remain at the disposal of the nation, regardless, of party, section, class or creed."⁴⁰ To insure this aim, the CBC policy on controversial broadcasting was that:

1. No time will be sold on any CBC owned or operated station whether individually or as part of a subsidiary hookup, for the broadcasting of opinions.
2. There shall be no sale of time on any network to individuals or commercial organizations for the broadcasting of opinions.

3. Non-commercial organizations or societies interested in public affairs may purchase time on subsidiary hookups or individual private stations. Any such hookup must be arranged by and through the CBC.
4. For this purpose non-commercial organizations or societies are defined as those:
 - a) which are established for other than commercial or quasi-commercial purposes, whose objects are social, educational, economic, philanthropic or of a general public interest and concern.
 - b) which have been in existence for at least a year prior to the application for network facilities.
5. Societies or organizations desiring to purchase network time must accept responsibility for the broadcast and agree to indemnify the CBC against the possible consequences of libel or slander.
6. Each broadcast must be preceded and concluded by appropriate announcements making clear the nature and substance of the broadcast, and indicating that equal facilities are available on the same basis for the expression of opposing views.
7. The broadcast must be of sufficient interest to the public to justify inclusion in the programme schedule."⁴¹

The policy of the Board of Governors on controversial broadcasting resulted in a situation where any voluntary organization, which desired to use the radio for educational purposes, had to work in close co-operation with the CBC. From this time on, the Corporation established very good relations with national educational organizations, such as the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, the YMCA and the Canadian Teachers' Federation.⁴²

Several voluntary organizations, during the latter

half of the depression, expressed a desire to co-operate with the CBC in the production and distribution of educational broadcasts. One such group was the Canadian Historical Association.⁴³ In 1938, the Association appointed a radio committee as a means of facilitating co-operation with the CBC in educational programmes containing a substantial amount of historical content. The radio committee was to "act as a sort of clearing house with respect to historical broadcasts arranged by the CBC."⁴⁴

There was another very important reason why the CBC desired to have the formal advice of a committee of historians. This motive was related to the fact that there "were many questions on which some French-speaking and English-speaking historians differ in their approach."⁴⁵ Therefore, the CBC felt that it would be of immense help to "have both points of view represented when plans are being made for broadcasts in connection, for example, with the Durham tercentenary."⁴⁶

The Historical Association, like most other voluntary groups that became associated with the CBC, considered its role in radio education to be "advisory and critical rather than executive."⁴⁷ To be "consulted for suggestions, advice and criticisms" was a reasonable role, but the Association felt that it "should not be expected actually to make engagements."⁴⁸ At the annual meeting of the Historical Associa-

tion in 1938, a recommendation was passed which indicated the growing interest in the possibilities of national educational radio. The suggestion was made that the "CBC nominate some person on its staff to act as the link with the Association...an educational director would be the logical person."⁴⁹ This recommendation was given serious consideration by the CBC, but the appointment of an educational director was postponed for two years.

The CBC had learned many valuable lessons from the bitter experiences of the CRBC. One such lesson was that it was very necessary for a public agency to project a favourable and uncontroversial image of itself to the people. The Corporation, during the depression, discovered an interesting way to project an image of objectivity and still produce programmes of a controversial nature. Thus, if a proposed programme was seen as a possible stimulator of controversy, the CBC would either publicize it as possessing great educational value or announce that it was under the sponsorship of a recognized educational agency.

For example, in 1937 the League of Nations Society proposed to sponsor a radio broadcast that had as its aim the "clarification of public thought on the real issues in peace organization and Canadian external relations."⁵⁹ The officials in the CBC, however, feared that the intensity of feeling concerning Canadian involvement in inter-

national affairs might result in criticisms of the proposed programme. As a result, the Corporation inquired of E.A. Corbett, Director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, as to whether he would agree to having the "broadcasts announced as having been prepared under the auspices of the CAAE."⁵¹

The Corporation explained to Corbett that it "did not object to the announcements being made that the League of Nations Society has co-operated in their preparation with respect to certain of the viewpoints."⁵² However, the CBC did feel that the "League of Nations Society has, particularly with the French-speaking population, a connotation not entirely consonant with the declared purpose of the round-table."⁵³ Therefore, the Corporation hoped that "everyone's interests will be best served" by having the proposed broadcast "appear under demonstrably...educational auspices."⁵⁴ It was quite clear that the CBC considered educational aims and educational societies to be almost "untouchable" in terms of creating controversy. As a result, the Corporation attempted to employ both as a "buffer" between a controversial programme and the public.

The CBC, during the depression, did not engage, on a national level, in any substantial co-operation with provincial educational authorities. Thus, the field of instructional broadcasting lacked the required leadership at the

national level. Demands were increasing, however, for some action to begin in this field of broadcasting. Provincial educators, who had experimented with the radio in their classrooms, required the continual advice of broadcasting experts to develop further programmes. Voluntary education associations, such as the CAAE, were also investigating the possibilities of radio in education outside the school.

For its own part, the CBC was far more ready in 1939 to investigate more formal educational programming than it had been in 1936. The Corporation had overcome basic policy hurdles in relation to controversial broadcasting; it had managed to recruit some able broadcasting personnel; the financial picture was brightening and relations with the Government were cordial; it had tested the idea of co-operation with some voluntary groups and its programme fare had shown a steady rise in the proportion of serious to non-serious broadcasts.⁵⁵ Near the close of the thirties, therefore, conditions were ripe in Canadian broadcasting for a major step forward in national radio education.

In May 1938, Gladstone Murray commissioned E.A. Corbett to make a nationwide report on school broadcasting in Canada. Corbett was the logical choice for such a demanding task. Since the early twenties, he had been involved in ground-breaking experiments in educational radio at station CKUA in the University of Alberta. Corbett had

also been an active participant and organizer in the Canadian Radio League. He had intimate connections with many of the people responsible for the very successful Ohio University "School of the Air" and had delivered several papers at their meetings.⁵⁶ Finally, from a practical point of view, his deep involvement in Canadian education generally would help him to secure the co-operation of educational authorities throughout the country.

The Corbett Report on School Broadcasting in Canada turned out to be one of the most important documents on educational radio since the appearance of the Aird Report. It accomplished a task which hitherto had never been undertaken by investigating and summarizing the existing conditions of educational broadcasting in Canada. Corbett's recommendations also formed the basis for the administrative arrangements and ideals which would guide the fortunes of national radio education in the forties. Finally, the Corbett Report represented an attempt to apply some of the basic ideas of "progressive education" to the broadcasting medium.

Corbett's first official visit in his fact-finding tour across Canada was attendance at the annual meeting of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association. The reason for making this meeting his first stop was probably due to the fact that an "educational clearing-house," like

the CNEA, would provide him with a quick sample of national opinion on the potentials of radio as an instrument of education. He soon discovered that opinion "varied from antagonism or complete indifference to outspoken and in some instances almost extravagant enthusiasm."⁵⁷ Corbett found it very interesting, however, that "in those areas in which school broadcasting had been given a carefully directed period of experimentation by educational officials, there seemed to be no question of its values, and in some cases, its complete necessity."⁵⁸

After sensitizing himself to the opinions of educators on radio broadcasting, Corbett undertook a detailed series of studies of the various provincial radio education schemes then in operation. He then combined the results of his opinion poll and his provincial studies, with his more theoretical notions about radio, to produce the first real "blue-print" for educational broadcasting in Canada.

The Report dealt with what Corbett considered to be the five major factors involved in establishing a policy for education through an electronic medium such as radio. These five factors were "a general review of the essential features, purpose, value and results of radio broadcasting in schools;" a "compilation of information on operations conducted in school broadcasting in the Provinces of Canada;" conclusions and recommendations "arising from the factual

material obtained in the course of the survey upon the subject;" a study of the role of radio in education in Great Britain, United States and Denmark and a "supplementary report on technique and rationale for the evaluation of the effects of the radio in education."⁵⁹

Corbett was aware of the fact that Canada had modelled its radio broadcasting system on that of the British. As the Canadian broadcasting system developed, the educational ventures entered into also followed a close parallel with the British experience. In Britain the responsibility for educational programme production resided with the BBC, specifically with its Schools Department. This Schools Department consisted of a Director of School Broadcasts and a staff of programme officials, each of whom co-operated with a particular programme sub-committee. These two groups, the programme officials and the representatives of the education sub-committees, undertook the necessary production arrangements. The aims of educational broadcasting in Britain had always been "to supplement not replace the teacher and pupil and provide a mental stimulus beyond the ordinary resources of the schools."⁶⁰ The experience of the BBC in this field had dictated to the British education officials the fact that "no mechanical aid can ever replace the teacher and that the functions of the teachers and broadcasts are not rival but complementary."⁶¹

Corbett was very interested in what the effects of radio broadcasting had been in the British education system. Thus, he procured a report from the British Central Council for School Broadcasting on 'The Effects of Radio in Education.' The report considered that there had been, to date, six major effects of radio education, as follows:

1. Small schools feel less handicapped by lack of specialist teachers.
2. Education in these schools is less associated in the children's minds with the voices of one or two teachers.
3. Remote schools feel less remote and all schools feel that their work is more closely in touch with the world outside.
4. Textbooks are clothed with new meaning.
5. Teachers continually provided with new material and sources of a constant refresher course.
6. Everything concerning the spoken word or that can be judged by the ear, serves to provide schools with examples by which they may criticize their own performances, and with added opportunities for appreciation."⁶²

Corbett first attacked the problem of the relationship between the radio and the teacher. Most research on the effects of the mass media of communication upon individual attitudes, thoughts or decisions suggests that it is not a direct (transmitter to receiver) process, but an indirect (transmitter - opinion leader - receiver) one.⁶³ Thus, various intermediary selective agents, such as opinion leaders and news reporters, hear the original communication,

select from it the content that they desire to "internalize" and then transmit only that content to others. The effect of any medium of mass communication will, therefore, depend to a large extent upon the background, values and predispositions of these intermediary agents in the communications process. Early in his career, Corbett had recognized the important role of one such intermediary agent in educational broadcasting.⁶⁴ Therefore, in his report, Corbett stressed the fact that the "success of broadcasting to schools will depend to a large degree upon the co-operation of the teacher."⁶⁵

In the process of educating with the aid of an electronic medium of communication, such as the radio, Corbett considered that the effective teacher had to be a "progressive" for he was "concerned not only with instruction of classroom subjects" but also the "creation of attitudes, to relate the programme of the school to the wider life which lies beyond its walls, and to prepare his pupils for life."⁶⁶ The radio could help the teacher to attune the student to life around him, by "adding colour to the lessons, and by training the pupils in critical listening and exercise of judgement respecting programme quality of broadcasting in general."⁶⁷

Thus, Corbett had outlined what he considered to be the proper teacher-radio relationship. But what role was the radio to play in the actual process of education? In

the first place, radio broadcasting was to operate as a "supplement to the work of the teacher and not a substitute for it."⁶⁸ The essential dynamic in the educational process was to remain, in Corbett's view, the "personal relation which exists between teacher and pupil," while the function of the radio would be to "preserve that relation and enrich the lesson with new vitality and meaning."⁶⁹ The learning situation in radio education would, therefore, be pictured as:

"the teacher, by availing himself of the inherent curiosity of the pupil, in association with the personality of the broadcaster, will find a stimulus given to the work of the school: and the educational value of the curriculum will be enriched by the peculiar contribution which school broadcasting can make to the work of the modern educator."⁷⁰

Corbett also felt that it was very important for radio programmes, which functioned as "progressive lessons," to be "designed to meet teaching requirements in different age groups."⁷¹

There were four major areas in formal education that Corbett considered would derive benefit from the use of the radio. In the elementary grades (ages 5-11) the medium would prove very effective, if the programmes were formulated so as to take cognizance of the difficulty of fostering a sustained listening power on the part of this age group. Corbett recommended that music instruction would be best suited for broadcasting at this level. It was at the high

school level that the radio was conceived of as a major tool of "progressive education". Through radio listening, the pupils were to be afforded the "opportunity of feeling more fully in touch with the outside world," especially "those students who are beginning to take an interest in social problems."⁷²

There were two special educational sores which were to be healed through the medium of broadcasting. Corbett felt that the "importance of a school grows in proportion to its degree of isolation," so that the "position of the school in sparsely populated communities merits serious consideration."⁷³ Thus, the radio would be employed in the "little red school house" to "place at the disposal of the teacher supplementary assistance with a wider range of subjects than could otherwise receive attention."⁷⁴ The radio was also to aid in the education of what were termed "backward children." Corbett displayed his behaviorist leanings in recommending the use of the radio as a "motivating device to awaken interest and enthusiasm in children who have failed to respond to ordinary stimulus."⁷⁵ Therefore, the radio broadcast, as "a new form of experience," would provide a new source of interest for the student and enable him to "assimilate some general ideas even if he does not recall every detail of the talk."⁷⁶

Corbett had been a practising educator in Western Canada for many years and, as a result of this background,

he was prone to search for a systematic method of structuring a radio lesson. It was Corbett's view that any technique of radio education, in terms of the formal school system, had to correlate the broadcast talk with the teacher's lesson. The technique, he suggested consisted of six steps that the teacher was to take, during the broadcast, if the radio was to be effective as an educational medium. The six steps were advance preparation, reception of broadcast, follow-up work, use of study outlines, supplementary reading and need of good reception. In each of these teaching moves, the teacher was to operate as a guide, channelling the radio learning situations so that they would mesh with the curriculum of the school. Below is a sample radio lesson, as proposed by Corbett:

1. Advance Preparation by the Teacher

"Since it is important that the child shall relate his new information to what he has previously been taught by other means, the teacher will find it helpful to hold, before almost every broadcast, a few minutes introduction in which to establish for the pupil the necessary connection between the classroom work and the talk to be given, revising previous knowledge, or with aid of explanatory material issued in relation to the broadcast."

2. Reception of Broadcast

"It is vital that, during reception of a broadcast, the teacher should set an example to the class in careful listening. Too much use of either black-board or of note-taking by pupils will distract attention and result in loss of the thread of the talk. In some cases more scribbling will be found helpful to concentration."

3. Follow-up Work

"The amount of discussion and revision work undertaken will depend upon the purpose of the teacher with the contents of the broadcast...In certain cases, particularly in the study of archeology and natural history, pupils may be directed in making investigations outside the school...making of models...embodying their own ideas arising out of the broadcast."

4. Study Outlines

"This contains suggestions additional to those which may be given at the microphone, give notes on classroom preparation and follow-up work and include illustrations on the work to be covered. The pamphlets should be made use of individually by the pupils."

5. Supplementary Reading

"Aid to study and for depth reading work."

6. Need for Good Reception

- a) "In its function as an aid to classroom work the school broadcast...will involve the use of sound to create the illusion of reality."
- b) "The talk will be designed to stimulate the imagination of the pupil, to produce a mental picture of the broadcast subject and the voice of the broadcaster will be an important element in the result attained."
- c) "However, good the broadcast from the point of view of transmission, it is almost certain to fail in effect if receiving equipment is poor." 77

Corbett was very disappointed with the progress of educational radio in the various Provinces, and lamented the fact that there were only "four Provinces in Canada in which radio broadcasting to schools has been accepted as a governmental responsibility."⁷⁸ In order of experience these four Provinces were Nova Scotia, Manitoba, B.C. and Alberta. Even in these Provinces which had undertaken experiments in radio education, Corbett found the attempts to be

haphazard and very poorly conducted. He found substantiation for his conclusions in the 'Report on Radio in Education' that had been undertaken by George M. Weir, Minister of Education in British Columbia. Dr. Weir discovered that in British Columbia alone there were only twenty-six schools with receiving sets, that two-thirds of the schools had no electrical connections and that large areas of the country could not receive CBC programmes during the daylight hours. The conditions that were described in the Weir Report were probably much worse in the other Provinces of Canada, for British Columbia was considered to be in the forefront of radio education.

In his general conclusions, Corbett pinpointed a problem that was to continue to place obstacles in the way of the effective fulfillment of the mandate of the CBC to use radio as an educational medium. It was Corbett's opinion that the "experiments in school broadcasting in Canada have developed in different provinces in natural consequence of independent Provincial educational policy."⁷⁹ In each case Corbett discovered that the Department of Education had pursued a course calculated to meet local demands and to serve the needs of the ordinary school operation and curriculum. The result was that "school broadcasting techniques and general organization in one Province bears no essential relations to that of any other."⁸⁰ Thus, there was a need for some form of co-operation or, as Corbett

put it, "some co-ordination of purpose, of general concept, and of technique in the best interests of all."⁸¹ Because of the constitutional assignment of education to the Provinces, though, he realized that the "creation of smooth-working and effective school broadcast facilities must seek a form of co-ordination and correlation that will preserve local as well as general prerogatives and render the best educational service that Canada can hope for and expect from such an instrument as radio."⁸²

Corbett did not feel, after his survey, that national educational broadcasts, under CBC auspices, would be feasible. One reason for this conclusion was the limited amount of available network time. A second reason was that Corbett did not feel such national educational programmes could be integrated into the diverse curriculums of the various provinces. This opinion proved to be completely opposite to the actual developments which occurred in educational radio during the early forties. It was highly probable that Corbett had not fully recognized the signs of co-operation that were emerging within the structure of Canadian federalism during the depression and early war years. Besides this, the Rowell-Sirois Commission had not yet tendered its report on Dominion-Provincial relations.

Although Corbett could not foresee the development of national educational broadcasting, he did recommend the establishment of regional educational broadcasting

enterprises. This recommendation proved to be one of his most significant as far as later developments in radio education were concerned. Corbett considered that there were two areas in which regional co-operation in educational broadcasting could be achieved. The Maritimes was one such area. In this area, Corbett recommended the formation of a joint committee, to be representative of the three Provinces (N.B., N.S., P.E.I.). This committee would have to take cognizance of the fact that "nearly one-third of the school population of New Brunswick is of French Canadian origin."⁸³ The programmes would originate from the Halifax studios of the CBC.

The other area of Canada that Corbett felt could undertake such regional programmes were the Prairie Provinces. Corbett noted, however, that time arrangements might cause some difficulty for, in Manitoba, the "last half hour of every school day is by law available to the clergy for religious instruction."⁸⁴ In the matter of the school broadcasting, Corbett considered Quebec to be a "special problem." Any action that was to be undertaken in the direction of radio education in that Province would have to result from the consultation between the Catholic Educational Committee and the recently proposed Protestant Committee of the Council of Education. Corbett was certain that Ontario would enter radio education, on a large scale,

just as soon as their initial experiments with that medium were concluded. British Columbia, he felt, would continue its progress in the field as an independent unit. He did not foresee the entrance of that province into the regional system of the Prairies.

Corbett envisaged two unfortunate results which would befall any attempt, on the part of the CBC, to "take over school broadcasting." First, such "actions would awaken the suspicions of those who are jealous in safeguarding Provincial rights."⁸⁵ It would also "encourage those Provincial authorities who are not interested in the problem to regard the whole matter as a recognized Federal responsibility" and, as a result, would give the same individuals "an answer to those educationalists who, in every Province, are anxious to see school broadcasting inaugurated as soon as possible."⁸⁶ Therefore, prior to beginning "anything in the way of national or regional broadcasts," Corbett suggested that two appointments be made. These appointments were to the new position of CBC Regional Directors of Educational Radio.

Corbett outlined the qualifications deemed necessary to fill these positions and his description was indicative of the future requirements for the new group of radio educators which was to emerge in the early forties. In Corbett's opinion, such positions required people who:

"have had experience as a teacher as well as in radio work. General educational experience of as varied a

nature as possible, a good working knowledge of the educational system of the Provinces and a thorough understanding of the problems of the rural teacher...Duties would include almost constant travel for the purpose of keeping in touch continually with educational authorities, teachers and school trustees all over the Provinces in the region. A considerable amount of pioneer work... such as introducing the question of school broadcasting at normal schools, at Teacher's conventions and trustees conventions. Academic qualifications equivalent to those of a junior professor."⁸⁷

Throughout his Report, Corbett had stressed the need to develop a "system" of educational broadcasting. This radio education system, though, did not have to be integrated, in an administrative sense, with the public educational system in order to function effectively. Corbett considered the Department of Education to be basically an "administrative body" not a "teaching one." Thus, in the relationship between the Education Department and school broadcasting, he felt that the Department should function as an administrative agency and not as a teaching body. Since Corbett had observed many unsatisfactory programmes devised for radio by Departments of Education who "tried to exercise a direct teaching function," he recommended that "production of programmes by Departments' of Education be discontinued."⁸⁸ Instead, the Department of Education should "provide the necessary financial appropriation" while the "arrangements and production of programmes is handed over to a committee consisting of teachers and those who are responsible for the training of teachers."⁸⁹

Corbett also felt that the CBC could facilitate the progress of school broadcasting by inaugurating a script exchange service. Such a service, he hoped would offer a "further opportunity to familiarize students and teachers with the work of the professional radio world."⁹⁰ These scripts were to be collected from Canada, the United States and Europe, and were to be centralized in Ottawa for lending purposes throughout the Dominion.

Corbett considered that, since "broadcasting represents pioneer ventures on an uncharted course," a situation had been produced where there were "no data or criteria by which adjustment may be made."⁹¹ The awareness of this problem made him produce a supplementary 'Report on Evaluation of Broadcasting'. Without a means of evaluating his programme, Corbett considered that "the broadcaster is at a loss to know whether a programme is achieving its educational purpose or meeting with sufficient classroom response to justify its continuance."⁹² Also, for such evaluation to be successful, it had to be "sustained" or, in other words, be continuous over the complete time of the broadcast.

Corbett felt that the whole operation of evaluation was one in which the "complementary functions of teacher and broadcaster" were "brought into an active relation to each other in providing evidence of programme effective-

ness."⁹³ As a result, Corbett recommended that, in each area where a Committee was established to operate an educational broadcasting series, there should be set up a sub-committee having as its specific function the evaluation of these radio broadcasts. Besides the regional evaluation committees, there was also to be a national committee formed to act as a "house of synthesis," collecting, organizing, interpreting and disseminating the evaluation reports of all of the other committees. This national evaluation committee would also collect and disseminate the evaluation reports produced in foreign countries.

The objectives that Corbett proposed for educational broadcasting sounded like a catalogue of progressive ideals. The radio broadcasts were to be employed in education to:

1. Create attitudes and develop appreciations.
2. Build interests and self-motivation.
3. Develop critical thinking and discrimination.
4. Develop creative expression.
5. Develop personal values and social adjustment.
6. Develop skill and techniques of learning.⁹⁴

The CBC, in its initial ventures into national educational programming, soon discovered that radio instruction posed several stumbling blocks. Some of these problems were related to questions, such as what actually constituted an educational programme; how to operate a national education

scheme in radio without violating Provincial rights; what administrative machinery could be created to facilitate Dominion-Provincial co-operation in radio education; where to discover competent people to utilize the radio for educational purposes or how to train such radio educators if they were in short supply; how to overcome the resistance to radio of print-bound, and status-conscious teachers; what means could be employed to discover the real effects of radio in the educational process and how to foresee and plan for the cultural ramifications of a medium of communication that recognized no political, economic, ideological or ethnic barriers. All of these problems were to be faced by the CBC during the forties.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE

¹The Bennett "Little New Deal" was followed by a gradual aggrandizement of Federal power under an "interventionist - nationalist" policy (1936-49).

²Annual Report of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1939) p. 6.
The high cost of serious forms of programming and the quality talent which the CBC was attracting are both indicated in the list of stars performing the leading roles in these Shakespearian plays.

The Merchant of Venice - Sir Cedric Hardwicke

Henry VIII - Margaret Anglin

Merry Wives of Windsor - Charles Warburton

Othello - Walter Huston

King Lear - Walter Hampden

Richard II - Dennis King

³Ibid., p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 9.

⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁶The United States only undertook such studies in the early forties. See, for example, P. Lazarsfeld, Radio and the Printed Page (N.Y., Harper, 1941).

⁷Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting, (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1932), p. 259.

⁸Gladstone Murray the new General Manager had experience in the Educational Department of the BBC. He was also a Rhodes Scholar and a British Columbian.

⁹Papers of the Canadian Radio League, "Canada Calling" (script of broadcast by Leonard Brackington, Nov. 4, 1936).

¹⁰Ibid., Nov. 4, 1936.

¹¹See: H. Carver, "Premier Hepburn and the Professors," Canadian Forum, May, 1939, pp. 40-41 and W.H. Alexander, "Letter To A Young Man Contemplating an Academic Career," Canadian Forum, Oct, 1939, pp. 220-223.

¹²W. Orton, "Level of Thirteen Year Olds," Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 7, 1931, p. 5.

¹³Papers of the Canadian Radio League, "Canada Calling" script of broadcast by Rene Morin, Nov. 4, 1936.

¹⁴Annual Report of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1936), p. 9.

¹⁵Papers of the Canadian Radio League, Hutton to Murray, Jan. 26, 1937.

¹⁶Ibid., Jan. 26, 1937.

¹⁷Ibid., Wodehouse to Murray, Feb. 11, 1937.

¹⁸Ibid., Feb. 11, 1937.

¹⁹For a discussion of the various factors which are entailed in the concept of education see: R.S. Peters, Ethics and Education, (N.Y., Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 20-40.

²⁰Papers of the Canadian Radio League, Plaunt to Brockington, Feb. 24, 1937.

²¹Ibid., Murray to Hutton, Feb. 20, 1937.

²²Ibid., Feb. 20, 1937.

²³Ibid., Feb. 20, 1937.

²⁴B.J. Young, "George McCullagh and the Leadership League," Canadian Historical Review, Sept. 1966, p. 204.

²⁵Ibid., p. 204.

²⁶Ibid., p. 205.

²⁷Ibid., p. 206.

²⁸Ibid., p. 207.

²⁹Ibid., p. 207.

³⁰Ibid., p. 207.

³¹Ibid., p. 207.

³²Papers of the Canadian Radio League, King to Murray, Jan. 16, 1939.

³³Ibid., Murray to McCulloch, Jan. 5, 1939.

³⁴Ibid., Jan. 5, 1939.

³⁵Ibid., Jan. 5, 1939.

³⁶Papers of the Canadian Radio League, "CBC Press Release re: McCullagh Case," Jan. 31, 1939.

³⁷Ibid., King to Brockington, June 14, 1938.

³⁸Ibid., June 14, 1938.

³⁹Ibid., June 14, 1938.

⁴⁰Ibid., "CBC Policy Statement on Controversial Broadcasting," 1939, p. 1.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 2.

⁴²The Corporation also built up relations with provincial educational associations such as the United Farmers of Ontario and Alberta.

⁴³Other such groups were the YMCA, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, League of Nations Society.

⁴⁴Papers of Canadian Radio League, Plaunt to Murray, June 13, 1937.

⁴⁵Ibid., June 13, 1937.

⁴⁶Ibid., June 13, 1937.

⁴⁷Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1938). p. 401.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 401.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 401.

⁵⁰Papers of the Canadian Radio League, League of Nations Society to Board of Governors, Jan. 18, 1937.

⁵¹Ibid., Plaunt to Corbett, Jan. 7, 1937.

⁵²Ibid., Jan. 7, 1937.

⁵³Ibid., Jan. 7, 1937.

⁵⁴Ibid., Jan. 7, 1937.

⁵⁵See: Annual Report of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1939), pp. 5-8, 13-14.

⁵⁶See: E.A. Corbett, "Planned Broadcasting for Canada," Education on the Air, (Ohio University, 1934), p. 19; Gladstone Murray had also presented a paper here for example see: G. Murray, "Radio's Responsibility for National Culture," Education on the Air, (1937), p. 1.

⁵⁷Report on Broadcasting in Schools of Canada (unpublished, 1939), p. 1.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 50.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 50.

⁶²Effects of Radio in Education, British Central Council for School Broadcasting, 1938), p. 2.

⁶³J. Klapper, Effects of Mass Communication, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1964), pp.1-35.

⁶⁴Corbett's work in the Farm Forum, described later in this thesis, provides a good example of his interest in the rise of the "opinion leader" in education.

⁶⁵Corbett Report, op. cit., p. 2.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 2.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 2.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 2.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 2.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 4.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 4.

⁷²Ibid., p. 4.

⁷³Ibid., p. 5.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 7.

- 76Ibid., p. 7.
- 77Ibid., p. 7.
- 78Ibid., p. 20.
- 79Ibid., p. 21.
- 80Ibid., p. 22.
- 81Ibid., p. 22.
- 82Ibid., p. 22.
- 83Ibid., p. 17.
- 84Ibid., p. 17.
- 85Ibid., p. 16.
- 86Ibid., p. 16.
- 87Ibid., p. 10.
- 88Ibid., p. 10.
- 89Ibid., p. 28.
- 90Ibid., p. 28.
- 91Ibid., p. 28.
- 92Ibid., p. 29.
- 93Ibid., p. 30.
- 94Ibid., p. 33.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY OF NATIONAL RADIO EDUCATION 1939-1944

There were four general reasons for the inauguration of a permanent series of national educational broadcasts in the early forties. The first factor was the creation, in 1936, of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, with the implication that it was to develop the educational possibilities of radio. For the CBC, the depression years were, in part, a preparation for the fulfillment of its "educational mandate." Experts had been recruited to staff the various programme divisions, attempts had been launched to overcome certain policy problems, budget control had been instituted, co-operative relations with informal educational organizations had been established and experiments had been conducted in the field of serious broadcasting. The CBC was now in a position, in terms of personnel, financial resources and programme experience, to think seriously about formal co-operation with educational authorities in national radio education.

Another aspect of the Corporation's mandate was that it should employ the broadcasting medium in the service of building a strong sense of Canadian identity. Attempts by the CBC to achieve this aim received a considerable

impetus from the growth of Canadian nationalism during and after the Second World War. Unlike the depression, the War gave Canadians a new sense of common direction and total commitment. As victory moved closer, Canada assumed its new role as a "middle power." Such a role required a greater number of decisions to be made without the guidance of England.

The Dominion Government and its agencies also devoted a considerable amount of time and energy during the War to planning for domestic post-War reconstruction. The direction of their work was indicated in the White Paper on Reconstruction, presented to Parliament by the Government in April, 1945, and in the so-called "Green-Book" proposals made to the provinces in August of the same year. The new national policy implied in these documents involved the acceptance by the federal government of the basic responsibility for guaranteeing a stable level of employment and income in the country. Therefore, it was considered necessary that the Dominion have exclusive right to income tax and succession duties. The Federal authorities also made far-reaching proposals for national leadership in health, welfare, vocational training, housing and natural resource development."¹

Although provincial agreement to these federal policies could not be secured at the Conference on Reconstruction

in 1945, most of what was proposed was later implemented in a piece-meal fashion. The significance of these developments for radio education, was the indication of a general federal interest in areas of jurisdiction assigned to the provincial policies.

Through its control over radio broadcasting, the Dominion Government possessed an opportunity to enter the field of education and to provide Canadians with a form of national experience in it. Thus, young Canadians would provide the audience and the CBC the means to strengthen Canadian unity and identity. The increasing federal power and the rise of a Canadian nationalism during the war were both expressed in the CBC national school broadcasts of the forties. According to the first Supervisor of School Broadcasts in the CBC:

"From the outset the purpose and character of national school broadcasts has been different from the purpose and character of provincial school broadcasts. The latter were planned in the closest possible relation to local courses of study. The former have been planned with the broader aim of strengthening Canadian citizenship and national identity in our school."²

A third element involved in the increased interest in national radio education in the early forties was the willingness, on the part of the provincial educational authorities, to co-operate with a national agency in the development of educational broadcasting. By 1940, the radio had become established as a permanent fixture in

Canada and, as a result, educators grew more insistent that its full potential as an educational medium should be exploited.

Educational opinion on national direction in education was received by the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. Most educational authorities felt that the extension of the educational activity of existing federal agencies, such as the CBC, need not hamper the maintenance of provincial autonomy. The Canadian Teachers' Federation in its statement to the Rowell-Sirois Commission, for instance, claimed that "education is now a service of supreme national importance" and that "equal...educational opportunity is the right of every young person in Canada and that the nation as a whole...should provide this equality."³ The "national importance of education," in the view of the CTF, justified the "Dominion Government in taking what steps circumstances will permit it to take, without impairing the existing and all-important provincial control, to foster this service."⁴

The Teachers' Federation recommended to the Commission three possible ways in which the Dominion Government could aid education. The federal authorities could provide the provinces with financial aid through conditional grants-in-aid. Equalization grants were another means of providing assistance. The third suggestion, however, was the most

relevant for radio education. The CTF felt that there were "ways in which the Dominion might extend services directly to education simply as an extension of activities now conducted by Dominion Government Departments."⁵ The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was one such department.

The Teachers' Federation believed that in school broadcasting "Canada has scarcely made a beginning" and, as a result, the "CBC should be urged to take steps to provide educational radio broadcasts for Canadian schools along British Broadcasting Corporation lines."⁶ The Federation realized, though, that the "initiative of such a policy can scarcely be expected of the CBC, lest it become involved in the question of provincial rights," but it did suggest that "the CBC and the Provincial Departments of Education should co-operate in setting up a central council for school broadcasting, similar to the English Council, for the purposes of adopting a general policy and planning the broadcasts."⁷

In its conclusion, the Teachers' Federation previewed what were later to become the ideals of national radio education. The Federation felt that:

"even under Provincial councils, co-ordination of certain programmes may reasonably be expected which will lead young Canadians to think of themselves as Canadians rather than as provincials. Statesmen of vision must realize the utter absence of any unifying media in our present educational system, and the facilities that radio broadcasting in the schools offer for the creation of a national consciousness in our school population."⁸

In conjunction with the growing desire of educators to co-operate with the national broadcasting authority, the various provincial education authorities began to establish their own educational broadcasting departments. Thus, by 1940, the aspiration for some form of Dominion-Provincial co-operation in radio education was present and the administrative machinery, at least on the provincial side, for implementing policy was developing. The early forties were the years in which the CBC developed its educational department and co-operated with provincial authorities in the creation of national and regional organizations to supervise Canadian radio education.

The rapid growth of interest in the possibilities of national educational broadcasting was also part of a more general inclination in Canadian broadcasting. It was during the forties that the CBC began to overcome its earlier growing pains and to launch itself into a greater number and variety of serious programmes. This subtle shift toward a more serious programme fare was reflected in the educational enterprises undertaken by the Corporation.

The CBC officials, during the forties, began to view the radio audience in terms of its group formations, e.g. children, students, housewives, labourers, farmers, intellectuals. Programmes were designed to fit into the daily routine and to fill the needs of the individuals in these groups.

Thus, the forties witnessed the broadcasting of programmes, such as *La Femme Aujourd'hui*, *Farm Radio Forum*, *Just Mary*, *CBC Wednesday Night* and *Young Canada Listens*.

It appeared that, in the forties, the long-awaited burst of creativity had finally developed in the "radio arts." Educational broadcasting provided the CBC officials, and various radio personalities, with another outlet for their talents. National radio education in the forties was blessed with the services of people such as Morley Callaghan, Alan King, Norman DePoe, Kay Stevenson, John Drainie, Bud Knapp, Neil Morrison and Barry Morse.

The struggle for national broadcasting in Canada had taken place against a background of "anti-Americanism." The impact of American commercial broadcasting upon the minds and emotions of Canadians had helped to spawn the idea of the CBC as a custodian of the Canadian identity. In the establishment of the necessary machinery for co-operation in national radio education, however, it was a co-ordinated effort between the CBC and an American broadcasting network that provided the administrative raw materials.

The late thirties evidenced the creation, by President Roosevelt, of the "Good Neighbour Policy" in relation to those nations residing in the Western Hemisphere. As one aspect of Roosevelt's "Good Neighbour" offer, the Columbia Broadcasting System decided to convert its "School of the

Air" series into an Pan-American enterprise devoted to serving the needs of schools throughout the Western Hemisphere.

Canada, under the aegis of the CBC, was one of the first nations to respond to the CBS offer. Later, the Dominion was joined by Mexico, the Phillipines and South American states like Argentina and Colombia.

A Pan-American Council was established to supervise the general programme policy of the "School of the Air of the Americas," as the old CBS series was now titled.⁹ The Canadian Government was represented on this Council by Mr. Richard S. Lambert, who had recently been appointed as educational adviser to the CBC.¹⁰ The participating countries in this Pan-American project, not only received American broadcasts, but also contributed programmes of their own creation to the series. The CBC, therefore, acting as an educational agent for the Dominion Government, had been able to undertake negotiations with foreign countries resulting in the transmission of international educational broadcasts throughout Canada.

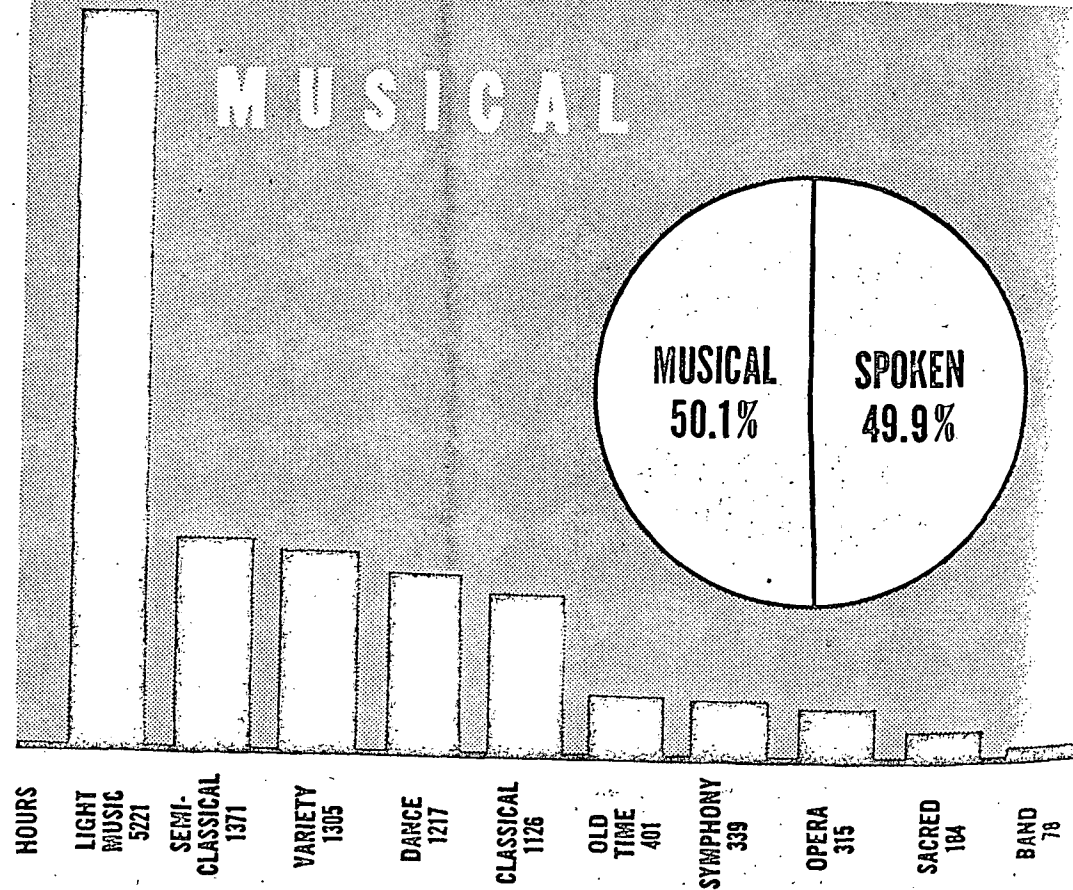
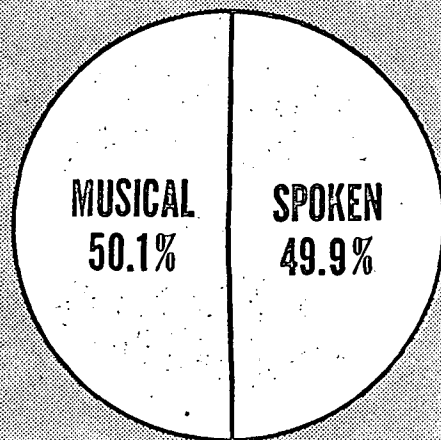
The participation of Canada in the 'School of the Air of the Americas' stimulated two developments within the CBC. First, the Corporation established a National Committee of Education to direct Canada's activities in the project. The representation on this Committee included

Music

Music of all kinds takes up more than half of the total hours of broadcasting on the French, Trans-Canada and Dominion networks. The greater portion of this time is devoted to light music, followed by semi-classical programs, dance music, variety, classical, symphony programs, opera, old time music, band music and sacred music.

CLASSIFICATION OF

MUSICAL



Altogether, the CBC pays the major Canadian symphony orchestras nearly \$60,000 a year in broadcast fees, providing vital support for these organizations.

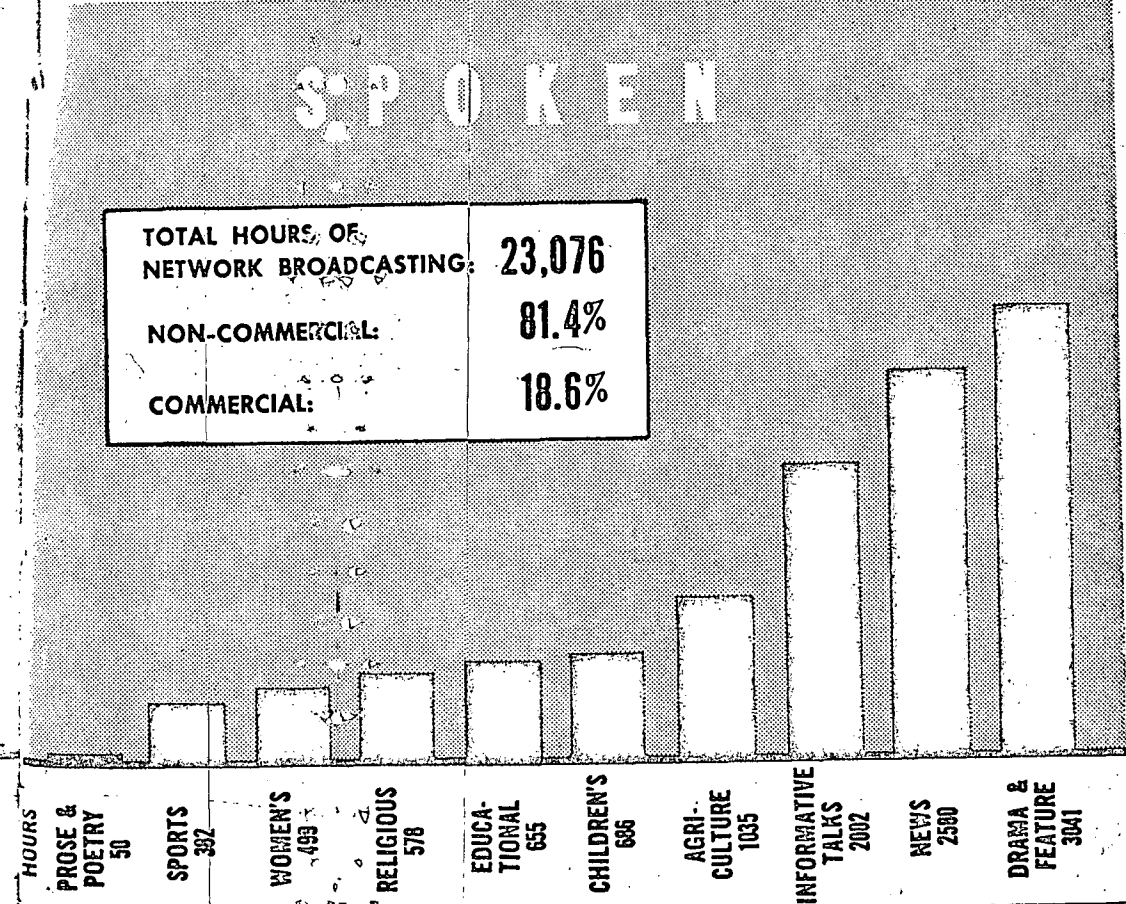
The Toronto Symphony "Pops" Concerts* were broadcast during the winter months on the Trans-Canada and French networks on Friday nights, and both networks also

(Throughout this Report, an asterisk (*) denotes a sponsored program.)

NETWORK PROGRAMS

SPOKEN

TOTAL HOURS OF NETWORK BROADCASTING:	23,076
NON-COMMERCIAL:	81.4%
COMMERCIAL:	18.6%



the Toronto Public Libraries Association, the Ontario College of Education, the CBC, the Canadian Junior Red Cross, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Canadian Teacher's Federation, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Plan and the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations. The CBC, unlike the Federal Government itself, appeared capable of marshalling the diverse support required to form a National Committee of Canadian educationalists to engage in international educational co-operation.

The second action, undertaken by the CBC, was the creation of the necessary internal administrative machinery that would facilitate the organization, production and reception of the 'School of the Air' broadcasts. The CBC Supervisor of Institutional Broadcasts assumed charge over the executive functions, while Mr. Richard Lambert undertook the promotion and public relations work involved in the series of programmes. Thus, the CBC had begun to build the internal machinery and to establish the co-operative relations that would later be required in order to undertake a national radio education scheme.

As the 'School of the Air of the Americas' progressed, it became increasingly apparent that the series was being utilized almost as an instrument of American foreign policy. The element of propaganda that usually was contained in

foreign relations involving a medium of mass communication was especially noticeable in the social studies course of the series. For example, one of the American programmes received in Canada dramatized a book which described the Province of Quebec. In this programme, travellers from the United States were pictured as encountering numerous begging children during their excursions into "La Belle Province."¹¹ On the other side of the coin, there were several reports of American listeners who were shocked upon discovering that wheat could be grown as far north as Saskatchewan. Apparently these American listeners had not yet heard that Canada had developed into the "breadbasket of the world." As a result of many recurring situations, such as the ones described above, the CBC was confirmed in its original suspicion of any American overtures in the realm of the mass media. Nevertheless, the participation of the Corporation in the 'School of the Air of the Americas', had given the CBC the opportunity of initiating a form of national educational planning and of securing the services of an educational adviser.

World War II was one of the most publicized conflicts in the history of mankind. The media of mass communication were employed, not only to conduct a running commentary on the "progress" of the battle, but also as vital instruments for building morale on the "home front". Canada,

as other belligerents, was acutely aware of the desirability of creating a solid phalanx of opinion and emotion behind its war effort. Thus, early in the war, Canada established the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship. One of the first enterprises undertaken by this Council was to request the co-operation of the CBC in the production and presentation, over the national network, of a series of programmes dramatizing the lives of those individuals who had contributed to the building of Canadian nationhood. As a result, in 1942, a broadcast series was launched which depicted the life and work of people such as Lord Durham, Sir J.A. Macdonald, Joseph Howe, Lord Elgin, Wilfred Laurier and William Lyon Mackenzie.

Upon completion of the Citizenship series, and the development of the 'School of the Air of the Americas', the CBC considered that the time was opportune for a more forward approach to educational broadcasting on a national level. Therefore, in the Spring of the year 1942, the Corporation sponsored a "private" conference of all those who were concerned with school broadcasting in Canada. Representatives were present at the conference from all of the provinces, with special reports on educational radio presented by Mr. Ken Caple (B.C.), Mr. Morley Toombs (Sask.), Mr. Gerald Redmond (N.S.) and Mr. Aurile Séguin of Quebec.

The Conference was able to arrive at a consensus in

relation to four points. The participants felt that one weekly broadcast to the schools over the national network was now desirable. Most of those in attendance at the Conference agreed that at least some of the best programmes in the CBS 'School of the Air' series should be continued in the Canadian classroom. It was considered essential, however, that Canada contribute "Canadian" programmes to the American sponsored series, if the Dominion was to continue as an active participant in the venture. Finally, most observers at the meeting deemed it essential that the available data, concerning national and regional radio education programmes must somehow be pooled through the medium of a national radio education publication.

The CBC was sufficiently impressed by the results obtained from the Conference to contemplate the production of some form of national educational broadcasting series. This decision, on the part of the Corporation, raised a very touchy issue. The convening of an informal and private conference of educators interested in radio was one thing, but seizing the initiative in a national scheme of radio education was another question entirely. Thus, the Corporation was forced to search for a means of deflecting the spotlight from the fact that a federal agency was desirous of undertaking a national educational enterprise.

The solution to this problem that was arrived at

eventually by the officials of the Corporation, was an example of "old wine in new bottles". As in a similar procedure employed by the Dominion Government to found the Royal Commission on Technical-Vocational Education in 1913, the CBC sent a letter to the Department of Education of each province requesting its approval for the proposed national radio education project.¹² The Corporation also invited each Province to devise and contribute, at its own expense (cost of script, acting and talent), one or more programmes to the series. An identical invitation was delivered by the Corporation to the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

The CBC received a positive reply from its invitation to the Canadian Teachers' Federation and from all of the provincial education authorities, except the Roman Catholic Education Committee of the Province of Quebec. The refusal of French-Catholic Quebec to participate in the proposed national radio education series created what was later to emerge as the anomaly of national educational broadcasting in Canada. From this date on, the concept of "national", when applied to educational radio, meant, in reality, "national minus the French." Partly to overcome the French refusal, the CBC delivered two extra programmes to Quebec, through the Radio-College series.

The national series, when eventually broadcast, was

called "Heroes of Canada". The aim of the programmes was to stress "the unity of spirit among the people of all parts of Canada and...suggest to the boys and girls of today to attack their own problems in the same spirit as the pioneers of old."¹³ The "hero" aspect of these broadcasts was concerned with individuals who had displayed both a "pioneering spirit and the sense of social responsibility" and it consumed twenty of the thirty minutes of broadcast time.¹⁴ The remaining ten minutes of each programme was devoted to an experimental news broadcast designed by the CBC Central newsroom, especially for a child audience. As was to be expected in educational radio programmes, there were numerous parents in the so-called "junior audience".

An active participant in the 'Heroes of Canada' project, after its completion, considered that the series received praise for:

"Improving the pupils English vocabulary and facility for self-expression, teaching children that not all 'heroes' are on the battlefield, providing a basis for better listening at home, leading to further research work in class, building up a national spirit, and cultivating children's sense of adventure."¹⁵

However, as criticisms began to flow in, this same observer was forced to dilute his original enthusiasm for the series. Some of these objections stemmed from the fact that:

"Many teachers, misunderstanding the "inspirational" purpose of the broadcasts, complained that they were not closely enough related to the school curriculum.

Others voiced dislike of political and abstract ideas in the broadcasts. Considerable objection was taken to the use of accent or dialect, and to too rapid speaking by actors; also to the excessive use of background music and sound effects in production."¹⁶

Upon weighing both the praise and criticisms offered, concerning the 'Heroes of Canada' broadcasts, Mr. R.S. Lambert concluded his observations by declaring that "as school broadcasting developed, there would be needed a special style of script writing and a special kind of production suited to school children."¹⁷

In the year 1943, at the special request of the Dominion Committee on Reconstruction, a Committee of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association was appointed to "develop a Dominion-wide report of educational needs and for recommendations thereof."¹⁸ Thus, a national organization of educators was being called upon, by a federal agency, to investigate and make recommendations in an area of jurisdiction that was constitutionally assigned to the Provinces. The CNEA Committee, from its inception, though, recognized the "constitutional stipulation which confronts all who investigate Canadian education."¹⁹

During its initial investigations, the Survey Committee "discovered the utmost anxiety on the part of all concerned that the control of education by the provinces should not be weakened" and, therefore, the Committee members agreed that "provincial autonomy must be stoutly maintained."²⁰

However, as the investigation progressed and the needs of Canadians became more clear to the Committee, it became evident that the "maintenance of provincial autonomy is by no means incompatible with progress and national improvement," for in "recent years there has been an inter-provincial pooling of interests and ideas to an extent not generally appreciated."²¹

One area, in education, where the Committee felt that such "national improvement and progress" could be attained was national radio broadcasting. Although the Survey Committee retained the opinion that "broadcasting for classroom instruction must continue to be the responsibility of Provincial Departments of Education," it expressed the view that there was "ample place for programmes of an inspirational and broadly informative character which should be regular features of the national network."²² In order to be effective in any educational endeavour, though, the Committee felt that the "CBC requires additional personnel and...resources...to make the contribution that will be satisfactory."²³

What, in the conception of the CNEA Committee, was to form the "contribution" that the CBC was expected to make to a reconstructed Dominion? Firstly, the educational broadcasts of the Corporation could be utilized as a means of "equalizing educational opportunity for the rural as

compared to the urban child."²⁴ At a relatively low expense, the radio could be utilized as a means of extending the range and quality of the educational experiences available to the former. The second contribution that national radio education was expected to make was the stimulation of nation-wide radio programmes, involving the co-operation of provincial authorities and directed to the "preparation of specific school lessons."²⁵ A prerequisite to the production of such "school radio lessons" was, in the opinion of the Committee, the appointment of a CBC Director of School Broadcasting. This Director was to be "an educator of statesmanlike vision who will also understand the techniques of broadcasting, and be able to travel across the Dominion gathering together the threads from which Canadian unity will be woven."²⁶

Radio education in Canada possessed a built-in division of authority and responsibility which stemmed from the separate constitutional allocation of powers over radio and education, i.e. broadcasting was a federal and education was a provincial responsibility. Thus, the Survey Committee was also forced to divide the administrative and planning responsibilities in any scheme of national educational broadcasting which it proposed. The Committee considered that "since the preparation of a broadcast requires highly specialized skill, and a good deal of expense," programme

material "should be prepared by Provincial Departments of Education and should be carried on the air through the existing facilities of the CBC."²⁷ The actual broadcast production would be "guided by someone who knows the classroom."²⁸ However, in all cases, the "preparation of the script and presentation should be entrusted to professional broadcasters."²⁹

The Survey Committee also gave its consideration to the role that the radio might play in the fast-developing adult education movement. The Committee felt that no uniform pattern of adult education for the Dominion was possible, for the "needs vary from community to community".³⁰ The educational needs of adults could be met, therefore, only "by action within the community."³¹ However, the Committee did not intend to suggest that there should "be no national framework within which the communities may function."³² A national framework such as this could be devised the Committee felt, but it "must not be conceived in terms of prescriptions or uniformity, but in terms of co-ordination and integration."³³

The national framework which the Survey Committee felt was best for the Dominion was the type that the Canadian Association for Adult Education was building through "conferences, the use of the radio for adult listening groups and leadership training courses."³⁴ This form of national

education increased "the public interest in informal adult education...improved public morale and...broadened the understanding of an interest in public issues of a national and international character."³⁵

Thus, the first major survey, on a national level, of the educational needs of Canadians had been completed. The Survey Report, when published, was to find its way into the hands of many influential politicians and educators and was to be considered as a form of blue-print for Canada's educational future. Every individual who read the document would be struck by one factor: Canadians wanted, needed, and could have a national educational experience through the medium of radio broadcasting.

The forties witnessed the convening of many conferences devoted to the discussion of national issues. It was not surprising, therefore, that the CBC decided to hold a second National Conference on School Broadcasting. On May 13, 1943, a national conference on educational broadcasting was held in Toronto under the chairmanship of Dr. J.S. Thomson, the new General Manager of the CBC. This meeting was to serve as a means of evaluating the effects of the "Heroes of Canada" series and to further the role of the CBC in building a strong Canadian identity.

The conference received a report from Mr. R.S. Lambert on the effects of the first national educational broadcasting series. Lambert told the participants that most of the

evidence available indicated that the series had been a success. The programmes which were built upon political or intellectual themes, Lambert felt, were less successful than the music and dramatic presentations. He was very excited over the fact, however, that the "CBC had received many letters from children and parents indicating a considerable amount of home listening to the school broadcasts."³⁶

The most interesting and significant development resulting from this conference, however, did not originate with the CBC, but emerged from the representatives of Western Canada. This development was expressed in the form of a statement, issued by the Radio Committee of the Department of Education in Alberta, which established, in very clear form, the tenuous problems which would confront any attempt to build a formal radio education scheme for the Dominion. The memorandum, delivered by Mr. Donald Cameron of station CKUA, served as both a warning to the CBC and as a guideline, within which any future radio education policy would have to operate.

It was the view of the Alberta Radio Committee that the "future of radio in the schools is by no means clear."³⁷ The Committee felt that there were dangers implicit in viewing the radio as the panacea for rural - urban equalization in education, for the "true remedy for this condition was larger grants for education, rather than a shift of responsibility from the classroom to the radio."³⁸ The

memorandum also declared that "broadcasts...within the hours of instruction of the school day are unquestionably a part of the school program and, as such, fall within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Departments of Education."³⁹ It was very clear that Alberta was trying to impress upon the officials of the CBC the fact that it was not possible or desirable to "organize school broadcasts from the top down."⁴⁰

The Alberta Committee also dealt with Mr. R.S. Lambert's proposal that control over national radio education be vested in the CBC. They felt that, if the purposes of such national educational broadcasts were to "strengthen national consciousness and increase children's awareness of what is going on in other parts of the Dominion," then it was clear that the "educational aspects of such matters of high policy, on which there are sharp differences of opinion throughout Canada, is the proper concern of a Dominion Board representing the Provincial Departments of Education, rather than the CBC and its appointees."⁴¹ Alberta also expressed the fear that, since "national school broadcasts must...be related to the Provincial school programs," there would be "difficulty in making these equally acceptable to all of the Provinces without watering them down to the point where they cease to have much value in any Province."⁴²

The Alberta Radio Committee submitted three recommendations to the National Educational Broadcasting Conference which were intended as proposals for operating national radio within the context of Provincially controlled education. These proposals were:

- "1. That steps be taken to arrange for the appointment of a Dominion Board on School Broadcasting, such a Board to consist of representatives of the Provincial Departments of Education, appointed or nominated by the said Departments, and to have the responsibility and authority for preparing and arranging for national school broadcasts
2. That the Conference consider the advisability of setting up at least two regional boards having functions similar to those proposed for a Dominion Board
3. That during the next two years any series of national school broadcasts to be released by the CBC be concerned primarily with the following topics: the equalization of educational opportunities in Canada, social welfare in Canada, the problem of social security, discrimination, full employment after the war and the CNEA Report on Post-War Education."⁴³

Dr. Thomson deemed it advisable and necessary that the CBC provide the Alberta Government, as well as all other Provinces, with a formal policy statement on the issues that had been raised in the memorandum. The CBC admitted readily that the "problems involved in educational radio are somewhat complicated."⁴⁴ However, with this qualification in view, Dr. Thomson declared that:

"Education is organized on a Provincial basis, whereas the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation recognizes fully that the direction of education is in the hands of the Provincial Departments and we have no right to intrude upon what is strictly a curriculum responsibility for the authorities concerned. On the other hand radio

broadcasting is a technical matter, not only from the point of view of actual physical apparatus required, but also from the point of view of presentation. There is a growing body of experimental knowledge in connection with radio broadcasting, and in the last resort the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation must be responsible for every programme that goes over the air...where there is goodwill and a desire to work together, there is no reason why the CBC and the various Provincial Departments should not come to a very happy and harmonious working arrangement for doing this important public service...I am interested in your proposal about a National Co-operative Committee. As a matter of fact, we have this in mind, and I expect we shall move into some such arrangements in the near future."⁴⁵

The National Educational Broadcasting Conference attached great importance to the Alberta proposals and, as a result, agreed upon the following resolutions:

- "1. That the program of national school broadcasts, begun last year, should be continued, and that, where possible, expansion should be made
2. That copies of this resolution be sent to all Departments of Education throughout the Dominion, together with a letter addressed to the Ministers and permanent heads of Departments inviting their co-operation in the work
3. That the time has come when, with respect to school broadcasting, a more formal arrangement may be necessary, so far as the Departments of Education are concerned."⁴⁶

During the Conference, Dr. Percival, of the Protestant Education Committee of Quebec, brought the CNEA Survey Report to the attention of the participants. Dr. Percival was especially concerned that more formal facilities be developed to guide national educational radio. Thus, he seconded both the CNEA proposals and the Alberta Report

by recommending that a School Broadcasting Department be established within the CBC. As a result of these suggestions, Dr. Thomson in 1943, appointed Mr. R.S. Lambert to the position of Supervisor of School Broadcasting for the Corporation.

In 1943, Mr. R.S. Lambert, in his official capacity as Supervisor of School Broadcasts for the CBC, attended the annual meeting of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association. The specific intent of Lambert's visit was to outline the future policy to be followed by the CBC in educational broadcasting. He noted that it had previously been the custom to "hold an informal conference of persons connected with radio education in the various provinces," but he suggested that the "time had come to supplement this conference with a smaller steering council."⁴⁷ Lambert recommended, for the approval of the CNEA, the formation of a National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting. The CBC suggested that this Council should consist of "thirteen members, one nominee of each Department of Education, excepting Quebec which should have two, and one nominee each from the National Conference of Canadian Universities, the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the National Federation of Home and School."⁴⁸ In addition, the Corporation would "nominate a distinguished educationalist to act as chairman of the Council."⁴⁹

What were the proposed functions of this National

Advisory Council? According to Lambert, the Council was to "advise the CBC on the planning of National School broadcasts and of programmes related to educational publicity," to "co-operate with the CBC on matters affecting reception and utilization of school broadcasts and in the initiation of new experiments in educational broadcasting."⁵⁰ The Corporation also suggested some problems which it felt could form the immediate concern of such a Council. A basic need was considered to be "a study of the curricula of the nine provinces, to find out what amount of common ground there is between them which could be served by the radio."⁵¹ Another need was to "study the problems connected with the supply and installation of receivers in schools and also of more systematic classroom utilization of school broadcasts."⁵² In summary, the CBC hoped that the proposed Council "would build a real working alliance between the broadcasters and educators."⁵³ Mr. Lambert, in conjunction with this hope, closed his address by repeating his faith that:

"radio is admirably suited to be the instrument for strengthening national unity of and in the rising generation in our country. How this can best be done is a task which needs to be shared by experts-experts in education on the one hand, experts on broadcasting on the other."⁵⁴

After due consideration, the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association provided its full endorsement to the recommendations of Mr. R.S. Lambert and the CBC.

The National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting was formally established in October of 1943. The basic principle guiding the Council, as outlined in its constitution, was that the CBC "would be responsible for all that went on the air, while the education authorities would be responsible for utilization, in the classroom, of what went on the air."⁵⁵ The specific functions of the Council were:

- "1. to advise the CBC on the planning of programmes on the national network intended for reception by schools during normal hours
2. to advise the CBC on programmes relating to educational publicity e.g. education week
3. to advise the CBC on planning of school programmes to be exchanged with the U.S. or other networks abroad
4. to advise and co-operate with the CBC on suitable publicity for school and other educational broadcasts
5. to co-operate with the CBC on matters affecting the reception of school broadcasts (advice to teachers, provision of receivers, distribution of literature).
6. to collect reports on provincial, regional and national school broadcasts and to discuss these reports with the CBC
7. to advise the provincial governments on changes and new developments on educational broadcasting. To co-operate with the CBC in initiating new experiments in educational broadcasting."⁵⁶

The functions assigned to the Council were indicative of the channels which had opened up since 1929 to permit education and broadcasting authorities to co-operate in the production of radio education programmes.

Within the framework of the National Advisory Council, the CBC "wished to make sure that their educational content meets the approval of the education authorities."⁵⁷ Thus, in the forties the Corporation's policy in national radio education was:

- "1. to assist Departments of Education wishing to provide educational broadcasts to schools on a provincial or regional basis
2. to supplement such provincial or regional schemes of school broadcasting by providing, on the national network, school broadcasts designed to strengthen national unity and increase Canadian consciousness among students; also school broadcasts dealing with subjects that are of common interest to the schools of all provinces."⁵⁸

The National Advisory Council was to convene formally once per year. Each year an executive committee was appointed, with power to act for the Council between meetings. The membership of the Council was composed of one representative nominated from each Provincial Department of Education, except Quebec, which was permitted two (one French, one English); two representatives of the Canadian Teacher's Federation; two representatives nominated by the National Conference of Canadian Universities; one representative selected by the Canadian School Trustees Association and one by the School Trustees of French-speaking Quebec; two representatives from the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation and one representative from the Canadian and Newfoundland Educational Association.⁵⁹ The CBC was

permitted to nominate a distinguished educator to serve as chairman of the Council and to send its own School Broadcasts Supervisor to function as Secretary.

POLICY FORMATION PROCEDURE

The procedure that was employed by the National Advisory Council to formulate a radio education policy indicated that there were opportunities for national direction in education, without resorting to the establishment of a Federal Ministry in the field. Thus, in December 1944, the Secretary of the National Advisory Council circulated a letter to all members of the Council asking for programme suggestions. These suggestions were to include the name and aims of the proposed broadcast series, the number of programmes, and the grade level to which they were to be directed. The Secretary of the Council, upon receipt of all of the suggestions, grouped and interpreted them, and then devised a report which he presented to the annual meeting of the Council. During this meeting, the various programme proposals were evaluated, in reference to certain agreed upon criteria, to determine the suitability of the suggestions for a national radio education broadcast.

The five major criteria which were utilized, by the National Advisory Council to evaluate programme proposals were:

- "1. Is this national school broadcast material, i.e. is it either designed to strengthen national unity and increase Canadian consciousness among students or is it of common interest to the schools of all the provinces?
2. Could the subject be better dealt with on a provincial or regional rather than a national basis?
3. Is the subject more suitable for visual than ordinary presentation?
4. Are available CBC resources adequate to secure the best possible result from the proposed subject treatment?
5. Can radio presentation be organized in such a way as to encourage audience participation in the classroom? Or can the radio presentation be successfully tied in with the use of audio-visual aids, or be used to stimulate follow-up work in the classroom?"⁶⁰

If the programme proposal satisfied all these criteria, and, if all parties concerned formed a positive consensus in their views of it, the suggestion was handed over to the CBC officials who undertook the final production and composing operations.

The inaugural meeting of the National Advisory Council on March 9, 1944, concerned itself with three major issues. First, a programme committee was formed to examine the future role of radio broadcasting in education and to draft proposals for the consideration of the Council. This Committee functioned well in the early period of national radio education, but very soon the Provincial Education Departments began to feel that control over matters of educational policy was slipping from their hands into the

grasp of the Committee on Programmes. As a result of the tension that such a situation created, the National Advisory Council, in 1948, assumed full control over programme policy and the Programme Committee was abolished. Thus, the Provincial educational authorities once again possessed the major vote on matters of programme policy.

A second issue arose during the first meeting of the Council which was to plague continuously the operation of national educational broadcasting. The representative from the Canadian Home and Schools requested that the Council supervise, not only school broadcasts, but also all other programmes which affected the education and development of children, including children's entertainment programmes. In response to this request, the Council established a Committee to investigate the problem, but the CBC was unable to strike an agreement with the members of the Council on out-of-school broadcasting. The Council was forced to drop the issue of informal educational broadcasts. The final matter that was dealt with by the Council was the question of the use of the French language in radio education. The Council formed a committee to inquire into the proper role that this language could fulfill in promoting better understanding between the French and English-speaking Canadians. Again no positive action was taken on this subject.

The formation of the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting was the end result of years of work in attempts to build a solid administrative framework within which CBC-Provincial Education Department co-operation could occur. The Council was to be the focal point for planning educational broadcasting until the appearance of the White Paper on Broadcasting of 1966. Only after the formation of the National Advisory Council was the CBC able to inaugurate, on a large scale, a permanent series of national educational broadcasts.

The National Advisory Council conducted most of its relations with the CBC through the School Broadcasts Department of the Corporation. The School Broadcasts Department formed a section of the CBC's Programme Division. The Department was charged with the responsibilities of implementing the plans and policy of the National Advisory Council, assisting Provincial Education Departments to put into effect their own local and regional plans for school broadcasting, and promoting educational broadcasting generally. The Supervisor of the CBC School Broadcasts Department was also Secretary of the National Advisory Council and acted as an intermediary between the Council and the CBC. In his role as Supervisor, Lambert also acted as the Corporation's agent in its relations with the individual provincial education authorities.

One special function which the CBC Supervisor of School Broadcasts had to perform was to insure that "all Provinces received equal treatment in their use of the CBC facilities."⁶¹ The more specific duties of the Supervisor were:

"To make sure that no one would criticize the CBC for interfering in matters of educational policy which were the prerogatives of the Provincial Departments of Education; that no one would accuse the CBC of favouring one Province in the use of CBC facilities or finance; that all School broadcasts were produced in accordance with CBC standards and techniques, and that the costs of school broadcasting would be shared, on an equitable and agreed basis between the CBC and the educational authorities."⁶²

The Corbett Report had indicated that a system of programme evaluation was necessary to the success of any venture in radio education. The attempt to establish such an evaluation system for national educational broadcasting proved to be one of the major obstacles confronting the CBC School Broadcasting Department.

The major difficulty in national evaluation was the insistence by provincial authorities that all evaluation should be conducted under the auspices of each individual education department. Provincial educational officials were unwilling to permit the CBC Research Bureau to undertake this task. The end result was a situation in which each province possessed its own evaluation method, so that very little in the way of national statistics or uniform means of evaluation were available.

Although the CBC Supervisor of School Broadcasting played a crucial role in the planning, preparation and production of Canadian radio education, there was always one major flaw in his position. This defect stemmed from the fact that his authority over radio education did not extend to any segment of the CBC French Network.

The CBC, by 1943, had managed to provide a common meeting-house for discussions leading to the development of national co-operation in educational broadcasting. During the forties, the Corporation also received inquiries into the possibility of regional co-operation in radio education.

There were several reasons why a regional approach to educational broadcasting might prove to be feasible. The major broadcasting networks of the CBC were closely related to Canada's five time zones and were supervised by "regional programme directors."⁶³ Canadian education had also been tied closely to local or regional conditions and, as a result, many people felt that radio education should relate, in some fashion, to these areal peculiarities. Besides, the radio recognized no provincial boundary, so that it was almost impossible to keep education programmes of one province entirely out of the grasp of listeners in the adjoining province.

At the same time as Canada had been evolving from

"Colony to Nation," it had also been engendering certain regional loyalties.⁶⁴ The depression, for example, had been experienced differently in the various Canadian regions. Regional development schemes, such as the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation project, were also started in the thirties. Interest in regional co-operation in educational radio, therefore, formed part of a more general trend toward regionalism in Canada.

One of the benefits people hoped would be derived from the use of radio in education was a greater equalization of educational opportunity. The radio could bring to the isolated rural dweller the same opera recital, lecture and teacher that the urbanite could avail himself of directly. Besides this, various regions could be provided with specialized knowledge, through broadcasting, to help them cope more effectively with conditions in their area, e.g. weather reports for Maritime fishermen. Although most individuals could afford to purchase a radio receiving set, very few provincial governments could handle the high costs involved in establishing their own radio education system to fulfill the specialized needs of their citizens.

As a result, provinces like Saskatchewan realized that, if the radio could be operated on the basis of large units involving the co-operation of several provinces, the high cost factor could be reduced and the same specialized educational service could be provided. Other provinces

were contemplating along the same lines of thought as Saskatchewan, for an invitation was being prepared for all four Western Provinces, by Mr. I. Schultz, Minister of Education for Manitoba, concerning a conference of educators on the possibilities of regional co-operation in radio education.

The Western Regional Conference on Educational Broadcasting was convened formally in Saskatoon on December 11, 1940. Manitoba was represented at the Conference by H.R. Low, Superintendent of Education, Saskatchewan by A.B. Ross, Alberta by Dr. H.C. Newland, Supervisor of Schools and British Columbia by Ken Caple, recently appointed as Director of School Broadcasting in the Province. The CBC was represented by Mr. Andrew Cowan of CBC Winnipeg.

The Conference arrived at a consensus first regarding the objectives which should govern educational broadcasting on the regional level. These aims were that:

- "1. Every child should learn to listen to broadcasts, and to appreciate and evaluate them.
2. Though, the radio can never replace the classroom teacher or classroom activities, it can guide, stimulate, intensify and supplement classroom effort, especially in underprivileged communities.
3. The radio should encourage interest in the concerns of the community and the world outside the classroom and foster, in pupils, that sense of civic and social responsibility in which rests the future of democracy."

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Besides establishing these general principles of radio education, the Conference also formulated a safeguard

for provincial rights. It was resolved that "any school broadcasts prepared for local needs in the province and approved generally by the schools using them should not be supplanted by others from outside of the province."⁶⁶

The terms of reference, for the discussion on regional co-operation that were to follow were, therefore, established in such a way as to ensure that the provincial prerogative would receive the highest priority, so that neither national nor regional interests could supersede it. Keeping these safeguards in mind, the four Western Provinces agreed to "attempt the joint preparation of a few broadcasts to supplement the provincial programmes and ask the CBC for assistance in preparing them and putting them on the air."⁶⁷ The financial foundation for the co-operative broadcasts was in the form of an equal cost-sharing system between the provinces with the CBC providing, free of charge, all production and network facilities.

The regional co-operative series of educational broadcasts was originated in Vancouver and Winnipeg, consisting mostly of primary music and dramatized literature. Each script was approved by all four Western Provinces before being aired. Therefore, in 1941-42, each Western Province received three forms of educational broadcast; one from the CBS 'School of the Air,' one produced specifically for provincial consumption and one from the Western Regional series.

As was the case in national radio education, the year 1943 set the stage for the development of more formal administrative machinery to facilitate educational broadcasting on a regional level. The National School Broadcasting Conference held in Toronto in 1943 had provided the opportunity for an informal inter-provincial conference of Western educators to discuss more formal means of stimulating and ensuring regional co-operation. This consultation between the Western provinces culminated eventually in a formal meeting, in Saskatoon, between the respective provinces. The Saskatoon Conference was in agreement on the following points:

- "1. That a Western Regional Committee for School Broadcasting be set-up consisting of representatives of the four Western Provinces, to be appointed by the Departments of Education, and of the CBC
2. That each Department be asked to appoint members to the Western Regional Committee, to send the names of such members to the Secretary of the Committee, and to name one such member with whom correspondence may be conducted
3. That the members appointed to the Regional Committee by any one Province should constitute a local Radio-Curriculum Committee or panel in that province; and that while it might not be possible or expedient for all of the members of a local committee to attend meetings of the Regional Committee, all members in each province are automatically members of the Regional Committee
4. That the persons appointed to a Radio-Curriculum Committee should be expert in the respective fields of study for which they were selected. They should make a study of the content of the curricula and the techniques of instruction in all four of the provinces, in order that common elements may be discovered

5. That the following aspects of the curricula be given special study by the Regional Committee: values and possibilities for broadcasting in music, social studies and health. The possibilities of cutting across the curricula content of these subjects is to be examined with a view to developing in the broadcasts an integrated school programme." ⁶⁸

One final preliminary meeting was held, by the four Western Provinces, this time in Banff, to formulate a programme policy for the new regional radio education project. The Education Departments decided to "consider themselves responsible for the selection of the broadcasting topics, the choice of subject matter to be included in the broadcast and the writing of the scripts."⁶⁹ Following this procedure, the "scripts would be forwarded to the CBC at Winnipeg (when it was the production center) for further editing."⁷⁰ The same co-operative arrangement, in regard to the revision of scripts by the CBC, was maintained in the national educational broadcasting schemes.

The Corporation considered the "scripts from the standpoint of broadcast techniques and made suggestions concerning changes which were necessary."⁷¹ The scripts would then be returned to the respective Education Departments for their final approval. After consideration of the scripts, the provincial authorities "would send the scripts back to the production rooms of the CBC for presentation over the air."⁷²

Thus, from the procedure employed in writing the scripts, it was quite evident that a system of checks and

balances had been purposely built into the regional broadcast series in an attempt to preserve the educational lines of authority. In fact, the Regional Educational Broadcasting Committee made it quite clear to the CBC that it would "as a matter of policy be free to hold its meetings without necessarily having any member of the CBC staff present and, if it is desirable to have such a member present, the invitation shall be sent to the CBC Supervisor of Educational Broadcasts."⁷³

The Regional Broadcasting series proved to be a boon to the so-called "have-not" provinces in Western Canada, for these areas could now draw upon the experiences and knowledge of their more fortunate neighbours. The Manitoba Education Department reported that "through Provincial co-operation in planning and presenting programmes, it has been possible to provide broadcasts superior to anything we could have done individually."⁷⁴ Saskatchewan surpassed Manitoba in the expression of its appreciation of the regional series by announcing that "co-operative broadcasts bring an atmosphere of fellowship that comes when Saskatchewan boys and girls share with the boys and girls of other provinces in the same radio experiences."⁷⁵ The immediate rewards Saskatchewan felt were derived from the co-operative series were outlined as follows:

"1. Saskatchewan has no CBC production center and local

efforts would be vastly inferior to the standards of the Winnipeg CBC center.

2. It would be difficult to muster the knowledge and experience of some specialists in the larger centers.
3. It is a great feature of radio to be able to bring the master teachers into intimate communication with remote schools.
4. There was a great reduction in labour and expenses."

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The Western experiment in regional programming for educational purposes encouraged the Maritime Provinces to undertake a similar endeavour. Thus, in March 1943, a Maritime Regional Broadcasting Committee was established, composed of representatives from the Department of Education of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, the CBC, three teachers' societies and the Home and School Federation. The aim of the Maritime Broadcast series was, as its Western counterpart, to "present programmes which will provide new interests and appreciation and help build desirable attitudes" and, "while presenting a limited amount of factual material...to supplement the work of the classroom teacher on the imaginative side."⁷⁷

During the special broadcast which inaugurated the Maritime regional series, Premier A.S. MacMillan of Nova Scotia, declared that:

"seated at his desk in the classroom the child is brought by radio into close contact with life and experience... here is equality of opportunity in education at work. Every boy and girl in every school - be that school in an urban village or rural community - may have equal

access to enriching influence through the presentation of school radio broadcasts."⁷⁸

Premier J.W. Jones of Prince Edward Island added his support to Premier MacMillan's statement by noting that "radio can supply the teacher with new ideas and subject matter which will prove instructive as well as entertaining, and will guide her in a general way in her programme of teaching."⁷⁹

The conservative nature of Ontario was nowhere better revealed than in that Province's cautious approach to educational broadcasting. However, in the Fall of 1941, the Ontario Education Association, through its policy committee, established a twenty-three man committee to investigate the possibilities of using the radio in the schools of the Province. This decision was approximately ten years behind similar moves made in Nova Scotia and British Columbia.

The Report of the OEA Committee stressed ten points. These points were that school broadcasting had already proved its value in Britain, the United States and six Canadian Provinces; Ontario was lagging behind the rest of the nation in the field, B.C. and Nova Scotia were the best equipped technically; Ontario should take advantage of the offer by the CBC to help in the establishment of a radio education system for the Province; CBC programming contained many broadcasts of general educational value which should be publicized among teachers and students in Ontario;

Ontario teachers should not be left dependent on American programmes, such as 'School of the Air'; school radio should supplement not supplant teaching; education for citizenship should be stressed in school broadcasts and a Provincial Department of School Broadcasts should be established.⁸⁰

The Radio Committee's Report was formally endorsed by the membership of the Ontario Education Association and was later presented to the Ontario Provincial Government. Although the Report did not take immediate effect at the governmental level, a change of government in Ontario eventually reinvigorated the potency of the Committee's recommendations. In 1943, George Drew led his Progressive Conservative Party to victory. As Premier, Drew also held the portfolio of Minister of Education. In this capacity, he proceeded to make some important changes in the provincial education system; the use of radio in education being one of them. However the first formal CBC-Ontario Education Department co-operative venture in radio education was reported to have been inspired by Mrs. Fiorenza Drew, the wife of the Premier. Mrs. Drew was an influential member of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and, as a result, she convinced her husband that classical music should be broadcast to children of school age. Thus, the series 'Music For Young Folk' was launched under the supervision of a joint CBC-Ontario Education Department Committee.

The CBC and the Ontario Education Department continued their co-operation in many other programme series and eventually Ontario developed one of the most noted educational radio systems in North America.⁸¹ The Ontario radio education schemes proved to be so effective that, in 1945, at the request of the Quebec Protestant Education Committee, the Ontario school programmes were made available to the English language stations in the Province of Quebec. This initial gesture inaugurated a long-lasting inter-provincial co-operation in radio education between Ontario and English-speaking Quebec. Although inter-provincial co-operation in radio education might be construed as a positive force in the process of national integration, the problem in connection with the Ontario-Quebec enterprise was that co-operation occurred only along similar religious-ethnic lines.⁸² This factor probably helped to reinforce the religious and the ethnic basis of differentiation in Quebec.

In 1943, when the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting was formed, the Province of Quebec was permitted two members - one each from the Protestant and Catholic sections of the Department of Education. French-speaking Quebec sent Dr. B.O. Filteau to the Council meetings, but the Province did not feel disposed to accept the offer of the CBC to use the facilities of the Corporation for Provincial broadcasts in education or to participate in a national school broadcasting enterprise. It was quite apparent from

their negative reaction to the offer of the CBC, that French-speaking Quebec still conceived of the Corporation, as it had in the era of the Radio Case, as an arm of the Federal Government. However, despite its awareness of the radio's potential threat to provincial autonomy, Quebec was forced to recognize that the new broadcasting medium could perform a tremendous service for the educational system of the Province. Thus, a means had to be found which would permit the French speaking people of Quebec to enjoy the educational benefits of broadcasting and yet still allow the Province to retain its relative independence of federal influence in matters pertaining to cultural survival.

The Premier of Quebec, Mr. Maurice Duplessis, offered one possible solution to the contradictory position in which Quebec found itself. He proposed the establishment of a complete network of stations to be owned and operated by the Province of Quebec. This plan of the Quebec Premier did not reach fruition, however, for as the Radio Case had demonstrated, broadcasting was a specific responsibility of the Dominion Government. Besides this constitutional block, the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1936 had prohibited any other authority but the Federal Government to issue broadcasting licenses.⁸³

Dr. Augustin Frigon, as Assistant General Manager of the Corporation and a long-experienced educator, had been placed in his administrative post partly to undertake special

broadcasting responsibilities in relation to the Province of Quebec. Thus, in his role as moderator of the desires and needs of the Quebecois, Frigon began to contemplate some means of filling the "radio gap" in Quebec's educational system. In this search, Frigon first discarded any ideas of penetrating, in a formal sense, the educational institutions that were under the specific control of the Education Department of the Province of Quebec. However, Frigon realized that there were many avenues, and even institutions of education, in Quebec that were outside of the formal educational system and which might be amenable to overtures directed from the CBC. One such educational institution was the collège classique, which was under the control of the Universities of Laval and Montreal. Thus, Frigon secured the advice "of the pedagogical committee of our classical colleges concerning the possibility of launching a radio series of lectures designed for the general public, but chosen in such a way that they may be useful to students of the art course grade."⁸⁴

Dr. Frigon received a favorable reply from the Pedagogical Committee and, as a result, Mr. Aurèle Séguin, Director of Educational Broadcasts of the CBC French Network, recommended the establishment of a series of educational broadcasts along the lines suggested by Dr. Frigon. This proposed broadcast series was to be called "Radio-Collège".

The programmes were to be broadcast over the CBC French network in the afternoon, between 4:30-5:30 pm. In order to ensure that no claim could be issued to the effect that the CBC was sponsoring a series of school broadcasts in Quebec, Dr. Frigon "merely informed the education authorities of the fact that these programmes would be on the air every afternoon from 4:30-5:30 pm."⁸⁵ The effect that the Radio-College programmes would have, Dr. Frigon felt, would vary according to the motivation of the student to listen and the expressed desire, on the part of the teacher or parent, that they should listen.⁸⁶

Although Radio-College was conceived as an informal instrument of facilitating the entry of the radio into Quebec's educational programme, Dr. Frigon, in a speech that inaugurated the programme series, called upon the operators of that system to take full advantage of the broadcasts. In Dr. Frigon's words:

"If our young people, our professors, our teachers, our school inspectors, our schools, our listeners, generally derive some advantage from Radio-College, we shall be quite satisfied and we shall have played the part we have assigned to ourselves. We hope that the broadcasts of Radio-College will be an encouragement to them, and a help in carrying out their educational work as in the perfecting of their own culture."⁸⁷

Dr. Frigon's urging that his fellow Quebecois use the radio for educational purposes appeared to have taken effect, for in his testimony before the Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting in 1942, he reported that:

"262 broadcasts were offered this year...it has been definitely established that the students of the following educational institutions have listened regularly to the broadcasts-regional domestic science schools (50%); scholastic normal schools (42%); classical colleges (33-50%).88

The administration of the Radio-Colège series was the responsibility of a standing committee of advisers set up by Mr. Séguin. The Committee was composed of the following well-known educators: Abbé Georges Perras, President of the Standing Committee on Secondary Education, University of Montreal; Abbé Emile Beaudry, President of the Standing Committee on Secondary Education, Laval University; Father Alcantara Dion, Secretary of the Standing Committee on Secondary Education, Laval University; and Brother Marie-Victorin, Director of the Botanical Gardens and of the Botanical Institute of Montreal University. The Secretary of the committee was Mr. Séguin, who was to perform the same role for the French Network as R.S. Lambert played in CBC relations with the National Advisory Council.

Most of the programmes of Radio-Colège were presented in lecture form, and a demand soon arose to have these in printed form. Arrangements were made, therefore, by the CBC to publish the most outstanding lecture-courses in book form, under the general title "Les Editions de Radio-Colège."

Each volume in this series enjoyed a circulation of from three to five thousand copies. The Corporation also published various "aids to study" booklets to accompany

the broadcasts. The interest in Radio-College was indicated by the fact that, in 1944, the programme booklet entitled "Radio-College" reached a circulation of 15,000 copies.

During a conference marking the fifth anniversary of Radio-College, Dr. Frigon announced that "Radio College is the finest of the CBC's achievements in the Province of Quebec⁸⁹."

The CBC, through the efforts primarily of its French-speaking officials and the co-operation of Quebec educators, had managed to influence the educational experience of the Quebecois. By 1944, the Corporation had also built the administrative network required to facilitate the production and distribution of educational broadcasts on provincial, regional and national levels. The production of these radio education programmes had depended upon the mutual agreement by federal and provincial authorities to ignore constitutional difficulties and co-operate, on the administrative level, to achieve a common goal - education.

The CBC during the forties had also acted as an international educational agent for Canada. This was a very significant role for the Corporation since Canada did not possess a national ministry of education. Thus, the CBC through its relations with American and Commonwealth countries secured the recordings of some excellent educational broadcasts for use in the schools of Canada.⁹⁰ The Corporation also represented Canada in international educa-

tional conferences, such as the 1949 Conference of Commonwealth School Broadcasters held in Toronto.

There still remained one factor in radio education which the Corporation needed to influence in order that it could fulfill effectively the educational potential of broadcasting. The CBC had to provide some facilities for the training of teachers and broadcasters in the techniques of radio education. In 1945, therefore, the Corporation announced the formation of a Summer Radio Institute at Queen's University.

The Institute offered a six week non-credit elementary course of instruction in speech, script-writing and production for radio. The University station CFRC, with its studios and equipment, was made available to the students for workshop practice. CBC experts in drama, music, talks, education and news lectured to the participants on the application of radio to their respective fields.

The Radio Institute was designed to meet three basic needs. First, it was to help those people who were already involved in radio and wished to develop specialized skills and knowledge. Second, the Summer Institute was designed for those individuals who possessed suitable background knowledge and wanted to prepare themselves for full-time work in broadcasting. Finally, a great many programmes were constructed especially for teachers who desired to

use the radio more fully in their classrooms and to expand their own role in the preparation of programme material.⁹¹ Besides formal teacher training in its Radio Institute, the CBC also conducted a script exchange service and published numerous instructional booklets containing "hints to teachers" on the use of the radio in education.⁹²

By 1945, therefore, the administrative framework had been constructed within which Dominion-provincial co-operation in radio education could occur. The CBC had entered the field of education on four levels - provincial, regional, national and international. It had also developed into another national clearing-house for Canadian education. The next chapter deals with some ways in which national radio was used during the forties to educate young Canadians.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

¹D.V. Smiley, "Federalism, Nationalism and the Scope of Public Activity in Canada" in Nationalism in Canada, ed. P. Russell (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 95-111.

²R.S. Lambert, "Plans and Policy in School Radio," Educational Record of Quebec, Sept. 1947, p. 139.

³Brief of Canadian Teachers' Federation to Rowell-Sirois Commission, 1938, p. 1.
The CTF was supported by briefs from the Alberta School Trustees Assn., Alberta Teachers' Federation, CAAE, Manitoba Teachers' Federation, New Brunswick Teachers' Federation, Ontario Teachers' Council, Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec, Saskatchewan Trustees Assn., Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and the B.C. Teachers' Federation.

⁴Ibid., p. 1.

⁵Ibid., p. 2.

⁶Ibid., p. 2.

⁷Ibid., p. 3.

⁸Ibid., p. 4.

⁹R.S. Lambert, School Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 126.

¹⁰Prior to coming to Canada, Lambert had had twelve years of educational radio experience in the School Broadcasts Department of the BBC.

¹¹Lambert, op. cit., p. 120.

¹²Report of the Royal Commission on Technical-Vocational Education (Ottawa, King's Printer 1913), p. 1.

¹³Young Canada Listens (Toronto, CBC, 1945), p. 1.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁵Lambert, op. cit., p. 126.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁸Report of the Survey Committee (CNEA, 1943), p. 1.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 8.

²⁰Ibid., p. 8.

²¹Ibid., p. 8.

²²Ibid., p. 9.

²³Ibid., p. 58.

²⁴Ibid., p. 58.

²⁵Ibid., p. 11.

²⁶Ibid., p. 60.

²⁷Ibid., p. 60.

²⁸Ibid., p. 60.

²⁹Ibid., p. 60.

³⁰Ibid., p. 62.

³¹Ibid., p. 62.

³²Ibid., p. 62.

³³Ibid., p. 63.

³⁴Ibid., p. 63.

³⁵Ibid., p. 63.

³⁶R.S. Lambert, "Achievements and Prospects in School Broadcasting," School Progress, June 1943, p. 26.

³⁷Reported in: Annual Report of the Department of Education of Alberta, 1943, p. 29.

³⁸Ibid., p. 27.

³⁹Ibid., p. 28.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 28.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 28.

⁴²Ibid., p. 29.

⁴³Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁴Ibid., 1942, p. 30.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁷Proceedings and Report of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, 1943, p.25.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 83.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 83.

⁵²Ibid., p. 84.

⁵³Ibid., p. 84.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 85.

⁵⁵R.S. Lambert, "The National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting," Canadian Education, 1952, p.5.

⁵⁶Constitution of the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting, 1943, p. 1.

⁵⁷Lambert, op.cit!, p. 5.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁹The original members of the National Advisory Council were: Dr. Robert C. Wallace, Principal and Vice Chancellor of Queen's University (Chairman); P.J. Kitley, Director of School Broadcasts, B.C. Department of Education; M.L. Watts, Director of Curriculum, Alberta

Department of Education; H. Janzen, Director of Curricula, Saskatchewan Department of Education; Gertrude McCance, Manitoba Department of Education; C.F. Cannon, Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education in Ontario; B.O. Filteau, French Secretary and Deputy Minister of Education in Quebec; Dr. W.P. Percival, Director of Protestant Education in Quebec; Dr. F. Peacock, Director and Chief Superintendent of Education in New Brunswick; R.W. Kane, Director of Radio Education in Nova Scotia; L. Shaw, Director of Education in P.E.I.; Dr. W.J. Dunlop, Director of Extension, University of Toronto and Rev. Abbe Maheux, Laval University (representing Conference of Canadian Universities); Dr. C.N. Crutchfield and Bruce Adams of CTF; L.A. de Wolfe of National Federation of Home and School; M.A. Campbell of Canadian Trustees Assn.; R.S. Lambert, Supervisor of CBC School Broadcasts (Secretary).

⁶⁰ Lambert op.cit., p.10

⁶¹ R.S. Lambert, School Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 158.

⁶² Ibid., p. 158.

⁶³ These five networks were the Pacific, Prairie, South-Central, North-Eastern and Maritime.

⁶⁴ For discussions of regionalism in Canada see: E. Black and A. Cairns, "A Different Perspective on Canadian Federalism," Canadian Journal of Public Administration, vol. 9, No. 1, March, 1966, p. 1; J.E. Hodgetts, "Regional Interests in a Federal Structure," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 32, Feb. 1966, p.1.

⁶⁵ Reported in: Annual Report of The Department of Education of Alberta, 1940, p. 42.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 42.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 1943, p. 31

⁶⁹ Ibid., 1944, p. 38.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 38

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 38.

⁷²Ibid., p. 39.

⁷³Ibid., p. 39.

⁷⁴Annual Report of the Department of Education of Manitoba, 1945, p. 106.

⁷⁵Annual Report of the Department of Education of Saskatchewan, 1946, p. 40.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 40.

⁷⁷Annual Report of the Department of Education of Nova Scotia, 1945, p. 29.

⁷⁸Lambert, op.cit., p. 30.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 30.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 85.

⁸¹Education on the Air, (Ohio University, 1947), p. 514. In 1947 the Ontario Shakespearian plays won an award and a recommendation from the judges that it was "an example for other education programmes to follow both in and out of school."

⁸²See: K. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (N.Y., Van. Nostrand, 1954), pp. 1-50.

⁸³In 1946 the Minister of Reconstruction gave a formal endorsement to this policy.

⁸⁴Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting, (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1942), p. 269.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 270.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 270.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 271.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 269.

⁸⁹Lambert, op.cit., p. 103.

⁹⁰The CBC received transcriptions of the American "School of the Air" and the NBC "University of the Air". The BBC set up a permanent transcription for Commonwealth

members. Canada also participated in the Commonwealth exchange service receiving programmes such as "Children of the Commonwealth".

⁹¹ Young Canada Listens, (Toronto, CBC, 1945), p. 43.

⁹² Ibid., 1946, pp. 43-44.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAJOR PROJECTS IN NATIONAL RADIO

EDUCATION 1944 - 1949

The forties were spent by educators and broadcasters alike in various attempts to devise the means whereby the radio could be integrated into the traditional learning situation. Unlike today, there were very few people who seriously considered the possibility that the radio, when used for educational purposes, might produce a totally new learning environment in which traditional methods of teaching were obsolete.¹ Nevertheless, by the mid-forties the radio, like many other electronic inventions, had become acceptable as an instrument of education. In 1946, an influential journal for Canadian school administrators signalled the arrival of what it termed the "electronic age in education" by suggesting what had "now become the basic equipment of a new school". This basic equipment was outlined as:

- "1. Plenty of electrical outlets at front and rear of every classroom.
2. Provisions for darkening every classroom.
3. A portable 16 millimeter sound projector (1-2 per room).
4. A radio receiver for every classroom preferably AM-FM receivers with speakers.
5. Portable record turntables capable of speeds of both 33 RPM and 78 RPM.
6. Film strip projectors and at least a few dlide projectors and at least one opague projector.
7. Public address equipment.

8. Microphones for speech and language teaching.
9. A new kind of library for books, charts, films and records.
10. An equipment workshop and dark room.
11. A listening room - sound-proofed."³

YOUNG CANADA LISTENS

The most significant national educational broadcasting series undertaken by the CBC in the forties was the "Young Canada Listens" project. All of the broadcasts in the series were planned by the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting, in consultation with the CBC School Broadcasts Department. The basis of the co-operation between the CBC and the provincial educational authorities, in this endeavour, was described by R.S.

Lambert as follows:

"When the CBC invites a Department of Education to present broadcasts aimed at the schools of that Province, it does so on the understanding that while the CBC will provide free time on the air and the necessary studio production and network facilities, the Department of Education concerned will not only help plan the content of the programme, but will also foot any expense that may be incurred for acting, writing or musical talent required in its execution."⁴

This policy formed part of a general effort, on the part of the CBC, to "convince people that it is not an educational authority and that it follows the policy of putting school broadcasts on the air only with the definite backing of the Provincial Departments of Education."⁵

Every Friday during the school year, students in

schools across Canada would, through the network facilities of the CBC, listen to the same national educational programme. The "Young Canada Listens" series was divided into four separate courses lasting approximately one year each. During the forties, these programmes provided Canadian students with one of their few national experiences in education.

The "Young Canada Listens" broadcasts were not planned so as to relate closely to the curricula of the various provinces. Rather, the aim of the programmes was to "strengthen the sense of Canadian citizenship among our boys and girls at school."⁶ This aim was in general agreement with the overall ideal guiding CBC programming in the forties - that is to build a strong Canadian identity.

The CBC, in the "Young Canada Listens" project, attempted to provide the listener with a verbal picture of "the Canadian." A wide variety of programme content and nationalistic themes were employed in the service of this aim. For example, a "Tour of Canadian Cities" was represented through radio to "make children's social studies more vivid and real and their sense of kinship with other Canadians stronger."⁷ Programmes dealing with Canadian art were produced "to help Canadian children toward a greater knowledge of and, therefore, a deeper pride in this phase of our national heritage."⁸

Canadian literature was eligible as broadcast content if it "encouraged among students a taste for reading the best books by our Canadian authors, or about Canada, and to foster pride in Canadian citizenship and achievement."⁹ The CBC also considered that "every child should know something of the legends and folk-lore of our country, because such knowledge enriches the mind and encourages an appreciation of the beautiful."¹⁰ The children were also told that the "foundations of Canada were laid by famous explorers who traversed her vast territories from sea to sea preparing the way for settlers, traders, missionaries, farmers, miners and other future elements of our nation."¹¹ Despite its stress on domestic symbols of nationalism, the CBC also felt that the child should view his national identity in the context of the fact that he was also "a citizen of the world."¹² Thus, through the medium of broadcasting, the child "very early in school life ...can begin to develop the qualities of higher citizenship."¹³

The table below summarizes the relative amount of programme time, in the 'Young Canada Listens' series, devoted to the inculcation, in the minds of the audience, of a particular conception of the Canadian national character.¹⁴

TABLE INUMBER OF PROGRAMMES PER NATIONALISTIC CRITERION:1945 - 1950

<u>CRITERIA</u>	<u>NUMBER OF PROGRAMMES</u>
The Land and the North	26
Historical - Traditional	16
External Relationship	14
Political - Economic	7
Technological	7
Dual or Multi-Culture	6
Cultural Symbols	3
	<hr/>
TOTAL	79

A quick glance at the table reveals immediately the fact that approximately two-thirds of the available broadcasting time in the series was consumed in an attempt to build a concept of Canadian identity which rested on three foundations - the land and the north, the past and the external relationship.

Canadian involvement in the Second World War had created a deep sense of pride, on the part of most people, of being "Canadian." After the hostilities had ceased, Canada assumed the new role of a middle power in the inter-

national arena.¹⁵ This new independent voice of Canada in international affairs provided the nation with another reference point in its attempts to untangle the nature of the true "Canadian."

The CBC, reflecting the times in which it operated, placed heavy emphasis in the broadcasts of the "Young Canada Listens" series on the new international outlook of Canada. Students were informed that "today Canada is looking ahead with a new and vigorous internationalism."¹⁶ They were also introduced to their peers in other nations of the Commonwealth such as New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and Britain. Prominent Canadians in the realm of international affairs, like Dr. Brock Chisolm, Secretary of the World Health Organization, were often called upon to participate in the radio programmes.

Most students of nationalism appear to be in agreement that a commonly held belief in a historical past is one of the essential basis for a secure sense of national identity.¹⁷ Any attempt in Canada to build such a belief, however, has always been forced to face the problems of two cultures and two conflicting interpretations of the Canadian experience.¹⁸ The CBC, in the 'Young Canada Listens' series, proved to be very tactful in its use of history for programmes. Historical personages who were brave or artistic, but not controversial, were selected frequently as broadcast content. Metropolitan histories were also used,

and when contentious historical issues had to be faced, they were handled in such a way so as not to arouse the anger of anyone. Thus, Robert Harris, the painter of the "Fathers of Confederation" or Samuel de Champlain, a man of "courage and faith," were used as subjects for broadcasts to the schools. One could also hear the tale of Thomas Douglas who "crusaded in Western Canada to find a new home for dispossessed crofters of the Scottish Highlands" or learn of explorers, such as La Verendrye who "resolved to perish rather than give up and Alexander Mackenzie whose "grand design" was the building of a Canada from "sea unto sea."¹⁹ The audience was introduced to cities, such as Charlottetown, where they "spent a few moments in the Confederation room" or Quebec City where they were able to catch a glimpse of the inhabitants who were "French through and through - humorous, sensitive, fond of oratory, yet curious of other lands and fond of the exotic."²⁰

Although non-controversial historical personages or metropolitan histories could be employed to establish a historical tradition that would fortify the "national character," CBC officials still had to face the various conflict themes which permeated Canadian history. One conflict especially had to be confronted by the CBC - the issue of the "conquest" of the French Canadian. However, it was in just such issues as this that the Corporation

displayed great tact and creativity, for it not only dealt with the conquest, but it also turned this controversial question to its own advantage.

The broadcast in the 'Young Canada Listens' series selected to handle the problem of the "conquest" involved the events of the "Battle of the Plains of Abraham." The programme depicted the battle, through an eye witness account, from the viewpoint of a surgeon's mate in the service of General Wolfe's army. The surgeon's mate landed with Wolfe's army at Wolfe's Cove and, in the battle that followed, he "sees the terrible havoc wrought on French General Montcalm's forces by the deadly fire of the British troops."²¹ The surgeon's mate then hears of Wolfe's injury, rushed to the General's side, but arrived too late to save the General. While the British push after the fleeing French, the surgeon's mate is captured by a French sniper and taken inside the city of Quebec. Within the city, the mate views "the gallant Montcalm, wounded and dying."²² At the request of the hard-pressed hospital sisters of the Hotel Dieu, the surgeon's mate gains his parole, and aids in taking care of the wounded."²³ Thus, in the light of this broadcast, the "Canadian" emerged as a "humanitarian" who was willing to ignore the requirements of military duty in order to aid the sick and suffering.

"Why should the children of the
North deny
The sanitary virtues of the sky?

Why should they fear, the cold,
 or dread the snow,
 When ruddier blood thro their
 hot pulses flow?"²⁴

Many people have conceived of the Canadian character as basically "northern" in essence.²⁵ By "northern" these individuals have implied not merely geographical location, but personal qualities such as strength, self-reliance and hardiness. As one author has noted, Canada was "not only the true north, but also strong and free."²⁶ The stress upon the northern character of Canadian identity has provided Canadians with a certain mythology lacking through most of the nation's past.²⁷

The idea of "northernness" is also a very broad and all-inclusive concept. For example the French Canadian, because of his successful colonization and settlement in Canada, had demonstrated his ability to cope with the North. The northern theme also served as a repellent to the "southernness" of the United States. As W.L. Morton, the distinguished Canadian historian, has said:

"Canadian history is an important chapter in a distinct and even unique human endeavour, the civilization of the northern and arctic lands. The line which marks off the frontier and the farmstead, the wilderness from the baseland, the hinterland from the metropolis, runs through every Canadian psyche."²⁸

The CBC 'Young Canada Listens' series employed "northernness" as a major programme theme. The "Group of Seven" artists were given a heavy representation in the

broadcasts. Descriptions were supplied of Emily Carr "who sketched the rugged north shore of Lake Superior."²⁹ No broadcast about the Canadian North could ignore Robert Service, who "sensed the true drama forever dwelling in Canada's north and who pictured the strong men and heroic women of the hard and gentle north, the patient strength and quiet fortitude of the lonely land."³⁰

Thus, the CBC had inaugurated its national character building project. It appeared that the officials of the Corporation had attempted to avoid controversy in the programmes by basing the projected image of the Canadian identity on elements other than common religion, language or ethnic affiliation.

What, then, would the listeners of the "Young Canada Listens" series envisage as the Canadian character, as projected through the radio broadcasts? First, the Canadian could be described as a citizen of the world who felt that the best interests of his nation would be served by his support and involvement in agencies of international co-operation. He was also a "humanitarian" more concerned with problems of health and welfare than military defense or aggression. Finally, the student would see the Canadian as a "northerner," strong, bold and free; and engaged in a war against the last environmental test of man's ability to survive on earth. If successful in his struggle, the

Canadian would emerge as one of the world's most revered pioneers.

Although evidence is not available in support, one might venture a speculation that the image of the Canadian projected in the "Young Canada Listens" series would cause a conflict in the mind of the student-listener. If the true Canadian was an internationalist, a northerner and a humanitarian, then how could one explain the fact that he resided along the "southern" border of his country, rarely voiced disapproval of American policy in foreign affairs and had been actively engaged in two World Wars? These were questions to which the CBC provided no answer.

WHAT'S IN THE NEWS?

The first ten minutes of each national school broadcast was devoted to a programme of current events called "What's in the News?". The programme was intended to give teachers and students in intermediate and senior grades background material about an important topic currently featured in the news. The broadcast was not a "news-bulletin" so much as a "news story," for it emphasized the kind of material not likely to be readily available in the daily newspaper.

The selection of topics was made in the CBC School Broadcasts Department in consultation with the CBC Central Newsroom. The preparation of the scripts was undertaken

by one of the CBC newsmen, generally as an "extra" over and above his normal work load. During the first few years, the newscasts were prepared by Mr. William Hogg, CBC Chief News Editor. On his promotion to National News Supervisor, the job was handled by Mr. Norman DePoe. Mr. Lamont Tilden usually assumed the announcing duties in the series.

KINDERGARTEN OF THE AIR

"No stringent diet do I need,
Obesity will now be rare
My son and I are ardent fans,
Of Kindergarten of the Air.

Ah! Story time is here at last,
How thankful mothers all must be
But, all too soon the story ends,
Now, Mummy, you tell it to me!"³¹

As had been outlined previously, the forties were the years in which the CBC began to differentiate the radio audience into more specific groups. One group which received its own specially designed programme was composed of those children who were as yet unable to undergo the processes of formal school education, but who possessed, at the same time, the ability to learn. This group, of course, was the "pre-schoolers."

In some areas of Canada kindergartens had been established for many years, but in other parts, especially rural areas, they were absent. Many people felt that the radio could prepare these young children, in the home,

for their future life in school. In 1948, therefore, the CBC announced a new programme series "designed to meet the needs of these children by providing them with pre-school training in games, songs and useful activities."³² The series was to be entitled "Kindergarten of the Air" and was planned with the advice of kindergarten experts, representatives of Canadian Home and School Federation, and Federation of Women's Institutes and the Junior League of Toronto. The broadcasts were designed for use in the home, but many organized kindergarten groups integrated the programmes into their curricula.

The fifteen minute "Kindergarten of the Air" broadcast was heard daily Monday to Friday, and usually included an introductory song theme, exercises (stretching, marching, dancing), learning to sing, listening to stories and participation in play activity. Since most homes lacked the services of a professional teacher, the CBC recruited the parent to play the role of educator. The co-operation of the parent was sought "to provide material such as paper crayons and blunt scissors."³³ They were also to aid the child after the broadcasts, for the youngster, was "always given some suggestion for indoor and outdoor activity of a constructive nature - collecting specimens of leaves and flowers or making themselves useful about the home."³⁴

The CBC felt that numerous benefits would accrue

to the child who listened to the Kindergarten broadcast series. Among these advantages were that:

"It teaches them many stories, songs, mental games, keep fit exercises, information about animal life and nature study; good habits will be encouraged that are related to hygiene, eating habits, habits of relaxation; and the children will also learn to pay attention and concentrate through their eagerness to get every bit of the broadcast. Children soon learn that the radio does not repeat itself and that, if they do not listen, they lose out."

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The individuals who conducted the "Kindergarten of the Air" were indicative of the growing body of "radio educators" that E.A. Corbett had speculated about in the thirties. Miss Dorothy Jane Goulding was educated in Vienna, Toronto and England. She was also an associate of the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto and held a teaching certificate from Toronto Normal School. Miss Goulding also possessed considerable experience in teaching, including kindergarten work. Her specialization was in the field of music and she had prepared many children's programmes for broadcast. Miss Goulding's partner was Ruth Johnson, a graduate of the University of Toronto and a solo performer in the Rosselino Opera Company. Miss Johnson also possessed wide experience in children's radio programmes.

Although "Kindergarten of the Air" was not, in any formal sense, a "school broadcast," it came under the supervision of the School Broadcasts Department of the CBC because of its pre-school training aspect. It was also a

regular topic for discussion on the agenda of the National Advisory Council. In 1957, upon the recommendation of the Canadian Home and School Federation, a televised "Kindergarten of the Air," entitled "Nursery School Time," was launched by the CBC.

THE CO-STUDY IDEA

As early as 1927 provincial educational authorities had noticed that a substantial number of parents listened in on educational broadcasts directed to a child audience.³⁶ It was not until 1945, however, that the CBC decided to formalize this parent-child audience in a new programme series called "co-study." The idea of "co-study" was conceived by R.S. Lambert and O.C. Wilson of the CBC School Broadcasts Department, in consultation with the National Home and School Federation. Co-study was defined by these two men as "a means whereby parents, through radio, can share in their children's education at school."³⁷ In general it involved the continuation in the home of the "follow-up work" begun in the school after the broadcast had been heard. Since broadcasts were not conceived of as actual "lessons", but were intended to stimulate the imagination and enrich the curriculum, the CBC officials felt that any interested parent could help to carry the process further.

The Principal of Rosedale High School in Toronto,

one of the early experimenters with "co-study", expressed his enthusiasm over the project in this way:

"In the past most of what goes on in the classroom has been a sealed book to the average parent and...has led to a separation of outlook between the fireside and the classroom. Bodies such as the Home and School Clubs have helped to bridge this gulf and radio offers itself as one of the most potent instruments for this purpose. Co-study of school broadcasts by parents and children helps develop in the latter a new conception of education, namely, that it is a continuous process, not terminating with school, but to be carried on beyond the school and outside of school hours." ³⁸

The CBC, during the "co-study" series, offered many educational hints to the parents involved in the project. For example, in a programme on Canadian painting the parents were advised to:

- "1. Secure a set of coloured prints issued by the National Gallery of Canada.
2. Discuss the broadcasts at the first convenient opportunity - say at lunch or dinner time and compare notes as to which points in the broadcast were most interesting and appealing.
3. Discuss art generally and the reasons for one's likes and dislikes on the subject.
4. If possible, have the family visit the local art gallery on picture exhibits." ³⁹

CBC SPORTS COLLEGE

During the forties there was a tremendous interest created in the problems of Canadian youth. The Canadian Youth Commission, for example, had suggested that the CBC could play a role in helping a young generation that appeared

to be in possession of very few "stable" values and goals.⁴⁰ One criticism that was frequently voiced was of the poor physical health of young people, and the blame for this was directed to new, passive leisure time activities such as radio listening.⁴¹

In 1945 the CBC, in co-operation with the National Council of YMCA's of Canada, produced a new series of educational programmes under the title of Sports College. The broadcasts were "intended to make young people between ages of 10 and 18 more conscious of health and physical fitness, through an appeal to their love of sports."⁴² The college programme was conducted by Lloyd Percival, a well-known coach and sports journalist. Each week he advised his young listeners how to play games, how to train, what to eat, and how to keep healthy and fit. The free membership in Sports College reached 75,000 in its first year of operation and over a quarter of a million fan letters were received.

WEDNESDAY NIGHT - RESERVED "PRIMARILY FOR THE DISCRIMINATING LISTENER"

In 1947, the CBC announced the inauguration of "something new in radio on the North American continent."⁴³ This new venture was a "block of non-commercial programmes broadcast for a full evening on a national network and

produced primarily for the discriminating listener."⁴⁴

The new programme was constructed partly because of a belief, on the part of CBC officials, that:

"a considerable number of listeners would welcome a whole evening devoted to a more advanced and challenging type of broadcasting; and that it would be to the general advantage of broadcasting and the public if an effort were made in this way to show the wider possibilities of radio as a force in the cultural life of Canada."⁴⁵

Classical music, forum discussions, documentaries and drama formed the content of the Wednesday Night series. The CBC, in response to those people who "did not care for the more serious tone of these programmes," directed their attention to the "schedule of light entertainment carried simultaneously by the CBC Dominion network."⁴⁶ As the series progressed the Corporation was able to announce that:

"a strong bond, illustrated by many letters, now exists between the CBC and a constantly growing body of listeners who have appreciated an honest and sincere attempt to satisfy what one person called "a nutritional deficiency in radio programmes." Listeners have advised the CBC that they are now always in agreement with everything that is presented but the vast majority have said that they do get many programmes which cannot be had elsewhere. CBC Wednesday Night has proved its value to everyone who likes a better type of entertainment, but it is especially valued by listeners to whom the stage, concerts, lectures, libraries, museums and similar facilities to be found in the larger centers are not available. Alternative listening for those who prefer lighter fare is provided by the Dominion network."⁴⁷

The Wednesday Night programme, as the "Kindergarten of the Air" and "Sports College", was not conducted under the direct auspices of educational authorities. The pro-

gramme, however, was of general educational value for all who tuned in. CBC "Wednesday Night" represented the high point of serious programming during the forties and was indicative of the general rise in educational quality which the Corporation's broadcasts had evidenced since 1936.

The educational influence of the CBC was never confined solely to the planning, production and distribution of radio broadcasts. Each year of operation the Corporation utilized the print medium as an aid in its educational endeavours. Radio education involved far more than merely listening to broadcasts, for each programme required background preparation and follow-up. These two functions could not be carried out on the air, for broadcast time was too valuable, and besides, the listener had to engage in some activity other than listening if he was to learn. Thus, the print medium was employed in the processes of broadcast preparation and follow-up. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had not moved entirely out of the "Gutenberg Galaxy," but had used both print and broadcasting, in complementary fashion, to insure the effective performance of its educational role.

TABLE II

CBC PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTED THROUGH PRESS AND INFORMATION
DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1944

PUBLICATION	RECEIVING AGENCY
50,000 copies of two-colour National Farm Radio Forum Folder	Farm organizations, libraries, Provincial and national forum secretaries, government.
7,000 copies Farm Forum season report	Farm organizations, libraries, provincial forum secretaries, government.
50,000 copies of two-colour folder detailing "of Things to Come" series and how to set up discussion groups.	Women's Clubs and Home and School Associations
20,000 copies Women's Home Listening Service	same
10,000 copies CBC and Canadian Radio's forty-eight page booklet of policy statements	Federal, Provincial and Civic Leaders, voluntary education groups and overseas nations.
30,000 copies of fifty-six page CBC Teachers' Manual 'Young Canada Listens'	Provincial Education Departments and teachers
50,000 copies of 'Peoples on the March'	Russia, China, Latin America, Provincial Governments, education groups, schools.
50,000 copies CBC Guidance Chart	individual and group request
5,000 cooking recipes	request and women's groups
2,500 war reports	Government education groups
45,000 order forms	request
5,000 broadcast texts	Government education groups, request

Source: CBC Report, (1944), p. 9.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FIVE

¹See: C. Siepmann, Radio-TV and Society (N.Y., Oxford Press, 1950), pp. 1-50.

²"New School Equipment," School Progress, March, 1946, p. 54.

³Ibid., p. 54.

⁴R.S. Lambert, "Policy and Plans in School Radio," Educational Record of Quebec, Sept., 1947, p. 139.

⁵Ibid., p. 139.

⁶Young Canada Listens (CBC, 1945), p. 5.

⁷Ibid., Nov. 30, 1945, p. 64.

⁸Ibid., Mar. 1, 1946, p. 64.

⁹Ibid., Oct. 1, 1948, p. 17.

¹⁰Ibid., Nov. 19, 1948, p. 11.

¹¹Ibid., Nov. 11, 1949, p. 13.

¹²Ibid., p. 13.

¹³Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁴Content analysis undertaken by author.

¹⁵This role was evident in Canadian Participation in post-War supranational organizations such as NATO and the UN.

¹⁶Young Canada Listens, op. cit., Jan. 28, 1949, p. 25.

¹⁷See for example: H. Kohn, Nationalism, Its Meaning and History (N.Y., 1955), pp. 1-75, or L.W. Doob, Patriotism and Nationalism (New Haven, 1964), p. 6.

¹⁸Although there are other interpretations of Canadian history, the conflict between the French and English viewpoint has formed the basis of such debates.

¹⁹Young Canada Listens, op. cit., Oct. 25, 1946, p. 61.

- ²⁰Ibid., Oct. 12, 1945, p. 8.
- ²¹Ibid., Jan. 20, 1950, p. 26.
- ²²Ibid., p. 26.
- ²³Ibid., p. 26.
- ²⁴W.M. Taylor, Canadian Seasons (Toronto, 1913), p.63.
- ²⁵See: C. Berger, "The True North Strong and Free", in Nationalism in Canada, ed. P. Russell (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 1.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 1.
- ²⁷National "myths," such as the Jeffersonian ideal in America, usually play a role in the building of a national identity.
- ²⁸W.L. Morton, The Canadian Identity (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 1-25.
- ²⁹Young Canada Listens, op. cit., Mar. 13, 1945, p.29.
- ³⁰Ibid., Dec. 13, 1946, p. 18.
- ³¹Ibid., May 1, 1949, p. 9.
- ³²Ibid., May 1, 1948, p. 6.
- ³³Annual Report of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1948), p. 6.
- ³⁴Ibid., p. 6.
- ³⁵Young Canada Listens, op. cit., May 1948, p. 47.
- ³⁶In 1927 Vancouver School Board officials reported that numerous parents were listening to their experimental radio education series.
- ³⁷R.S. Lambert, School Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 181.
- ³⁸"Co-Study - a New Experiment," Food for Thought, Jan. 12, 1945, p. 10.
- ³⁹Young Canada Listens, op. cit., 1947, p. 43.

⁴⁰See the studies of the Canadian Youth Commission: Youth Challenges the Educators (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1945) and Youth, Leisure and Recreation (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), and the brief of E.A. Corbett ("Problems of Canadian Youth") presented to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences.

⁴¹Young Canada Listens, op. cit., 1945, p. 37. During the first three years of operation the National Council of Canadian YMCA's contributed \$50,000. to Sports College to pay for printed publications.

⁴²Ibid., p. 37.

⁴³Annual Report of the CBC, op. cit., 1948, p. 6.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 6.

⁴⁵Ibid., 1949, p. 6.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 6.

⁴⁷Ibid., 1948, p. 6.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CBC AND ADULT EDUCATION 1939-1949

The CBC had produced some excellent programmes in the field of school broadcasting during the forties. Before its formal entrance into school broadcasting, however, the Corporation had been engaged in some exciting experiments in the field of adult education. In fact, formal adult education in Canada developed side by side with the radio.

Most Canadians, by the late thirties, possessed a radio in their homes. Thus, the educational potential of broadcasting made every home in Canada a possible classroom. One educational organization especially recognized the existence of such a situation. This group was the Canadian Association for Adult Education. The CAAE recalled its experiences with the radio in adult education, before the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting in 1946, as follows:

"over the last years people in their own homes, clubs and neighbourhoods can actually participate, though through the medium of well-constructed forum programmes, in the study of national and international affairs. They can do this in an organized way. They can thus develop responsible attitudes and awareness as citizens and they thereby raise the whole level of community life and of national morale. As an instrument for overcoming inertia, for changing public indifference into purposeful citizenship, for reducing the distance between the electorate and the administration, national radio has tremendous possibilities."¹

The experience of the CBC in adult education, as exemplified in the National Farm and Citizen's Forum projects, form the substance of this chapter.

On October 29, 1929, the United States stock market crashed and, as it tumbled, it dragged all of Canada with it. The actual disaster, however, was not as sudden as the crash made it appear. Rather, disaster "came slowly, imperceptibly, like a descending ice age fastening itself upon the land."² It was the flaws in the roaring twenties that conceived the dirty thirties. The child so-conceived became adult very quickly, however, for the depression was a decade that "destroyed men's faith in themselves, mocked their talents and skills, blighted their initiative and subverted their dedication to the cultivation of their land...It replaced a whole people's proud search for success with a dispirited search for security."³ And yet, there was a paradox ingrained in the mind of the depression generation "for it brought out more of the best than it did the worst in people; that people, if left alone, tend to work out their own problems for themselves;...that so much was learned from the depression that it will never happen again."⁴

While it is usual to discuss the economic aspects of the depression, it, as do all periods exhibiting an intensification of change, possessed a social side. The

only realistic way of viewing the depression years is as a socio-economic and political phenomenon, where each facet conditioned change in the others. The major economic effect of the depression was to cause a decrease in the amount of available spending capital, a drastic lowering of consumer demand and a reduced production. The concomitant of these changes was a rise in unemployment and a lowering of the general living standard. Thus, the "necessities" of the 1920's, such as automobiles, telephones, stylish clothes and formal education, became the "frills" of the thirties. The economic factor of low or no wages, combined with numerous individual psychological depressions, resulted in many transformations of attitude, behaviour and values on the part of the people of the depression.⁵ Contemporary studies of the depression, for example, revealed a shift away from commercialized recreational activities in favour of neighbourly bridge sessions, sewing parties and outdoor sports.⁶ People were also "reading as never before," even though many must "have fallen asleep over books and magazines that were beyond their understanding."⁷ Anything was fair game for the individual who was searching for a sign, a light to guide him out of his own personal wilderness. The actual content of depression reading most desired is revealing. There was a marked shift away from fiction, religious and scientific content, and an orientation to

practical reading such as Consumer's Reports and economics. The Canadian depression generation viewed their situation as a practical problem which required a serious and realistic approach, not a "mystical escape route."

In response to some of the very visable manifestations of the depression, such as hunger and sickness, men who previously had been actively engaged in boards of trade and lodges, turned their attention to voluntary welfare organizations, such as hospital clubs, community groups and educational leagues. Also, during the depression, a decline in the number of telephones within people's homes decreased the range of friendships and other personal contacts available to most people.⁸ The desire for bits of knowledge about the chaotic world around them, plus a need for social intercourse, moved many people to undertake study courses. Through these study courses, most people hoped to recapture their pre-depression mobility, to improve their minds, so that they might more easily discover a segment of order within their situation, to engage in a form of group-centered social activity. The fact that during the depression "no one could be sure who was crazy and who was sane," gave rise to many young idealists who, not only exercised their freedom of speech concerning their ideals, but had many of them translated into the law of the land.⁹

While individuals were forced to part with their automobiles, telephones, jobs and, for some, even their self respect, most people managed to secure and retain a radio. The radio, whether one was employed or not, became a necessity of life in the thirties. As an adolescent of today can discover an escape from the adult world within the confines of an automobile, so the depression generation could shut out the dust-bowl winds and personal suffering of the depression by tuning into the throbbing tones of the "Guiding Light". Although disaster was always near, the soap-opera-writers invariably managed to ensure that "John and Joan" married and discovered true happiness. In this way, the radio both entertained and kindled a subtle form of optimism within Canadian hearts. It was an optimism, however, that would only fulfill itself under the auspices of hard work. Besides these entertainment and social functions, the radio also carried the news and "expert" opinions as to the lessons to be learned from the depression experience.

In many ways the depression's people were one of the most well-informed generations of the modern period. Also, in paradoxical fashion, theirs was one of the first generations that was forced to grapple with the social problems associated with using leisure time in a constructive manner. Thus, the depression caused people to become depressed and yet optimistic; alienated and yet "other-directed;" sad

and yet happy. And, if one generalization can retain validity within such a paradoxical period, it is that the people gradually became more "radio conscious" as the depression wore on.

The National Farm Radio Forum was an experiment in adult education which grew out of the depression. In form, it was a national discussion group project for rural Canadians, sponsored by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. In technique, it combined the mass media of radio and the printed page with the small information discussion group. The aim of the Farm Forum, in the words of one of the earlier organizers of the project, was to "give farmers a new incentive to group action and neighbourliness, and to stimulate thought and understanding among rural listeners, which will widen their horizons as citizens and help them improve their conditions as farmers¹⁰." The Farm Forum, however, was not merely transferred automatically from wish to reality, but arose because of the coalescence of a complex number of pressures, both domestic and international. The ability of certain Canadians to channel such pressure into a constructive educational programme was crucial to the development of Farm Forum.

Of prime importance for the success, and even more the very existence of a Farm Radio Forum project in Canada, was the decision by Canadians to have a publicly controlled

system of broadcasting. Only such an agency could have mustered the facilities and co-operation needed to conduct a national educational enterprise such as the Farm Forum.

Very little in the way of agricultural education was broadcast over the national network during the period of the CRBC. In the late thirties, however, the CBC began to enter the field of serious programming as well as to make a differentiation of the radio audience in terms of its group composition. One group to which the Corporation began to direct its programmes were the farmers. According to O.J.W. Shugg, who observed this development within the CBC, the "more specifically educational aspects of agricultural broadcasting, being more involved, develop more slowly than does the service side...Farm Radio Forum...provided the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's first major experiment on the purely educational side of agricultural broadcasting.¹¹"

Agitation for a more serious form of programme fare was not confined to officials within the CBC, for a group of educators began to ponder the feasibility of utilizing the radio as a massive, and yet specialized tool for the education of adults. The most prominent among this group was E.A. Corbett. At first Corbett could "see no use for such a treacherous medium," but following his involvement in radio education at the University of Alberta, he performed a dramatic about face.¹² In fact, so dramatic was his about

face that, in the early thirties, he became the Western representative of the Canadian Radio League. It was during these early ventures in the propaganda of early radio that Corbett discovered how radio could help overcome the "long winter isolation of homesteaders and farm people."¹³

The isolated rural citizen, Corbett felt, "more readily understood and accepted public ownership" of radio.¹⁴

In 1935, Corbett became the Director of the newly formed Canadian Association for Adult Education, which was intended to serve as a clearing house and co-ordinating agency for Canadian adult education. The specific purposes of the CAAE were to "develop interest by means of publications, radio and conferences; to provide for the study and research in methods and to undertake experiments and demonstrations."¹⁵

To this national association, Corbett brought what proved to be both his personal and a general Canadian philosophy of adult education. Basic to this philosophy was the belief that "social progress can only come about through improvement in the quality of human beings" and such individual improvement could only come through increased education.¹⁶

Secondly, such education, when directed toward adults, "functions most effectively through group study and group action."¹⁷ Thirdly, such adult education must suit the interests of both the individual and the group and, in Corbett's view, "in most instances "these interests are

economic."¹⁸ The final link in Corbett's philosophy was that adult education, in order to be effective, must be based upon the principle of voluntarism, as far as individual participation was concerned.

Corbett's philosophy of adult education, later reinforced by his personal observation of the Antigonish movement as well as Dr. M.M. Coady's thoughts on the subject, formed the basic building blocks of the philosophy of the National Farm Radio Forum. This philosophy assumed even more importance when it is realized that the National Farm Radio Forum was one of the first attempts at national education through radio broadcasting.

Before Corbett and other Canadian educators could initiate any active movement in the direction of national adult education, especially through the use of a medium such as radio with its unknown potentials, they had to derive some scientifically demonstrable justification for their beliefs in the necessity and feasibility of education adults. The source of this needed legitimacy was provided by an American psychologist - Edward L. Thorndike. In Thorndike's opinion, education was traditionally "child-centered" and, as a result, the concepts learned by the child became obsolete in adulthood. Thorndike proposed a concept of "continuous education" and attempted to justify such a hypothesis through scientific experiments devoted

to the demonstration of the learning ability of adults. His conclusion, which Peter Sandiford called "the charter for adult education," was that "nobody under forty-five should restrain himself from trying to learn anything because of a belief or fear that he is too old to learn it."¹⁹

Thorndike went on to speculate that "training of adults in mass fashion is a new point of view in adult education...If our diagnosis is correct, then we are on the eve of a great mass movement in adult education."²⁰ In specific areas, Thorndike was quick to recognize that "if a definite series of educational broadcasts were offered some hour in the evening...groups for listening to them could probably be organized under a leader who could subsequently guide the discussion and suggest or, better still, do preparatory reading on the subject."²¹ Thus, Thorndike, like Corbett, was concerned with the ways in which adults could be changed through education. The most valuable aspect of Thorndike's conclusions, however, was that he provided justification for the ideas that filled the minds of Canadian educators on the subject of educating adults, especially through the medium of broadcasting.

During the Spring of 1938, Corbett was requested by Gladstone Murray, the General Manager of the CBC, to undertake a survey and report upon the existing conditions in school broadcasting throughout Canada. While perusing the

various reports of educational broadcasting in Britain, Corbett became impressed by the adult discussion group projects of the BBC, to the extent that he wondered if "it might be worthwhile to attempt a similar experiment in Canada."²² In Britain, the discussion group projects inaugurated by the Hadow Report were, in their initial stages, enthusiastically received. This original burst of enthusiasm, however, soon dissipated. The reasons for the dissolution of the British attempts to establish forums were firmly recorded in Corbett's mind and were to prove of great aid in the organization and operation of the Canadian experiment.

One reason for the British failure was the great BBC success in school broadcasting which drew most of the expert attention away from adult education. Besides, the role and place of adult education within the BBC was never really well-defined either in thought or policy. Also, adult education through radio, by its very nature, required co-operation among several rival bodies in order to be effective. In Britain, these organizations proved to be too inflexible and in possession of no overriding common interest that might enable the groups to transcend their peculiar concerns. Recalling his past experience in the Canadian West, however, Corbett noted what "might prove a vital factor in making the use of such a technique successful in the Canadian situation."²³ This factor was the

"winter isolation of the Canadian farm family and the fact that the CBC was already proving a priceless boon."²⁴

Corbett also realized that the BBC programme, unlike his own rural orientation, was not directed to any specific group. Given these differences in the two situations, Corbett decided that "an organized listening group project which dealt entirely with the problems of rural life in Canada might succeed where the other had failed."²⁵

Corbett's first political move was an attempt to gauge the opinions of organized agriculture concerning the possibilities of arranging a Canadian discussion group project. As a result, he approached H.H. Hannam, President of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, who was eventually able to convince the federation that its contribution to such a project would come under the heading of the educational function of the CFA. Later Corbett, in what he described as the "hotel room interpretation of Canadian enterprise," conferred in the Chateau Laurier with Gladstone Murray, General Manager of the CBC, Donald Buchanan, Director of CBC Talks Department, and Neil Morrison, later to direct the forum project, about the possibilities of CBC co-operation. During this meeting, a series of joint CAAE - CBC sponsored experimental broadcasts were arranged, with Neil Morrison being appointed to direct them. After the initial success of these broadcasts, the National Farm

Radio Forum was officially formed and in 1940 broadcast its first programmes on an eastern Canadian network, under the joint-sponsorship of the CBC, the CAAE and the CFA.

Besides the initiative dispalyed by men such as Corbett and Hannam, the nature of the organizations within which they operated were also contributing factors in the establishment of the National Farm Radio Forum. In the first place, established organizations, including the Government, were in a quandary as to the nature of a proper recovery course. At the same time that this indecision was troubling the traditional "decision-making institutions" within Canadian society, the average person was demanding solutions to his problems, or at least some visible sign of action on the local level. Within the "emerging organizations," those without formalized programmes and extensive bureaucracies, such as the CBC, the CFA and the CAAE, there was sufficient flexibility of mind and self-interest to sponsor an educational venture with the scope and potential of the Farm Forum.²⁶ The programme policy of the CBC, as previously indicated, was still in the process of evolution, while both the CAAE and the CFA were loosely-knit co-ordinating agencies for what were still relatively ill-defined functions. Thus, unlike the British experience, it was possible for all three of these groups to coalesce around a single common need. This need was the desire of

each group to secure some form of national constituency in order that their existence be justified. All of these groups felt that a rapid means of achieving their goal was presented in the form of this new national radio education scheme, a scheme that was, by its very nature inter-provincial, and yet capable of providing each group with a degree of feedback from the audience as to their public image and the effects of their programmes on the local level.

Thus, the proposal for a national adult education discussion group project, employing new forms of mass media, was first accepted at the organizational and policy-making levels. Before the project could hope for a successful operation, however, it had to be accepted and integrated into the prevailing rural society. Such acceptance and integration depended upon the lessons drawn from a previous Canadian experiment in adult education, from a rural Canadian tradition, from a grass roots rural leadership and from a deep-rooted desire for the rejuvenation of certain facets of rural Canadian life which the depression had submerged.

The domestic inspiration for a Farm Forum project was derived from the observations by Corbett and by other Canadian educators of the St. Francis Xavier experiments in rural co-operation. Dr. M.M. Coady, one of the leaders of this Antigonish movement, had arrived at a philosophy of adult education that was remarkably similar to that

evolved by Corbett and, as a result, Coady's views eventually served as a reinforcement to Corbett's original confidence in the feasibility of mass education of adults.

Dr. Coady had a basic belief that "education...must be the first step to reform and social improvement."²⁷ In order to achieve this ultimate objective, the Antigonish movement was built upon five principles. The first was a faith in the primacy of the individual and "the development of individual capacities as the aim of social organizations."²⁸ Dr. Coady's second principle was that "social reform must come through education."²⁹ The third guideline to reform, and one very similar to Corbett's view, was that "education must begin with the economic" for, in Coady's opinion "economic reform is the most immediate necessity."³⁰ The fourth article in the Antigonish creed was that "education must be through group action and group action...is natural because man is a social being."³¹ Continuing in this line of thought, Coady concluded that "any effective adult education programme must...fit into this basic group organization of society...you cannot get results in business or civic affairs without organizations."³² Coady's fifth belief was that any "effective social reform involves fundamental changes in social and economic conditions."³³

The tool that Dr. Coady had selected to transform

his philosophy into an adult education programme was the discussion group, a "method by which large numbers of people over a wide area could be inexpensively organized for enlightenment."³⁴ Dr. Coady justified his selection of the discussion group method by noting that:

"The possibility of developing men economically are two-fold. Men can improve their economic status by becoming individually efficient...As the depression so well proved, there are great forces, over which the individual has no control. So there must be a second way of economic improvement through group action."

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The St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department began to organize people into small groups for weekly discussion during the fall and winter months of the depression. The Extension Department supplied these small groups with prepared study material and the discussions centered around the immediate practical problems being experienced by the rural Maritimer. The effect of such a programme was described by William Feltnate, a Nova Scotia fisherman, who recounted the way in which he had survived the depression:

"I did not fight as an individual, I fought as one of a group. All my life I had been fighting as an individual. But hard times drove home the fact that was the wrong way. So we fishermen got together and through study, organization and co-operation have fought our way through."

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E.A. Corbett, as well as many other adult educators from other nations, was keen in his appreciation of the Antigonish movement and many of Dr. Coady's ideas were

introduced later into the Farm Forum. As stated previously, Corbett found a reinforcement, in the St. Francis Xavier enterprise, for his belief in the mass education of adults as being both feasible and beneficial. Corbett also learned that people must be reached in large numbers to effect any social change. He took cognizance, however, of the need to break down the larger community into small groups, so that ideas could be effectively injected into the minds of group members and, within the group, studied and employed for action purposes. Thus, in order to have continuing success, these groups not only had to study but should engage in some form of co-operative enterprise, especially an enterprise which would produce some immediate, and if possible, some visible effects within the local community. Thus, owing to the observation of this Canadian laboratory of adult education, the organizers of National Farm Radio Forum could much more easily devise their discussion group project so that it would mesh with the prevailing rural social structure.

The second factor which dictated the degree to which the National Farm Radio Forum would be deemed acceptable by rural Canada was the existence of a long tradition of co-operative enterprise and group action on the part of Canadian farmers. Since 1900, western farmers had been engaged in a transformation of their group, from a large

mass of individuals, who did not recognize the existence of a basic common interest, into a self-conscious class. This transformation was accomplished through various forms of group action.³⁷ In the economic sphere, this group action expressed itself in the form of co-operative selling agencies, while in the realm of politics, political parties, such as the CCF, were the medium of communication. Viewed from this perspective, the National Farm Radio Forum could provide farmers with another organization in which they might further develop their group consciousness. Thus, depending upon the goals established for Farm Forum, it could have proven to be either an integrating or divisive force in Canadian society.

Besides the economic and political co-operative relations among farmers, there was also a strong tradition of rural education that was connected with group participation, for organizations such as farmers co-operatives and political parties often sponsored educational classes for farmers. As a result, by the late 1930's a tradition of group action, in association with education, had long been established. The economic and "anomic" effects of the depression intensified these educational and groups needs and created a sense of urgency for their satisfaction. When the National Farm Radio Forum was proposed, therefore, Canadian farmers viewed it as a potential means of economic

improvement, as a way of engaging in some form of active group work for the benefit of their community, as an area in which to constructively occupy their leisure time and, above all, as a further means of solidifying their agriculture organization structure, in order that the decisions of eastern urban capitalists would no longer be the sole determinants of the destiny of rural Canada. National Farm Radio Forum, thus offered the farmers an opportunity to be, as Dr. Coady hoped, "masters of their own destiny."³⁸

A third factor determining the acceptance, by rural Canada, of the National Farm Radio Forum was a sense of readiness, on the part of the farmers, to welcome any proposal that might increase the possibilities of a rejuvenation of their lost sense of neighbourliness. In the 1920's, the telephone had greatly expanded the range of inter-personal contacts in rural Canada, but at the same time, it had also decreased the number of face-to-face relationships. During the depression, large numbers of telephones were disconnected with the result that the farmer's range of inter-personal contacts decreased. At the same time, a decline in surplus capital and automobile ownership reduced the geographic mobility of the farmer. The general result of these two phenomena of the depression was a decline in the deep personal involvements with near neighbours that had previously characterized the neighbourhood work groups and bees.

With the reduced accessibility of the farmer to heavy machinery in the depression, one would assume that these work groups and bees would be rejuvenated by the rural folk. This, however, was not the case, for there was no large amount of work to be done. As a result, the rural people became increasingly family-centered.³⁹ Their only outlets for outside contacts on a large scale were through the media of radio and the printed page, and these were both impersonal means of establishing such relationships. Thus, the National Farm Radio Forum offered a potential substitute for the old pioneer "work group,"⁴⁰ for in the forums people could discuss common problems and work together in implementing the solutions, as well as socialize with their neighbours.

It might appear, from the above analysis, that the National Farm Radio Forum would be an influence counteracting the new family-centeredness of the rural depression society. The fact was, however, that as the forums became established in the rural areas, farmers brought their families to the meetings with them. The result was that the National Farm Radio Forum not only helped to rejuvenate a sense of neighbourliness, but employed the family as the basic unit of organization in such rejuvenation.

A final factor which influenced the degree to which the Farm Forum was accepted by rural Canadians was the

shrewd manner in which the organizers of the project established each local forum. The leaders of the Farm Forum project had themselves been closely associated with the rural situation and, as has been stated before, had observed the Antigonish discussion group project in action. As a result, these organizers attempted to employ the existing rural social structure to their advantage when establishing the local forums. Joseph Galway, then Provincial Farm Forum Secretary for Quebec, described the process of extension of Farm Forum through groups as follows:

"An effective job of field work cannot be done by individual contacts made by Provincial Farm Forum Secretary. Extension through groups has long been recognized as the most efficient and effective method of doing extension work...Members of an existing Forum are as a rule anxious to see other groups organized. They are familiar with the surrounding district and in the best possible positions to know the neighbours most likely to organize a Forum."⁴¹

County Forum Committees were later established in order to co-ordinate the organizing of new forums. After teams of committee men had visited a few forum groups, it was "thought that a new group could be started and a definite attempt was made to find one family willing to be host to the first meeting."⁴² Two methods were employed to invite neighbours to a forum meeting. One means, the less successful of the two, was to send out a form letter. The second, and most effective method, was to leave the inviting to the host farmer. At the meeting, the concept of Farm Forum

TABLE III

SETTING UP THE FORUMS

Number of Farm Forums Registered

Year	PEI	N.B.&NS	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	TOTAL
41-42	Figures not avail.			430	Figures not available				430
42-43	26	77	83	448	86	106	96	26	922
43-44	10	70	82	646	23	137	57	26	1051
44-45	27	78	75	701	38	60	31	17	1027
45-46	43	140	98	759	90	104	55	21	1310
46-47	54	176	135	636	73	97	34	21	1226
47-48	60	157	134	726	87	130	36	17	1351
48-49	92	190	139	853	109	144	44	15	1588
49-50	83	210	135	865	116	142	40	13	1606
50-51	62	175	122	875	64	118	36	9	1465
51-52	62	126	102	793	38	107	38	9	1275

TABLE IV

Largest Number of Participants Reported at any one Meeting

Year	PEI	NB&NS	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	TOTAL
42-43	119	408	882	5400	553	902	233	150	8647
43-44	103	524	850	10229	362	613	409	241	13331
44-45	307	824	1220	9423	346	590	342	169	13281
45-46	257	793	1337	9542	425	707	281	174	13516
46-47	417	951	1876	9704	533	535	209	157	14382
47-48	353	1090	1957	11671	680	1002	346	180	17279
48-49	462	1391	2123	13795	758	1201	415	148	20293
49-50	590	1553	2125	13795	906	1324	347	126	20769
50-51	340	1476	1925	12514	430	990	343	101	18119
51-52	415	1050	1410	12095	363	882	319	90	16624

Source: Annual Report of National Farm Forum Secretary, 1951.

was explained and a constitution was outlined for the new group. In organizing the Forums, therefore, great use was made of local organizations, existing forums and "opinion leaders," in order to have an "efficient, effective and less expensive means of establishing forums."⁴³

Despite the fact that all of these various forces were converging on the National Farm Radio Forum proposal, the leaders of the movement still decided to engage in a preliminary series of experimental broadcasts. The first of the experimental series of programmes was called 'Inquiry into Co-operation' and was jointly sponsored by the CBC, CAAE and the United Farmers of Ontario. The series dealt with the economic and social effects of consumer-producer co-operatives and, although it aroused a storm of protest from private Canadian business interests because of its suspected partisanship, the results obtained were sufficient to establish the value of radio as a stimulator of group discussion.⁴⁴

After this experiment Neil Morrison, proposed Director of the Forum project, discussed a second listening group broadcast series with R.A. Sim of the Rural Adult Education Service of Macdonald College. The outcome of this discussion was a series entitled "Community Clinic." Listeners were requested to report to the CBC about their discussion of the broadcast, with a prize offered for the best report. The reports flowed in slowly, which indicated

that audience mail reaction could not be solely relied upon to produce the two-way communication system desired by the Forum organizers. The results of both of these experiments were deemed promising enough though, to establish the Farm Forum on a permanent basis.

The Farm Broadcasts Department of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was made responsible for the series, with Neil Morrison appointed as the Director of the project. The aim of the National Farm Radio Forum was clearly enunciated at a committee meeting held six months prior to its inauguration:

"It was agreed that the aim of the series is to make people face their problems. It would be unwise to assume that people are merely receptive by asking for an advisory service of this kind. We should not tell people what they ought to do, but rather it is important to let them find out for themselves what needs to be done. An attempt should be made to make them realize that they must assume responsibility toward a solution of the problems facing them."

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A national project, such as the Farm Forum, which attempted to be integrated into a general scheme of adult education, had to face the regional loyalties of Canadian federalism. In order to be effective, therefore, the Farm Forum had to enlist the support of influential groups on both the provincial and national levels. The Forum attempted to accomplish this task by procuring the support of national organizations, such as the CAAE and CFA, as well as local groups, such as the United Farmers of Ontario,

the United Farmers of Alberta and various Provincial Governments. From the outset of the Farm Forum, however, a clear division of responsibility was recognized. The CBC was to plan and produce the radio broadcasts, while the study material and group organization was to be the responsibility of the co-operating farm and educational organizations.⁴⁶

THE NATIONAL SPONSORS

In 1935, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture was established as a National Federation of provincial, inter-provincial and national organizations of agricultural producers and as a means of channelling farm attitudes into constructive action on common problems. In the view of the CFA, the Farm Forum offered the farmer a means of publicizing farmer's opinions on a national scale. Thus, the CFA, in search of a national constituency, also found in the Farm Forum a national publicity agency.

The Canadian Association for Adult Education, by entering the Forum project, entered also the level of regional and national educational planning. By attempting to reach a mass of people simultaneously without a teacher, the CAAE ignored one of the basic tenets of the learning situation, namely the necessity of having a teacher. As a result, the CAAE, like the National Farm Radio Forum itself, was issuing a challenge to educational tradition.

Without the existence of the third member of the Forum tripartite, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, National Farm Radio Forum would never have become a practical reality. The CBC was the regulator of the Farm Forum project, ensuring that all material broadcast was in the "public interest," even if the fulfillment of this regulating function meant thwarting the satisfaction of the group interests that were involved in the Farm Forum itself.

THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

THE NATIONAL BOARD

The National Board was the chief executive instrument of the National Farm Radio Forum and, until 1945, it consisted of representatives from each of the three national sponsoring agencies. In 1947, representatives from Provincial Farm Forum Committees were added to this national agency in order to make it more representative of regional interests. The National Board did not control broadcasts but it did suggest topics for the programmes. The CBC retained sole authority over the selection and presentation of the Forum Broadcasts.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Owing to a broadening of both representation and functions, the National Board, in 1947, decided to delegate

its authority between meetings to an executive committee. Serving on this committee were five members, three representatives from the sponsoring agencies, one representative from the Forums themselves and Dr. E.A. Corbett (Member at large). The Executive Committee was made responsible for the daily administration of the Farm Forum.

THE NATIONAL OFFICE

The National Office of the Farm Forum was located in Toronto and carried out the policy plans formulated by the National Board. Other more specific functions of the National Office were the preparation of study material for local forums, the summarizing of the Forum findings and making the Forum results available to government departments, the sponsoring agencies and the Forums. The National Office also served as a liaison agency between the National Board and the Provincial Forum offices. The work of National Office was under the direction of a National Secretary.

THE CBC BROADCASTS DEPARTMENT

The CBC Farm Broadcasts Department had the final authority on all broadcasts prepared for the Farm Forum. This organ of the CBC discussed and co-operated with all agencies connected with the Farm Forum concerning programme topics and their presentation over the air. The CBC did

not aid in the organization of listening groups nor did it associate itself with any form of group action which emanated from the individual forums.

THE PROVINCIAL SPONSORSHIP

At the provincial level, the Farm Forum derived its support from institutions, such as universities, government agricultural departments and educational agencies.

ONTARIO

In Ontario a Provincial Farm Forum Committee was established composed of three representatives from the Ontario Federation of Agriculture and six representatives elected from the local forums. Below the provincial level were a series of elected County Forum Committees.

QUEBEC

In Quebec, the Farm Forum represented only the English-speaking farmers and, since it was the sole organization representing the English-speaking Quebec farmer, it also achieved membership in the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. Until 1947, the Quebec Provincial Farm Forum Secretary was also the Director of Rural Adult Education for Macdonald College.

THE MARITIMES

In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, a joint Committee, with representatives from the two Provincial Departments of Agriculture, the two Deputy Ministers of Agriculture, the New Brunswick Director of Agricultural Education, the Nova Scotia Director of Extension Education, a representative from the Maritime Federation of Agriculture and one member from the Nova Scotia Federation of Agriculture, administered the Forum project. The fact that the Maritime provinces co-operated on an inter-provincial scale, not only in the Farm Forum project, but also in school broadcasting, demonstrates the tendency, in that area of Canada to institutionalize certain common "regional interests" i.e. educational broadcasting, which required the co-operative effort of more than one province in order to be exploited effectively.

THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

The organizational structure of the Farm Forum was similar in all three Prairie Provinces and, thus, Saskatchewan will suffice as an example of this system. In Saskatchewan the regional forum committees were composed of two representatives from the Provincial Department of Agriculture, two members from the Saskatchewan Federation of Agriculture and three people from the University of Saskatchewan.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

In British Columbia, the University of British Columbia's Extension Department assumed total responsibility for the Farm Forum project. There was no Provincial Forum Committee nor any Provincial Government aid.

At the provincial level, therefore, the forces represented in the Farm Forum enterprise were the Provincial Governments, education officials, organized agriculture and the individual farmer. Besides their desire to reap the educational harvest of the Farm Forum most of these groups hoped to further their self-interest through participation in the Farm Forum.

THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION

The process of education, in terms of the National Farm Radio Forum, was inextricably related to the process of communication, in both the mass and inter-personal senses, that was facilitated by the Forum system. The unique aspect of the Farm Forum, viewed from an educational perspective, was its two-way communication process. From the Farm Forum National Office emanated broadcasts and written study material, while the Forums replied with reports on the discussions of these original feedings. The principal goal of the entire communication system of the National Farm Radio Forum was the healthy functioning of the individual

forum or discussion-listening group. The radio broadcasts and various printed forum guides represented the employment of the mass media of communications as a means of facilitating the transfer of information to the forums, as well as stimulating the interest of the individual forum member's in the proposed discussion topic. The mass media, however, served only as supplementary aids, for the crucial aspect of the learning process occurred during the inter-personal discussion within the forum group. Thus, the mass media were employed as stimulators in the learning process, as well as, being the means of conveying the basic factual foundations on which the learning process would be built.

COMMUNICATION TO THE FORUMS

Since, for most farm listeners, the gap between the local and national interest level was very large, the Forum officials decided that an intermediary agent was necessary in order to ensure a continuity of interest throughout the whole Farm Forum enterprise. The intermediary agent devised by these officials was the weekly broadcast reports given by the various Provincial Farm Forum Secretaries. The National Network of the CBC was divided into regional networks so the Provincial Farm Forum Secretaries could deliver their reports. These reports contained a summarized version of the forum discussions which had occurred in the previous week, including some direct quotations from individual forum

members. This five minute period allowed the individual forum to identify with the other forums within the province. It also served the function of providing the individual forums with the knowledge that their opinions had been heard by forum leaders and even voiced over the air for others to hear. It was of little surprise to discover that provincial and national political figures eagerly listened to these reports, which served as a substitute for the American Gallup Poll.

Once every month, the last five minutes of every fourth monthly broadcast period was devoted to a National Review Broadcast by the National Farm Forum Secretary. The National Secretary received and synthesized all of the Forum reports for the previous month and disseminated the interpretive summary of them over the air. This National Report, in contrast to the Provincial Secretary's broadcast, aimed at the integration of provincial topics around a national theme. The original Forum broadcasts, therefore, in combination with the two forms of review broadcast, constituted one aspect of the Farm Forum's feed-back system of two-way communication.

SUNNYRIDGE: THE RURAL MICROCOSM

According to Neil Morrison, Director of the Farm Forum, the radio broadcast within the Farm Forum system

was intended to accomplish three things. It was "to present authentic social and economic background material," it was to "translate such material into terms that would appeal to the imagination and interest of farm listeners" and it was to "serve as a link between listening groups."⁴⁷ The broadcasters also realized the "extreme necessity for authentic characterizations, if a farm community was to be used as the locale of the scripts, for "farmers are the most critical group of radio listeners when it comes to broadcasts depicting farm life in any phase."⁴⁸

The Sunnyridge programme revealed these administrative problems and provided a picture of rural Canada's conglomerate society. The Sunnyridge Forum presented varying shades of rural opinion on common problems. The first scene in a typical broadcast would provide an emotional lift for the listeners by dramatizing an incident in the struggles of a farmer in his attempts to wrest a living from the land. In most cases, this comprised an emotionally-laden family discussion of the problem. Scene one then faded into the Sunnyridge Farm Forum as the members began to discuss the problem that had just been dramatized. In this situation, the narrator was the "kindly, philosophical Old Timer, who knew everybody in the community." He would view the problem in the perspective of his long years of farming experience. Then there was Eric Andersen, the Dane who

comically pulled everyone's leg and who related all problems to its applicability in a Danish co-operative. Martin Burney in contrast to Eric Anderson, was presented as an "earnest, progressive, young discussion leader, who demanded immediate solutions to all problems." As in all typical rural settings, one would always expect to discover Warden Petterson, a "successful farmer of the older generation, a bit conservative, but a sound man." Then there was Mrs. Armitage, an "intelligent well-informed farm woman and leader of "good" causes in the community." All Forum programmes had to include the diligent Mrs. Richards, "the epitome of Canadian housewifery." Along with Mrs. Richards in the high affection of the audience, was George Powell, the "intelligent, argumentative and honest farmer, who knows the troubles a man has looking after taxes and mortgages - and doesn't like them." The picture of Western Canadian rural society would not be complete without Will Jones, the "kindly, hard-working doctor."⁴⁹

Thus, in the Sunnyridge programme was represented the Farm Forum officials' conception of the complexion of rural Canadian society. It was a society of diverse interests and personal backgrounds, and yet, it was a society that, if provided with the proper stimulus and organization, was capable of a constructive co-operation for the common good. It is interesting to note that the Farm Forum's

concept of Canadian rural society tended to propagate the "yeoman ideal," for there was a noted absence of any characterizations of a farmer-capitalist in their programmes.

PRINT COMMUNICATION TO THE FORUMS

The organizers of the Farm Forum were influenced by a study of 'Radio and the Printed Page,' conducted in 1940 by Paul Lazarsfeld. In this study, one of Lazarsfeld's major conclusions was that "if people have the choice between radio and print, for fairly comparable subject matter, the higher their cultural level the more likely they will be to prefer to read rather than to listen."⁵⁰ One of the aims of the Farm Forum was to elevate the cultural level of farmers by a guided form of discussion group project and, from the outset, the Forum officials utilized both radio and the printed page as complementary educational tools. Each of these tools was employed in a specialized manner, for not only would farmers learn how to listen to a new electronic form of mass communication, but they would also be forced to develop appropriate reading skills as a precondition for constructive radio listening. As a result, the functions of the individual forum member in the educational process clearly emerged. He was to read, listen, discuss and act.

The forum member was to read the prepared discussion

material in order that he would be able to appreciate, in critical fashion, the ideas expressed over the air and provide the group with intelligent contributions to the resolution of the problem under debate. More specifically, within the forum group, his function was to contribute his information, ideas, experiences, and even his emotions, to the attempt by the group membership to reach a consensus concerning the problem. If a consensus was reached within the group, the next step was to devise some form of action project, based upon the consensus arrived at, in order to relieve the problem in the local community.

Each forum member received a copy of "Farm Forum Facts," a bulletin published by the CAAE, which provided background information on the up-coming broadcasts. He also received the "Farm Forum Guide" which contained report forms, to be filled out and mailed to the Provincial Secretary after every forum discussion. At irregular intervals throughout the year, a national newsletter containing recent developments among the forums was produced for local consumption.

With the completion of each season, a small booklet, called "Rural Canada Speaks," was published by the National Forum Office tabulating the season's discussion results. Along with this booklet was a Farm Forum Handbook which was given to each forum to aid them in their search for new members. Finally, most forum members subscribed to

the CAAE journal 'Food for Thought,' in which was contained interesting articles, as well as, reports by the National Farm Forum Secretary. As a result, in the Farm Forum Communication process, each forum member had been confronted by written study material, radio broadcasts and had engaged in an inter-personal group discussion.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE FORUMS

As each individual forum discussed a problem, the forum secretaries recorded these proceedings and compiled reports on the forum findings. Once this forum report was finalized, its influence extended locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. At the local level, the forum reports were relayed to local news media and other officials who would be interested in its contents. The forum report was also delivered to the Provincial Farm Forum Secretary, who edited it in relation to the other forum reports he had received. From these reports the Provincial Secretary produced the content of his weekly review broadcast. The Provincial summary of the forum findings was also relayed to the National Farm Forum Office and there, in conjunction with the other provincial reports, it was condensed into a national summary of the forum findings. This national summary provided the basis for the monthly national review broadcast. The summary was also delivered to national governmental authorities and other agencies

expressing concern for the findings of the forum. Finally, the national summary was sent to the International Service Department of the CBC and, in this way, it can be claimed that the individual forum report possessed an international dimension.

Despite all of the various means developed by the National Farm Radio Forum officials to facilitate the process of education through mass media, however, the whole Farm Forum structure still rested upon the degree to which the Forum members were able to discuss in the group.

An attempt to provide an overall assessment of an enterprise with the ramifications of the National Farm Radio Forum is as vast an undertaking as the Forum itself. However, the Farm Forum appeared to have had a major effect on the farmer's life, on the general adult education movement in Canada, on radio's role in the educational process, on education's role in the Canadian federal system, and on the nationalizing and educational functions of the CBC.

The most immediate impact of the Farm Forum on the rural Canadian society of the late thirties and early forties was its role in fashioning an activist approach, on the part of the farmers, to socio-economic problems. The necessary concomitant of this activist approach was the utilization of the Farm Forum discussion group, as a breeding ground for a rural leadership that exhibited an inquiring and critical mind, so much in demand in the changing rural

scene.

In the age of technological change, isolation and anomie constitute the true separateness. The Farm Forum aided the depression farmer, who was faced with the problems of technological change and the resulting anomic feelings, by providing him with a pretext for a much needed social interaction with others. Also, through the action orientations of many forums, the farmer was able to perceive the increasing interrelatedness of economic success and education. The participation of the farmer in the Farm Forum was another segment of the overall process of socializing the farmer into an acceptance of the value and necessity of group planning, as a vital factor in the future of the agricultural enterprise. During the depression, for example, many individual forums sponsored community projects which accomplished informally many tasks that would later be formally undertaken by the local rural arms of the government.⁵¹

One factor which was often ignored by observers of the Farm Forum movement was that the general accessibility of radio involved large numbers of urbanites as part of the Forum listening audience.⁵² In this way, Canadian urbanites were able to view their rural counterparts in a different light than usual, as a group of people under similar tensions as themselves and attempting to overcome their problems

through education and co-operation. Later, the Canadian urbanite was to have his version of the Farm Forum in the shape of the National Citizen's Forum. In summary, the Farm Forum caused a number of people in the rural areas to co-operate, in order to center their attention on common problems. Thus, the National Farm Radio Forum, which arose in a depression that had planted the seeds of rural social disintegration, proved to be one means of preventing these seeds from germinating, as well as being itself a factor contributing to the preservation of an integrated rural society.

The second general effect of the Farm Forum project was to prove that radio could play a constructive role in an organized adult education programme. The Farm Forum, by providing an immediate and sometimes visible source of satisfaction to the participants, helped in the publicizing of adult education in the rural setting. In later adult education programmes, which would require farmers to defer their immediate satisfactions for longer periods, the transition from a farm forum to this later type of adult education would be far more smooth for ex-forum members than non-members. The Farm Forum also demonstrated that the farmer possessed no intrinsic desire for self-education. Rather, it revealed that other sources of motivation, i.e. neighbourhood listening groups and action projects,

were needed in order to make adult education attractive to the farmer. This conclusion was substantiated by the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education in 1947, when it noted that:

"Education is frequently only one of the functions performed by certain associations, and frequently only one of the reasons for participation. Anyone who attends a rural farm forum is impressed by the fact that it is important as a social occasion...The combining of education with recreation is already implicitly recognized in Adult Education techniques." 53

The Farm Forum also demonstrated that educational radio involved a delicate balance between potential advantages and inherent difficulties. The two-way communications system of the Farm Forum overcame, to an extent, the unilateral indoctrination function implicit in mass communication-based education. The project also showed that, in order for effective learning to occur, the human qualities of enthusiasm and emotion must be present, factors which a depersonalized electronic media could not supply. Although the radio could extend the range of the farmer's experience, the farther removed from the local community that the topics were, the less interest the farmer displayed in them. Thus, in order to avoid a parallel rise in disinterest and depersonalization with each extension of individual experience through the radio, it was found necessary to control and channel the range of experiences to be provided. In terms of the Farm Forum, broadcasts

provided background material, factual data and entertainment. An expansion of experience, no matter at what level, could only serve a positive function if it was employed in an inter-personal communication atmosphere. The forum group provided such an atmosphere.

The Farm Forum also helped to overcome the relative passivity of the radio audience, as well as providing the CBC with a means of solidifying its nationalizing function among rural people. The project helped the CBC to consolidate farm support for its policies, not only in agricultural broadcasting, but in recognition of the legitimacy of a public system of broadcasting for Canada. In later investigatory commissions concerned with broadcasting in Canada, this rural support for the CBC proved to be of invaluable aid in sustaining the concept of public radio corporation.⁵⁴ Although an argument can be made for the fact that the Farm Forum helped to solidify an agrarian class consciousness which hindered the development of a more general Canadian identity, E.A. Corbett's feeling that "it has brought together once a year or more the leaders of agriculture from every part of Canada and through its weekly broadcasts has provided a common basic understanding between the farm people...of Canada," appears to be a more valid assessment.⁵⁵

RADIO EDUCATION FOR THE CANADIAN URBANITE ✓

The National Farm Radio Forum had provided the farmer, who usually made the claim that he was a citizen left out of Government policy, with a broadcasting series tailored specifically to suit his needs and desires. Since the late nineteenth century, however, Canada had been developing into a "nation of cities." The urbanite, as the CBC was well aware, had tuned into the Farm Forum Series as a means of better understanding the rural mind and of gaining some valuable information on the society that surrounded the city. The urbanite, like his rural counterpart, had also suffered the economic and social consequences of the depression. Thus, since the discussion group idea had helped the rural dweller in his fight with the depression, there were many people in the cities who felt that such a project could work in the urban situation.

During the forties, one department within the CBC greatly expanded its facilities, eventually producing some of the best programmes of the national service. This department governed CBC "Talks and Public Affairs" programming. Officials within the Talks Department considered that part of their function was to help the CBC to become "a powerful instrument for education in the broadest sense through the effective presentation of the spoken word in a variety of forms."⁵⁶

The programmes planned and produced by the Talks and Public Affairs Department were of several types. They included straight talks by authorities, experts and public figures, reports by trained radio commentators, interviews, forum and discussion programmes, and documentary or semi-dramatized educational programmes."⁵⁷

The Talks Department dealt with controversial subjects "either in forum broadcasts or round table discussions ...in which speakers holding three or four major different points of view on the subject concerned were heard in open discussion, or by presenting two talks in the same programme period by speakers holding opposing views."⁵⁸ A further guarantee, imposed by the Talks Department, to "ensure that the programmes were not constantly slanted in one direction," was the prohibition against "any one commentator being used exclusively or continually over long periods of time."⁵⁹

The CBC considered that "programmes presented under the general heading of Talks and Public Affairs...play an important part in fulfilling the public service function of radio."⁶⁰ The Corporation during the period 1943-49, reported that the talks aspect of its "public service programming" had "paid increasing attention to the problem of raising standards of broadcasting by insisting on improved quality, both in writing and speaking, by experi-

menting with new forms of presentation and by more careful selection broadcasting."⁶¹ This move by the CBC to increase the quality of its programme fare and to "reflect the ideas ...activities, the interest and diversity of Canadian life" was nowhere better demonstrated than in its participation in the National Citizen's Forum."⁶²

In the Fall of 1942, the CBC inaugurated a series of "Reconstruction Broadcasts" called 'Of Things to Come'. This weekly programme series originated in various Canadian cities and employed local authorities, as panellists, who discussed a wide range of topics concerning the post-war world. Unlike the Farm Forum, there were no formally organized discussion groups in this broadcast series. The 'Of Things to Come' broadcasts were favourably received by the Canadian Association For Adult Education. The Association itself had been engaged previously in a "good deal of discussion...around the possibility of a National Radio Forum...directed to people in Canadian cities and towns who might be interested in regular study and discussion of national and international problems."⁶³

As a result of the success of the 'Of Things To Come' series, the CAAE suggested that arrangements might be made with the CBC to continue the broadcasts under a new title - "Of Things To Come: A Citizen's Forum" - with the Association "undertaking to organize listening

groups and provide study outlines."⁶⁴ This proposal was accepted by the CBC and a formal conference, to discuss the matter more fully, was convened at Macdonald College.

The theme of the conference held at Macdonald College was "Education for Reconstruction." The members attempted to discover a means of co-ordinating all of the various proposals for reconstruction into a concerted educational campaign and to devise a plan so that all of the various organizations represented could contribute to the venture. Citizen's Forum provided one such reconstruction project. Representatives attended the meeting from every Province in the Dominion - a total of one hundred and thirty-five delegates. Three investigatory committees were established during the two-day conference, to work out the plans for the broadcasts. The Committee on Methods was chaired by Dr. David Petegorsky, of the Wartime Information Board. This Committee dealt with the problems of promoting the proposed Citizen's Forum project and conducted investigations into the role of films, publications and co-operation among official bodies.

A second committee on Organization, chaired by Donald Cameron of the Extension Department of the University of Manitoba, planned the organization of the project on three levels - national, provincial and community. Finally,

a Committee on Curriculum was established and chaired by Neil Morrison of the CBC. Thus, according to one active participant in the forum project, it "appeared that a Citizen's Forum was away to a good start."⁶⁵ Appearances are very often deceiving, however, for the same observer soon realized that there "was trouble ahead."⁶⁶

The first National Committee for Citizen's Forum was composed of representatives of a number of organizations, most of which were engaged in education of one form or another. The CBC was represented on the Committee by Neil Morrison, Marjorie McEnaney and Mr. Morley Callaghan. Mr. Callaghan was to act as moderator for the weekly series of programmes. The Canadian Institute for international Affairs was present through the personages of Dr. M. Wallace and Douglas MacLennan. The YWCA sent Jean Hall, while the YMCA nominated Murray Ross. The Library Association of Canada was represented by R.E. Crouch and the Canadian Congress of Labour nominated Dr. Eugene Forsey. The Navy and Army were also represented on the Committee. Lieutenant C.C. Graham plus two directors of Navy and Army Education formed this military representation. Finally, Dr. E.A. Corbett, Chairman of the Citizen's Forum National Committee, represented the Canadian Association for Adult Education. At a later stage the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce joined the National Committee.

Besides the National Advisory Committee, a joint executive of six was selected, possessing three members each from the CBC and the CAAE. The National Advisory Committee was to "serve in a consultative and advisory capacity to the joint executive," thus, "guaranteeing the independence of the project, and impartiality and balance in such things as selection of topics and speakers, and in the presentation of facts and opinions."⁶⁷

The dangers which were inherent in the expression of opinion about Canadian society, during or after the War, soon became evident to the officials in the Citizen's Forum project. As soon as the basic administrative form had been constructed and a rough programme policy enunciated, the Citizen's Forum sent Mr. M. Callaghan and Mr. N. Morrison to Ottawa, in order to consult with Government officials and others regarding a choice of speakers for the up-coming broadcast series. The envoys had prepared a tentative list of speakers but, upon presenting it to the Government, they found that "two prominent Liberal members objected to the several speakers from the opposition parties who were on the list."⁶⁸ According to E.A. Corbett, the "feeling in the matter became so violent that one member of the Mackenzie King cabinet announced that the CBC would not be permitted to proceed with the programme."⁶⁹

"Ned" Corbett first heard of this problem of partisanship while on a promotional tour for Citizen's Forum in

Western Canada. He was very disturbed over such governmental obstruction in a programme of adult education, for he had had a similar experience in the initial stages of the Farm Forum project. As a result, Corbett decided to bring the whole issue to the attention of John Dafoe of the Winnipeg Free Press. Dafoe, in the early period of Canadian radio, had been an ardent supporter of the concept of public control without partisan influence and had contributed funds to support the activities of the Canadian Radio League. Thus, as Dafoe listened to Corbett's tale of partisan pressures on the CBC he, according to Corbett, "ran his fingers through his tousled hair" and then declared "Edward, my boy, this makes my trigger finger itch."⁷⁰ The very next day the Winnipeg Free Press contained an editorial which attacked the King Government for interfering with the operation of the CBC in the Citizen's Forum project.

Several articles, such as the one produced by Dafoe, when combined with some pressure politics, eventually produced a statement by Dr. A. Frigon of the CBC which announced that the "programme would go on as originally planned."⁷¹ Thus, as in the early experience with the Farm Forum, educators who were interested in utilizing the radio for general education, had to employ the press in order to preserve the non-partisan stance of the CBC. This was not such an unusual occurrence, for the concept of "social responsi-

bility" when used in reference to mass media of communications, had first been applied to the press.

The origins of the Citizen's Forum were quite different ✓ from those of its contemporary - the National Farm Radio Forum. The absence of a depression in the formative years of the Citizen's Forum was a major reason for this fact. Instead of conducting its operations in a society suffering under the extreme social and economic dislocations of the thirties, the Citizen's Forum was forced to deal with a society that was geared for total war and looking for "better things" in the post-war world. Secondly, unlike the rural areas of Canada, the "discussion, listening and study group" techniques had no traditional basis in the urban milieu. Therefore, the officials of the Corporation and the Citizen's Forum had to study the urban social system, in order to discover that, if any, formal or informal groups already existed on which one could build the radio discussion group. Eventually, these investigations into the urban culture revealed that groups, such as the neighbourhood, the church, the library club and the family, could be utilized in the forum series.

The Citizen's Forum possessed one advantage over the Farm Forum, though, for it could learn many lessons from the experiences of its rural predecessor. Thus, the idea of a radio discussion group, the need for a system

of two-way communication and audience feed-back, the means of establishing a co-operative relationship between the CBC and various educational bodies, and the nature of radio as an educational medium, all formed a part of the background of those individuals who formed the Citizen's Forum. The effect of the use of this experience, was that the Citizen's Forum project, in structure and programme format, represented the application of a rural educational concept to an urban situation.

The Citizen's Forum, nevertheless, did exhibit its own unique urban quality. This urban quality was derived from the content of the broadcasts. Topics, such as urban renewal, high-rise apartments, and boss politicians, did not usually form part of the diet of a Farm Forum discussion group. A final difference between the origins of the Farm and Citizen's Forum was that, from its inception, the latter project was forced to compete with a variety of other leisure time activities. Unlike the depression situation, movies, war bond concerts, sports, and social drinking were available on a large scale during the war period. ✓

ORGANIZATION OF CITIZEN'S FORUM

As was the case in the Farm Forum, the various discussion groups received printed material prior to the actual radio broadcasts, so that background in relation

to the up-coming programme was possessed by all. After the group discussion of the radio programme, each forum reported its findings to their Provincial Citizen's Forum Secretary. The Forum Secretary synthesized these local forum reports into a Provincial Report, which formed the content of the last five minutes of the next week's programme. Finally, as in the Farm Forum, there was also a monthly round-up broadcast produced by the national office of the Citizen's Forum.

The responsibility of the CBC in the Citizen's Forum series was to secure speakers for the various panels which were devised to deal with the topics of the broadcasts. The Corporation also produced the broadcasts contributing, free of charge, the time of its engineering staff, speakers fees, travel and expenses. It also published a publicity folder. The remaining responsibilities required to operate the Citizen's Forum were assumed by the Canadian Association for Adult Education. The CAAE was concerned specifically with the uses of each programme. Thus, the Association prepared and published discussion pamphlets on each broadcast topic for the use of the forum groups, arranged for provincial support of the series, provided the national service centre for provincial offices that were engaged in organizing local forums, and continued to act in its traditional role as a clearing house for the exchange of ideas

and experiences in education among the various Provincial authorities.

SELECTION OF EDUCATIONAL CONTENT

The Citizen's Forum, during the first four years of its operation, entrusted the selection of broadcast topics to a joint executive committee of the National Council. However, as in the case of the Farm Forum, the officials of the Citizen's Forum discovered that, in order to preserve the broad listening base of the series, a means had to be found to involve the "grass-roots" forum member in the process of topic selection. Thus, in 1948, a new formula for topic selection was inaugurated. In March, a questionnaire concerned with the up-coming programme year was mailed to all groups and registered forum members. The forums were invited to suggest ideas for broadcast topics under three headings - community, national and international. After the Corporation received the returned forum questionnaires, it sent out one hundred and fifty form letters to "consultants" requesting suggestions for programmes. The "consultants" were experts in the field of education, journalism, business, politics and labour.

After all of these broadcast suggestions were received, a joint CBC-CAAE committee classified them, on the basis of "frequency of request" and "balance of interest,"

into a list of approximately thirty-five programmes. This "voting list," as it was named, was then mailed out to all consultants, Provincial Forum offices, CBC regional producers, the members of the National Advisory Committee and the Council of the CAAE. The recipients of the list selected approximately sixteen programme topics. These sixteen selections were then compared with the sixteen selections of all other voters and then grouped into a final list of sixteen by the joint committee. There was also a provision made in the forum time schedule for certain "ad-hoc broadcasts" which could be employed to cover crucial news stories occurring prior to air time, e.g. war events.

THE CITIZEN'S FORUM GROUPS

As Citizen's Forum progressed it became very clear that "nearly all groups have one thing in common."⁷² This common element was the fact that almost all of the Citizen Forum discussion groups "were formed within neighbourhoods."⁷³ In fact, many people felt that the Citizen's Forum "has often helped to change a geographic locality into a community" and "many a good forum on a street has brought people together into a neighbourhood."⁷⁴ Thus, two forms of community groups began to emerge as the foundation on which the Citizen's Forum was built. First, there were "those composed of friends and neighbours who come together in-

formally and have a group which is their only common basis of meeting"⁷⁴ Second, the project attracted "members of some organizations, perhaps a church, who use the Citizen's Forum as part of their programme."⁷⁵ There was, of course, a third group that the Citizen's Forum attracted, one which many observers considered to be outside of the community. This group was composed of the students in the school classroom.⁷⁶

The discussion group was the basic unit of education in the Citizen's Forum project. Certain of these discussion groups, however, were found to be more effective than others. A Forum in the city of Halifax was acclaimed as especially valuable for the participants. According to the officials of Citizen's Forum, this group attained such a high degree of respect because of three qualities it possessed. These three qualities were that:

- "1. This group realized...that if they were to be capable citizens of Canada...they had to know more about their country.
2. By discussing these facts together and by the interplay of opinion against opinion, each individual member of the Forum sharpened and clarified his own mind on the anvil of controversy.
3. This forum...realized that this discussion was something to equip them for future life."⁷⁷

The National Citizen's Forum, although it had a longer formal life span than the Farm Forum, was never as successful as the latter in terms of either membership

or effectiveness in fulfilling its aims. There were many reasons for this disparity between the two forum projects, some of which derived from the nature of the urban audience, the type of programme and the period of its origin. A major problem which plagued the Citizen's Forum was the organization of discussion groups. It gradually became clear to the promoters of the Forum that "groups will not be created merely by putting on broadcasts, sending out study bulletins and casting publicity on the waters," for "personal contact is what creates a discussion group."⁷⁸ Also, the mass media, especially radio broadcasts and printed bulletins, had to be "adapted to each local forum with its own local needs."⁷⁹

The result of these requirements was, in the view of the National Secretary of the Citizen's Forum, the fact that "there must be sufficient paid staff in the Citizen's Forum."⁸⁰ These professional forum workers would be used to "go into new territory, pick out the potential group leaders, and explain how the Citizen's Forum technique may be developed. They would try to interest heads of organizations to use Citizen's Forums among their own membership, to hold leadership conferences, and to give personal advice and help any forum that may need it."⁸¹ It was an unfortunate situation, however, that these professional services were just the ones that the Citizen's Forum project lacked.

A reason often offered in explanation of this lack of professionalism in the staff of the Citizen's Forum was that, unlike the natural flow of agricultural support to the Farm Forum, the Citizen's Forum "because of its wider approach, is everybody's and nobody's responsibility."⁸²

A second major factor in the relative ineffectiveness of the Citizen's Forum, as compared to the Farm version, was the fact that "no single community organization or interest can be counted on to spearhead promotions," "for all these organizations had "their own well-defined purposes and their own crowded programmes."⁸³ Besides this factor, the Citizen's Forum was itself "too varied in its content to become the primary programme interest of anyone of them."⁸⁴

A third difficulty experienced by the Citizen's Forum stemmed from the nature of the post-war world. The war that had been fought to rid the world of the Nazi terror had accomplished its task, but the postwar world faced what many felt to be a new terror, symbolized by the hammer and sickle. This split within the allies of World War II and the onslaught of the "Cold War" resulted, in the forties, in a state of continuous conflict or threat of conflict. As Canadians faced this new post-war world, a "good deal of the confidence in discussion or a problem solving method disappeared" and was replaced by "a sense of the apathetic

futility as far as influencing the course of affairs."⁸⁵

This approach to world affairs naturally affected a project such as Citizen's Forum, for the Forum enterprise had placed the concepts of group-discussion and problem-solving on a pedestal. Thus, the distrust of discussion as a means of problem solving in the world, was displaced onto the Citizen's Forum, with the result that a noticeable decline in membership occurred.

The broadcasting "season" had been developed during the depression years to meet the needs of a population which had a reduced potential for mobility, both social and geographical, a much reduced spending power, and yet, a relatively increased amount of leisure time. Thus, the broadcasting season was made long, in terms of time, so as to fulfill the needs of these leisured people who desired sustained entertainment from their radios. The Citizen's Forum project, like the Farm Forum project, was constructed so as to extend throughout this long broadcast season, eight to ten months. However, the long broadcast season required the sustained attention of the individual as both a listener and as a participant in a discussion group. It was precisely this type of attention that the Citizen's Forum could not muster from the new "time-conscious" urban society, which objected to any lengthy commitments. Besides this fact, the urbanite was in the midst of too many distracting influences such as commercialized sport, to

give his full attention to any one activity over a long length of time. The Citizen's Forum, unlike its rural counterpart, possessed no attractive power, in terms of increasing the monetary, vocational or self-satisfactions of the individual who participated in the project. Education "for its own sake", or for "understanding," only had limited appeal to a limited number of people.

Another major criticism that was levelled at the Citizen's Forum project as it developed was that the discussion topics were too remote from what was described as the "public interest of everyday life."⁸⁶ Most people readily "acknowledged the importance of the subject to be discussed" but experienced frustration because they were "uncomfortably aware that they do not possess enough facts to reach valid judgements."⁸⁷ The average listener who participated in the forum project also felt that a group decision "when reached, is purely an academic one," for "they could see no apparent relation between the decision of their group and any possible action which might be taken on the subject."⁸⁸ The Farm Forum had been able to inaugurate several "community projects" such as hospital drives, as a result of its discussion groups. The Citizen's Forum, on the other hand, would find difficulty in launching a campaign, for example, to force members of the United Nations to subscribe to the idea of an international police force.

The result of the failure of the Citizen's Forum to communicate at the "grass roots" level, was that once more the CBC was open to the charge of being an "overly intellectual" organization. In summary, probably the major reason for the comparative ineffectiveness of the Citizen's Forum, in relation to the Farm Forum, was that the former project did "not appeal to any one segment of the community and, thus, cannot be, in an ordinary sense of the word, a movement."⁸⁹

The National Citizen's Forum, despite its relative ineffectiveness in terms of action projects and membership size did, like the Farm Forum, help to overcome the "passivity" of the radio listening audience. This fact alone contributed to the general educational function of the CBC. In October 1965, it was announced that the National Citizen's Forum would be replaced by a "new style Citizen's Forum" called "Cross Country Check-Up." The new series was to be a "national open-line telephone programme," almost a "cross-country conversation for two hours." The new series was billed as a "programme about things that fascinate, interest, amuse, infuriate, involve, absorb and concern Canadians - a programme in which you can take part wherever you are."⁹⁰

The "new" Citizen's Forum has abandoned the use of the discussion group, as the basic unit in adult radio

education, and shifted its orientation to the individual. However, it appears that, if a group encounters difficulty in meeting the pressures of social problems, then how much more strenuous the task of problem solving must become when conducted on an individual basis. Also, if a group project was criticized for excluding the mass of people, the opportunity for cliquish domination of the broadcasting medium by "intellectuals," operating on an individual basis, is even more probable. The "new" style forum must face, in the sixties, the same questions which hounded its predecessor in the forties.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER SIX

¹Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1946), p.36.

²James H. Gray, The Winter Years (Toronto, MacMillan Co., 1966), p. 6.

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

⁵See: C. Richards, Some Social and Psychological Effects of the Depression (M.A. Thesis, unpublished, University of Manitoba, 1934), pp. 1-20.

⁶Ibid., p. 57.

⁷Gray, op. cit., p. 7.

⁸Richards, op. cit., p. 57.

⁹Examples of such idealistic groups were the Canadian Radio League and the League for Social Reconstruction.

¹⁰R.A. Sim, Farm Radio Forum (Paris, UNESCO, 1954), p.1.

¹¹O.J.W. Shugg, Pattern For Agricultural Broadcasting in Canada (unpublished manuscript, 1938), p. 20.

¹²E.A. Corbett, We Have With Us Tonight (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1957), p. 56.

¹³Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁵Constitution of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1935, p. 1.

¹⁶Corbett, op. cit., p. 56.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁹E.L. Thorndike, Adult Learning (N.Y. Columbia University, 1928), p. 51.

²⁰Ibid., p. 52.

²¹Ibid., p. 52.

²²Corbett, op. cit., p. 60.

²³Ibid., p. 53.

²⁴Ibid., p. 53.

²⁵Ibid., p. 53.

²⁶The CBC had been formed in 1936, the CAAE in 1935 and the CFA in 1935.

²⁷M.M. Coady, The Social Significance of the Co-operative Movement (Halifax, St. Francis Xavier University, 1946), p. 1; and A.F. Laidlaw, The Campus and the Community (Montreal, Harvest House, 1961), pp. 1-100.

²⁸Ibid., p. 1.

²⁹Ibid., p. 2.

³⁰Ibid., p. 2.

³¹Ibid., p. 3.

³²Ibid., p. 3.

³³Ibid., p. 4.

³⁴Ibid., p. 4.

³⁵Ibid., p. 5.

³⁶R. Staples, "Farm Forum Report," Food For Thought, 1947, p. 50.

³⁷See: S.M. Lipset, Agrarian Radicalism (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950), p. 37 and W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 1-96.

Other indications of such rural co-operation and education were the Grain Grower's Guide and inter-denominational co-operation in church building and religious education.

³⁸M.M. Coady, Masters of Their Own Destiny (Montreal, Harvest House, 1939), p. 1.

³⁹Evidence for such a conclusion is, however, only available for the Prairies.

⁴⁰The Farm Forum slogan was READ - LISTEN - DISCUSS - ACT. The "act" referred to action projects, e.g. school repairs, based on the results of group discussion.

⁴¹Sim, op. cit., p. 73.

⁴²Ibid., p. 73.

⁴³Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁴Neil Morrison, "Farm Radio Forum Report," Food For Thought, 1941, p. 7.

⁴⁵Neil Morrison, "Farmers Air Their Problems," Food For Thought, June 1941, No. 16, p. 10.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁰P. Lazarsfeld, Radio and the Printed Page (N.Y., Random House, 1940), p. 178. Throughout numerous articles on radio in "Food For Thought," this source was mentioned.

⁵¹See: R. Staples, "Report on Farm Radio Forum," Food For Thought, July, 1945, p. 28. Mr. Staples, Director of the Farm Forum, had claimed that "a reasonably high proportion of discussions must include the possibility of action on the part of...forums for action is a very important part of the educational process."

⁵²Many forum programmes contained a section especially for urbanites.

⁵³Report of the Royal Commission on Adult Education in Manitoba, 1947, p. 103.

⁵⁴See: for example, statements and briefs submitted to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1951), pp. 423-433.

⁵⁵Corbett, op. cit., p. 60.

⁵⁶Annual Report of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, op. cit., 1945, p. 8.

⁵⁷Ibid., 1944, p. 8.

⁵⁸Ibid., 1945, p. 10.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 10.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 9.

⁶¹Ibid., 1946, p. 9.

⁶²Ibid., p. 9.

⁶³Corbett, op. cit., p. 166.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 166.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 170.

⁶⁶There had also been trouble behind, for in order to permit the conference to be held, the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship was forced to donate \$1000.

⁶⁷I. Wilson, "National Citizen's Forum," Learning and Living, ed. R. Kidd, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 25.

⁶⁸Corbett, op. cit., p. 171.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 171.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 171.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 171.

⁷²G. Grant, "Report on Citizen's Forum," Food For Thought, July 1, 1945, p. 23.

⁷³Ibid., p. 23.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 23.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 23.

⁷⁶See: H. Grenzeback, "Citizens Forum in the School," The Bulletin (Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation, Feb. 1950), p. 15.

⁷⁷G. Grant, "Foundations of a Successful Forum,"
Food For Thought, Nov. 1944, p. 26.

⁷⁸Annual Report of the National Secretary of Citizen's
Forum, 1945, p. 1.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 2.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 2.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 3.

⁸²Ibid., p. 3.

⁸³Ibid., p. 3.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁸⁵Wilson, op. cit., p. 26.

⁸⁶Report of the National Secretary, 1945 op. cit., p. 4.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 5.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 5.

⁹⁰"A New Citizen's Forum", Learning and Living,
1964, p. 50.

CONCLUSION

The development of national radio education in Canada was influenced by the forces of the times within which it occurred, the nature of the Canadian federal system, the general pattern of Canadian broadcasting and the ideas and actions of certain individuals who adhered tenaciously to a belief in the educational possibilities of radio.

The depression of the 1930's and the Second World War exerted a strong pressure upon the direction and form of national radio education. The financial stringency of the depression meant that the CRBC and the CBC possessed little capital for use in the more costly aspects of programming, such as educational broadcasting. The depression, however, did create certain educational and leisure-time needs which many people hoped the radio could help to satisfy. The belief in the radio as an educational medium was formed in the depression, but the disrupted economic conditions prevented this belief from being tested on any large scale. ✓

The War caused an increased intervention by a greatly strengthened federal government into areas normally considered to be under provincial control. Education, especially its vocational aspects, was one area of provincial jurisdiction in which the Dominion Government took an active interest. The use of radio in education was another segment of this

federal interest in education. The War also created a fervent nationalistic feeling among Canadians and a concomitant desire to ensure that all Canadians were made aware of their common citizenship. National radio education in the 1940's developed into a vehicle for the expression of this nationalism.

The basic fact of any national radio education scheme in Canada was that it could not be undertaken completely by one governmental authority or agency. The division of legislative authority contained in the BNA Act, i.e., education a provincial and broadcasting a federal responsibility, necessitated a pooling of constitutional responsibilities in order that co-operative action on the common goal could be undertaken. The result of this pooling of interests was the development of co-operation on three levels of radio education-inter-provincial, Dominion-Provincial and international.

Dominion-Provincial co-operation in radio education was built upon a shared-cost foundation, with the CBC responsible for all that went over the air while the provincial educational authorities assumed responsibility for the utilization in the classroom of the broadcasts. Several means, both formal and informal, were employed to facilitate this co-operation.

One informal means of co-operation used was described by E.A. Corbett as "hotel room diplomacy". This

involved periodic informal meetings of people, such as R.S. Lambert or Gladstone Murray, with provincial education authorities like Kenneth Caple and E.A. Corbett. During such meetings, policy and administrative plans were worked out for an up-coming radio education project. Decisions in reference to co-operation in radio education were reached by these people without the formal endorsement of their respective organizations.

In national radio education, most co-operation between the CBC and provincial education authorities occurred at the level of civil servants and administrators. R.S. Lambert of the CBC, for instance, was in continuous contact with educational officials about programme planning and production. CBC broadcasters and technical personnel provided teachers with technical advice on things such as script writing and radio reception, while the teachers reciprocated with pedagogical advice. The CBC also arranged for an exchange of personnel, for example, a broadcaster to an educational department and a teacher for the Corporation. At regular intervals throughout the year CBC officials, like R.S. Lambert, delivered policy statements on radio education before educational conventions such as the annual meeting of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association. The Corporation also sponsored numerous private conferences

of educators and broadcasters, as a means of sensitizing itself to provincial educational opinion.

In theory, the CBC was limited in the extent to which it could participate in radio education, especially if such participation involved the school in any way. In practice, however, while the above limits were broadly observed, it was found to be valuable by provincial authorities to "arrange for consultation between both groups at most stages in the preparation and presentation of broadcasts."¹

The complexity of formal national radio education projects, the need for more continuous consultation between educators and broadcasters, the rise of international educational broadcasting exchanges and the need for a system of programme evaluation eventually resulted in the formalization of the co-operative relations between the CBC and provincial education authorities. The administrative device used to accomplish this task was the advisory council or committee. Thus, councils such as the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting, the National Committee of the Farm Forum and the advisory board of Kindergarten of the Air emerged.

The various advisory committees employed in national radio education were constructed in such a way as to provide expression for a variety of interest groups and governmental authorities. The committees also provided the officials

of the CBC with advice on pedagogical and educational matters. Through the various councils at its disposal, the Corporation was able to determine the prevalent opinion on its radio policy and educational programmes. The councils provided interested people with the opportunity to participate in the development of radio education. Finally, the network of advisory committees formed part of a two-way communication system between the CBC and the "public interest" it was expected to serve. In case of controversy over radio education, public pressure could be contained and responsibility diffused through the use of the advisory committee. With the establishment of formal institutions for co-operation in radio education, informal consultation did not cease, but continued in the form of behind-the-scenes interaction between administrators of both the CBC and provincial education departments.

The second level of co-operation in radio education was inter-provincial, with the CBC providing the common meetinghouse. The BNA Act did not provide any formal administrative machinery to facilitate inter-provincial co-operation. However, inter-provincial relations have formed a separate and yet much neglected aspect of our federal system. Radio broadcasting, by its very nature, spilled over provincial boundaries, thereby creating the opportunity for inter-provincial co-operation in its use. In all inter-

provincial co-operative ventures in radio education, the CBC, because of its responsibility as a regulator of Canadian broadcasting, had to be consulted. Opportunities for provinces to co-operate in radio education, therefore, were available during the meetings of advisory committees, such as the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting, as well as in CBC-sponsored radio education conferences.

Regional collaboration was probably the most notable attempt at inter-provincial co-operation in radio education. In these cases, the co-operative relations were formalized through regional advisory councils like the Western Regional Committee on School Broadcasting. The aim of this regional co-operation was to consolidate the financial and technical resources of a region, in order that a high quality and more equitable distribution of educational broadcasts could be achieved.

The final level of co-operation evident in radio education during the 1940's was on the international scene. The responsibility for the conduct of foreign relations was a function which had been assigned specifically to the Dominion Government and, as a result, any international negotiations concerning co-operation in the field of radio education had to be conducted under the auspices of the Dominion Government. Therefore, the CBC, as an agency of the federal government, conducted negotiations and en-

gaged in co-operation with foreign radio authorities to bring Canadians some of the best educational broadcasts in the world.

The growth and development of national radio education was also related inextricably to the nature of the Canadian broadcasting system. The decision in 1932 to establish public control over radio broadcasting meant that the new medium could be utilized for other things besides entertainment. The Report of the Aird Commission, the activities of the Canadian Radio League, the example of the BBC and the demands of educators and interested parents helped to convince the Dominion authorities that radio should serve two other purposes besides entertainment. Broadcasting was to function as a medium of education and as a means of stimulating a strong sense of Canadian identity. National radio education projects, such as Farm and Citizen's Forum and Young Canada Listens, represented attempts by the CBC to fulfill these two ideals of Canadian broadcasting.

Ventures into national radio education also formed part of a general shift in CBC programming from light entertainment to a more serious broadcasting fare. The depression years were spent by CBC officials in attempts to accustom the Canadian audience to radio broadcasting as a form of mass communication. Experiments were under-

taken in the field of serious programming, but little in the way of sustaining programmes was produced. As the depression closed, the CBC attracted more creative personnel, stabilized its financial situation and investigated more serious programming. This subtle move into the more creative aspects of radio programming was characterized by the appearance of specialized programmes for various groups in the radio audience, attempts to overcome the passivity of the radio audience by involving them in the planning and production of the programmes, greater use of the radio as a medium for expression in the arts and investigations into the possibilities of FM broadcasting.

Programmes of national radio education like "Kindergarten of the Air" and Farm Forum, both reflected this shift in CBC programming and provided a channel within which it could be expressed. National radio education in the 1940's was probably one of the most successful of all CBC ventures into serious broadcasting.

The history of national radio education during the years 1929-1949 was tied very closely to the activities of certain individuals who possessed the courage and foresight to experiment with the radio in education. Men such as E.A. Corbett, R.S. Lambert, O.J.W. Shugg, H.H. Hannam, Neil Morrison, C.H. Mercer, E.A. Weir and R.A. Sim are called to mind in this connection. The individual with

probably the most long-lasting impact on national radio education was E.A. Corbett. Corbett had pioneered early experiments with radio in education, helped to win the West for the cause of public broadcasting, contributed an educational philosophy to broadcasting, devised the first blueprint for school radio, sparked the employment of broadcasting in adult education and became a general publicist for radio education at home and abroad. Without the leadership of men such as Corbett, Canadian radio might have remained a medium devoted to commercial advertising and low-grade entertainment.

The successful development of national radio education during the 1940's raises two points of broad significance for Canadian education generally. First, successful educational schemes, such as Young Canada Listens and Farm Radio Forum, testify to the fact that the Canadian federal system contains certain inherent sources of flexibility which, if properly utilized, can facilitate co-operation between Dominion and provincial authorities in the achievement of national educational goals.

One such source of flexibility, as this study has attempted to illustrate, has been the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The significance of the CBC activity in radio education was recognized by Mr. A. Davidson Dunton, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Corporation,

in his formal submission to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts Letters and Sciences in Canada. Mr. Dunton declared that:

"co-operation between educators and the CBC has been established on a sound business basis, involving the sharing of costs. Perhaps the most interesting factor is the successful experiment in Dominion-Provincial co-operation, in the field of education, which has taken place. This proves, that in the field of education, national development can take place without interference with provincial autonomy, if there is a joint interest and a joint control."²

The CBC, as a central agency under the control of the Dominion Government, was able to provide during the 1930's and 1940's a type of national guidance and direction in the fields of adult education, formal in-school education, certain facets of teacher training and pre-school education. The Corporation also acted as an international education agent for the Dominion Government and, through its various publications, teachers and pupils received many useful educational ideas, radio scripts and teaching aids. Finally, by way of its daily programme fare, the CBC has probably influenced the general expectations and cultural level of the Canadian radio audience.

Although Canada has no national ministry of education, this does not have to block completely the achievement of a national experience in education. Other national educational agencies, besides the CBC, exist in Canada

and can be used to provide such a national experience. Under such a heading come federal agencies such as the National Film Board, the Canada Council, the National Research Council, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the External Aid Office, the National Library of Canada and the Company of Young Canadians. The question of how to co-ordinate the educational activities of these various agencies raises one of the most difficult questions in Canadian education. It is in this area where demands for a federal office of educational appear to be the most significant.

The history of national radio education from 1929-1949 also revealed some of the difficulties which confront attempts to introduce innovations in education. The teacher, at least when faced with the radio in his classroom, acted as a conserver of tradition. In fact, broadcasting was never employed as the only medium of education, but as an aid to be integrated into the traditional learning situation. This approach to radio education, in many cases, hindered the full exploitation of broadcasting's educational potential.

The radio, however, did help to break the ground for educational television. The latter medium was accepted far more quickly in educational circles than had been the case with radio. In the case of television, such ready

acceptance might lead to difficulties in the future. For television, like radio broadcasting, possesses certain inherent dangers which can operate so as to impair constructive learning.³ It still remains the Herculean task of the parent and the teacher to function as filters between the child and the various media, groups and activities which claim his attention. The problem with such a role for the parent and teacher today is that the child, having been born into the electronic age, possibly understands new media, such as television, far more than does the adult.

FOOTNOTES - CONCLUSION

¹Annual Report of the Department of Education of British, 1950, p. 131.

²Brief presented by the CBC to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences in Canada (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1951), p. 36.

³See W. Schramm, TV in the Lives of Our Children (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 1-75.

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AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THOSE WHO HAVE CREATIVE IDEAS ABOUT SCHOOL BROADCASTS

The CBC again invites interested teachers to compete in its annual Script-writing Contest. The object of this contest is to help develop, in the teaching profession, suitable script writing talent that could provide material for the school broadcasting field.

The subject of this season's competition is the book *Flags Over Quebec*, by Virginia Watson (McCann). A prize of \$50.00 will be awarded the teacher who, in the opinion of the judges, submits the most suitable dramatization of this story in radio form. If the winning entry is of sufficient merit, it will be produced and broadcast over the national networks of the CBC and the Columbia Broadcasting Systems.

ALL CONTESTANTS MUST AGREE TO ABIDE BY THE FOLLOWING RULES:

1. The decision of the judges appointed by the CBC is final, and no appeal from their finding can be allowed.
2. The scripts are to be in dramatized form and not to exceed 3,500 words in length.
3. The script must carry on the title page, the name, address and school of the author. It is to be mailed to, The Supervisor of Educational Broadcasts, The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 354 Jarvis Street, Toronto 5. Mark envelope outside "Script Contest."
4. Mail your scripts early. The contest closes Dec. 31st, 1945, and no scripts will be accepted after that date. However, by mailing your script before that time you will give the judges a better opportunity to give your entry more careful consideration.

HINTS TO CONTESTANTS

- (1) Listen to "Tales From Far and Near" broadcasts to get the feel of the series.
- (2) If you are unfamiliar with the form in which radio scripts are written, apply to the CBC Script Exchange for a specimen copy.
- (3) It is obviously impossible to present the full content of an 80,000 word novel in a 3,500 word script. Your first problem therefore is to extract from the book the basic plot of the story.
- (4) If, when you have done this, you think the plot is still too complicated for dramatization, you should try to simplify it. Do so by considering which factors of the plot you can eliminate, as relatively unimportant, without destroying the logic or coherence of the story.
- (5) Your script should tend to fall into a limited number of episodes. Too many episodes will make your script sound jerky and disconnected when produced. It is suggested that if you have more than seven episodes or scenes in your script you should consider whether or not some of these can be eliminated.
- (6) Keep direct narration to a minimum.

The following books on script-writing can be recommended to the beginner:—

Radio Writing, by Max Wylie. (Farrar & Rinehart).

Handbook of Radio Writing, by Erik Barnouw. (Little, Brown & Co.).

Good reception is the basis of successful listening to school broadcasts. While few classrooms offer ideal conditions, good reception usually can be obtained if the teacher will operate the set in the most efficient manner. The following hints are largely a matter of common sense, but some of them are often overlooked.

1. Have the tubes of your receiver tested once each year. Radio service stores will usually do this free of charge. Replace those found defective or those whose performance is doubtful.
2. Keep the inside of the receiver clean. When cleaning, do so carefully and gently, and use a soft hair brush to remove the dust.
3. Most radio sets possess a *tone control knob*, which permits the sound to be varied from *bass* to *brilliant* in tone. This knob should be set to *brilliant* in order to give the truest quality of sound. The only time the knob should be turned to *bass* is when it is necessary to minimize static.
4. Tune the set carefully, before the broadcast, to the station which you wish to hear. When one is provided, tune by the electric eye of your receiver instead of by ear.
5. Try to find the best location in the room for the radio receiver, where it can be heard most clearly by the class, with the minimum volume of sound. Whenever possible, the loudspeaker in the receiver should be elevated above head level and directed toward the centre of the class.
6. In the one-room rural school, the teacher should consider the possible advantages of installing the radio receiver in the cloakroom. To do so may allow individual grades to listen to a broadcast without interfering with the work of the rest of the pupils.
7. See that the power cord is firmly plugged into the light socket, that all connections, such as the aerial and ground wire, are tightly made, and that the radio tubes are firmly seated in their sockets. This will help eliminate interfering noises.
8. The teacher should check audition conditions for adequate volume of sound at the extremes of the listening group. Otherwise the students most remote from the receiver may be required to listen under strain, and may not make this handicap known.
9. When listening conditions are not at their best, the teacher should exercise special care to see the pupils are comfortably seated, so that they will not be inclined to restlessness. If this is not done some pupils will be impelled to create distracting sounds and movements, such as shuffling their feet and fidgeting in their seats. While these inadvertent movements are each a minor occurrence, altogether they can cause considerable distraction, and do much to prevent the class as a whole from listening carefully to the programme.
10. Teachers are advised to contact in advance their local station to find out what school broadcasts that station is carrying, and at what times.

CBC SCHOOL BROADCASTS REPORT, 1947 (January-May)

Name of School _____ Name of Principal _____ Date of Report _____
 Place _____ Name of Teacher _____ Station on which _____
 Province _____ Grade or Class _____ Programme Heard _____

Please Mail This Report following Final Broadcast to CBC School Broadcasts Dept., 354 Jarvis St., Toronto 5, Ontario.

PROGRAMME	Did Class Hear Programme?		Did Subject tie in with Class work?		Did Programme present information clearly?		Was language used suitable?		Was treatment suited to students' understanding?		Were sound effects and music excessive?		Could the programme have been more suitably presented as a straight talk?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
ANIMALS AND BIRDS OF CANADA														
1. In the Canadian Arctic (Jan. 10)														
2. In the Western Mountain Region (Jan. 17)														
3. In Northern Ontario (Jan. 24)														
4. On the Prairies (Jan. 31)														
5. In the Maritimes (Feb. 7)														
SHAKESPEARE'S "MACBETH"														
6. Act I Scenes 1-5 (Feb. 14)														
7. Act I Scenes 6-7 (Feb. 21)														
Act II Scenes 1-3														
8. Act III Scenes 1-6 (Feb. 28)														
9. Act IV Scenes 1-3 (Mar. 7)														
10. Act V Scenes 1-8 (Mar. 14)														
THE ADVENTURE OF CANADIAN PAINTING														
11. Horatio Walker (Mar. 21)														
12. Tom Thomson (Mar. 28)														
13. J. E. H. Macdonald (Apr. 18)														
14. Lawren Harris (Apr. 25)														
15. Charles Comfort (May 1)														

KINDERGARTEN OF THE AIR

NEWFOUNDLAND	11.15-11.30	Airway to Song (1.5)	High-School English (7-12)	11.15-11.30	Agricultural Science (6-10)	Drama Time (6-8)	11.15-11.30	Story and Verse Time (1.4)	From Their World to Ours (6-10)	11.15-11.45	National Series (1.5) (6-10)	3.30-3.45	"Note" - Worthy Tales (1.5) (6-10)
PELTON	10.45-11.00	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	French (5-8)	9.45-10.00	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	10.00-10.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	10.45-11.15	National Series (1.5) (6-10)	3.00-3.15	"Note" - Worthy Tales (1.5) (6-10)
ONT. & QUE.	9.45-10.00	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	French (5-8)	9.45-10.00	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	10.00-10.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	9.45-10.15	National Series (1.5) (6-10)	3.00-3.15	"Note" - Worthy Tales (1.5) (6-10)
MANITOBA	3.00-3.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	French (5-8)	3.00-3.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	3.00-3.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	3.00-3.30	National Series (1.5) (6-10)	3.00-3.15	"Note" - Worthy Tales (1.5) (6-10)
SASK.	2.00-2.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	French (5-8)	2.00-2.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	2.00-2.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	2.00-2.30	National Series (1.5) (6-10)	2.00-2.30	"Note" - Worthy Tales (1.5) (6-10)
ALBERTA	11.00-11.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	French (5-8)	11.00-11.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	11.00-11.15	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	11.00-11.15	National Series (1.5) (6-10)	11.00-11.30	"Note" - Worthy Tales (1.5) (6-10)
B.C.	2.00-2.30	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	French (5-8)	2.00-2.30	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	2.00-2.30	Wake Up and Live (6-10)	What's The Weather (6-10)	2.00-2.30	National Series (1.5) (6-10)	2.00-2.30	"Note" - Worthy Tales (1.5) (6-10)