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MEDIA, CULTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN QUEBEC: THE STORY OF RADIO-CANADA TELEVISION IN THE FIFTIES

Marie Tigkos

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

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for the degree of Master in Media Studies
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ABSTRACT

Media, Culture and Social Change in Quebec: The Story of Radio-Canada Television in the Fifties

Marie Tigkos

In this thesis we aim to develop an account of the salient events and circumstances within which the medium of television in the form of the Radio-Canada television network in Quebec developed as a significant social institution and cultural form during the first decade of its existence. Concomitantly, we want to develop an account of television as an embodiment and carrier of capitalist modernity in Quebec, a modernity in which the cultural, political, public and domestic spheres were restructured to meet the demands and needs of the post-war era. Within this larger framework we shall examine the relationship between media and modernity in the first instance, and television's contribution to the democratization of public life and the reformulation of national culture and identity in the second. At the same time, we shall examine institutional developments within Radio-Canada television as well as the conditions that permitted the public broadcaster to create a distinctive and popular television culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis project turned out to be a long and complex undertaking. I hope the results will not be a disappointment to the many people who have contributed in various ways to its realization. Certainly it could not have been completed without the sustained support and guidance of my thesis committee. I would like to extend a sincere and warm felt thanks to all its members; namely, Professors Martin Allor, William Buxton and William Gilsdorf. I owe a special thanks to my thesis supervisor, Dr. William Buxton. His solid commitment to the project, his informed suggestions and gentle prodding have been essential to its completion. His willingness to allow me a great deal of freedom in the conception and execution of the thesis has contributed immensely to my personal and academic development. This thesis also owes a great deal to the constant encouragement, intellectual interest and great editing skills of Dr. William Gilsdorf. His interest in the project and unwavering support during, especially, the more difficult moments of its trajectory were very much appreciated, then and always. To Dr. Martin Allor, much thanks for contributing to this project his intellectual wit and refined appreciation for things cultural. Also, for having the stamina and courage to overcome obstacles of many kinds and hence make possible the successful completion of this thesis.

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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION.

In this thesis we want to engage with two sets of autonomous but related problematics. The first set addresses the conceptual and historical relations between media and modernity, media and social change, media and the formation of national identity. The second set concerns the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the conceptualization and writing of media history. These two sets of problematics will provide the theoretical and methodological framework in which to locate the object of this study; namely, an investigation of the ways in which communication media in general, and television broadcasting in particular, participated in the construction of a modern, secular and reformist national culture in Quebec in the post-war period.

These problematics will be explored and elaborated within the context of a history of the Radio-Canada television network during the first decade of its existence. The period between 1952 and 1962, bracketed by the entry of television in Quebec and the official launching of the Quiet Revolution, was an important, formative decade for the French network. It was during the span of these years that Radio-Canada television developed as a public broadcaster and cultural institution of note, that it created a unique and popular television culture and developed its relationship with its audience on the one hand and various constituencies in the larger society on the other. It was also during this period that Radio-Canada television contributed significantly to the democratization of public discourse and to the general education of the population, especially to the younger members of its audience. Finally, it was in the declining years of the decade that the French network, caught in the tensions between its status as a federal institution and its emergent Québécois identity, was nearly destroyed as an independent and credible public broadcaster.

This history of Radio-Canada television's formative years is conceived as a multilayered research project. In the first instance, it is a historiographic project which will revolve around the construction/narration of the early history of Radio-Canada television as public institution, as social agency and as cultural practice. The story of Radio-Canada television's early years and the important role it played in the making of contemporary Quebec is not a new one and has been told many times before. (1) Indeed this story has achieved nearly mythic status both in the popular mind and in academic discourse. But it is a story that has been inadequately or badly told, a story in which the French network's achievements have been either greatly exaggerated or woefully undervalued, a narrative which has been ideologically over determined and insufficiently problematized. This history of Radio-Canada television, therefore, will be a project of deconstruction and construction at the same time. This double movement is necessary because like all (national) myths, institutions and legends, this one too needs to be revisited, updated and re-appropriated.

This thesis is also a work of construction/deconstruction because it seeks to problematize the theoretical, methodological and narrational practices of media history. We believe that media history, in its haste to become a respected member of the academic community has adopted some of the more conservative strategies of history proper, often emulating the methodological and narrational styles that many professional historians abandoned some time ago. (2) Similarly, media history must rethink its relationship to history proper, to theory and to Communication Studies. It must become more "historical" in that it acquires an extensive knowledge and deep appreciation of the historical and cultural contexts in which it locates the study of the media, and more "theoretical" in that it begins to imaginatively dialogue with the theoretical and methodological advances that are being made in the social sciences in general, and in the sister discipline of Communication Studies in particular. (3)

At the same time we must make sure that the new, more refined and mature conceptions and practices of media history do not perpetrate the traditional exclusion of gender, both as an analytic category and as a "fact" of history. As Sue Currey Jensen has written, the importance of gender in any analysis of media and society is indispensable. Moreover, gender is not another variable to add to those of race, class or ethnicity, but a crucial constituent for the analysis of all fields of power relations and structures of knowledge. (4) The significance of these observations for media history, and for this thesis project, should be evident. We can no longer write media history as if it were gender neutral. Nor can we accept strategies that attempt a partial redressing of the old blind spot. Instead, we must think of and write media history with the category of gender at the center of our theoretical, empirical and methodological concerns. Like all revisionist projects this new approach to media history may be difficult to fully realize at first. As we discovered in the course of this thesis project, there are tremendous lacunae , both of an empirical and a theoretical nature, that await the researcher's attention. These absences, however, should not prevent us from starting with the resources we have at hand. As such, our narrative of the coming of mature capitalist modernity to Quebec and of the role that communications media in general, and television in particular, played in this historical process, reflects both the limitations and the possibilities of the new, and necessarily experimental, approaches to media history.

This may be a good place to offer an explanation of the underlying reasons that motivated this media history project. As expected, they include both subjective and more objective, research-oriented dimensions, of which we shall write more about shortly. But the central, and more "scientific", motivation was the rich potential for research that this historical period presents for the study of the role of the media in general, and of television in particular, in the process of social change. As is generally acknowledged, the history of contemporary Quebec is indelibly marked by the presence and activities of the Radio-Canada television network. It is very difficult to imagine the evolution of modern Quebec in the absence of Radio-Canada. Indeed the flamboyant public broadcaster, through its many

public-relation activities (and fiascoes) its impressive program schedule and dynamic relationship with its audience and the general public, came to occupy a central position in the changing social, political and cultural landscape of Quebec during the fifties. Like the French television network, this latter decade has been misrepresented in a number of ways. In much of the historiography of modern Quebec, it has been portrayed as a time of stasis and pessimism. Yet, as we shall see, it was also a period of tremendous change and optimism, a time when the undercurrents of a massive cultural revolution begun to surface. Radio-Canada television was an integral part of the cultural revolution that swept across Quebec at this time. Bringing these two closely related phenomena together appeared to this researcher as an interesting, indeed an exciting, venture in the terrain of media history.

At the same time we want to avoid any (mis) interpretation of our topic as an act of nostalgia for the fifties or as a celebration of Radio-Canada's "golden years". While it will be difficult to ignore or downplay the television network's many achievements, our interest will be more focused on the genesis and evolution of the French network as a social institution and as cultural practice in the context of its many and complex relationships with the society that nourished and sustained it. As for the temporal bracketing of our study, it is both commonsense and problematical. We have already mentioned its commonsense aspects. Nevertheless, all attempts to periodize the historical flow of human experience are problematical at best. Yet this practice (of bracketing) at least provides us with boundaries by which to frame historical time so that we might better understand and explain the phenomena that have occurred within them. When these "historical" brackets coincide with a historically integral unit of time, as they do in this thesis project, we have an especially fertile ground or site for research. For, as we shall argue in this thesis, the first decade of Radio-Canada television is closely articulated with the maturation of capitalist modernity in Quebec and with the transition of French-Canadian cultural and national identity into its contemporary Québécois national form. It was during these years that Quebec accomplished its evolution into a mature, fully articulated, modern social formation, when

civil society mobilized in support of the reform and modernist currents traversing the province, and when the extant definitions of French-Canadian culture and identity began to give way to a modern, secular and Québécois national identity. Radio-Canada television, along with the other media forms that were proliferating at the time, but in a much more concentrated and powerful manner than the other media, participated actively in ushering in this more mature, modern, and more democratic social and political order.

As we mentioned above, this thesis aims to challenge some of the central orthodoxies of the dominant historiographic currents of the post-war period. We, along with a growing body of revisionist literature, do not believe that what transpired during this period was the wholesale and abrupt transition of Quebec from a condition of ideological conservatism and tradition-laden backwardness to a modern and democratic order, but rather the maturation of modernizing elements which can be traced back to the inter-war period, or even earlier, to the beginning of the century. We posit instead that the reality of Quebec during this period was much more complex and contradictory than has been indicated by the dominant historiography. While it is true that the society was under the rule of an authoritarian political regime, and that the traditional elites (along with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church) continued to exercise tremendous influence over many sectors of society, the movements for reform and renewal (of ideologies, political and social institutions, cultural practices) were gaining momentum throughout the post-war period. In fact, many institutions, discourses and practices, for example, the Church and nationalism, were already changing under the impact of these modernizing influences. We shall argue, therefore, that Quebec in the fifties was not this northern land of the "Great Darkness" or "La Grande Noirceur" (a society characterized by immobility and fear of change) but rather a society in the midst of a hegemonic battle between the forces of modernity and those of tradition. Moreover, the society that emerged carried the insignia of both tradition and modernity. It was a hybrid social formation which had encompassed the traditional in the new and re-articulated traditional ideas and/or practices in new formats. We believe, along

with Fernand Dumont, that what did take place in Quebec in the post-war period was properly speaking a cultural revolution, a revolution which extended into all spheres of life. (5) The investigation of these large scale transmutations of Quebec's culture and society during this period, and the ways in which Radio-Canada television contributed to their realization, will be a major theme running through the entire length of this thesis.

The image of post-war Quebec as a bastion of tradition and cultural backwardness is to a certain extent responsible for the many exaggerated accounts of Radio-Canada television's contribution to the modernization of Quebec society. In these narratives the French television network is given the role of a causal force; namely that it was the singular force or institution behind the creation the modern, secular Quebec. (6) These assumptions are also behind the inability to explain in a convincing way how it was that such a supposedly impoverished environment could give rise to the "phenomenon" of Radio-Canada television. Casting aside any lingering ideas regarding the miraculous powers of television technology, we will argue that the (admittedly) impressive achievements of Radio-Canada television were not extraordinary or unusual in any way, but rather represented a more modern (and technologically more sophisticated) expression of the deep currents of artistic and cultural innovation that have run through the history of Quebec. The phenomenon of Radio-Canada television could not have taken place apart from the human and cultural resources that were made available to it by the larger society. It was not the powers of the television technology alone that gave rise to a unique and popular television culture, but the manner by which it was appropriated and put to work by the larger culture. Concomitantly, the course of social and cultural change taking place in Quebec during the fifties would not have been the same without the presence and activities of the public broadcaster.

While the focus of this thesis is the genesis and evolution of the Radio-Canada television network during the first decade of its existence, we also want to highlight the fact that television did not enter an underdeveloped or weak media environment but rather a mature, relatively free and dynamic public sphere. As we shall argue in a later section of the thesis,

the new medium's glamour and power did play an important role in its ability to contribute significantly to the (further) democratization of the public sphere. It is important, however, to keep in mind that television did not act alone, but rather, in synergy with the other media. Television may have overshadowed, even displaced, existing media forms and institutions, but it too was part of a larger media environment and subject to many of its constraints and possibilities. Still, while it is important that we situate television within the larger media environment of the period under study, we hope at the same time to arrive at an understanding of the distinct nature of television and of the specific ways it contributed to the process of modernity and social change. For example, in what ways did the entry of the new medium contribute to the reconfiguration of the media environment? In what ways did television help to rework existing social and political arrangements? How did television participate in the post-war modernization of Quebec society and culture? What was the role of the media in the construction of a democratic public sphere and what was television's particular contribution to this process? Also, what were the ways in which television entered, and helped to reshape, the already existing discourses about national identity and national culture? These are some of the questions that we will attempt to address in the hope that we go beyond the present state of generalized and non-specific understanding of television as a medium of communication and representation in the first instance, and its role in the construction of contemporary Quebec culture and society in the second.

Viewed globally, this thesis has a two-fold purpose. On the one hand it seeks to revisit the formative decade of Radio-Canada television with the aim of constructing a more comprehensive, layered and textured history of the French network as public institution, social agency and cultural practice. At the same time it is a history of Radio-Canada's evolving relationship with the social, cultural, political and intellectual discourses and movements that were traversing Quebec society in the fifties. The other, related purpose of the thesis is to construct a social and cultural history of this important decade in Quebec's history from the perspective of media history in general and television history in particular.

This doubly articulated history will serve as a concrete historical and cultural site in which to examine the key problematics outlined above; namely the relationship or series of relationships between modern media of communications and the processes of modernity, social change and the formation of national identity. Structurally, the thesis is conceived as three interrelated layers of analysis. As a reconstruction of the history of Radio-Canada television during its first, formative decade; as a social and cultural history of Quebec during an important period in its trajectory; as a reflective exercise in media history.

The realization of this media history project is complicated by a number of factors. One is that many elements for an adequate (re)construction of Radio-Canada television's formative decade are difficult to access or simply not available to the researcher. For example, this project is executed within the framework of a Masters thesis which does not permit us either the time-frame or the financial resources to research important but inadequately examined areas such as audience reception (of television programs) or the conditions of television's reception into the family home. Another problem is that a wealth of primary documents essential to such a history are locked away at the public broadcaster's archives, accessible only to well-funded or well-connected researchers. Yet another major problem is the scarcity of published literature on the subject. The existing scholarly research on the history of Radio-Canada television is characterized primarily by its fragmentation and its lack of analytic coherence. Several articles, a few monographs, a handful of chapters in collections of cultural or broadcasting history in Quebec and a couple of biographies on well-known Radio-Canada personalities such as Réne Lévesque and Judith Jasmin constitute the sum total of the published literature on the history of Quebec's pre-eminent public broadcaster. While Radio-Canada television has received some attention in works concerning the early history of television in Canada, and in a few others examining the larger picture in broadcast history and/or policy, we do not have anything like the comprehensive treatments of the history of British and American television represented by the works of Asa Briggs (1969), Eric Barnauw (1966-1970), and John E.

O'Connor (1983), nor the more specialized studies represented by the work of Mary Ann Watson (1990), William Brody (1990), and John Corner (1990). Although some of these monographs, especially those of Briggs and Barnaw, suffer from the kinds of limitations typical of traditional media history, they at least can serve as a point of departure for the construction of a more complex historiographic project.

The researcher is impressed by the lack of correspondence between the historical importance of Radio-Canada television and the state of scholarly research devoted to it. One reason may be that media scholars appear to be interested in more recent developments in television broadcasting. (7) As André M. Couture has written in his historiographic review of the literature on television in Quebec, not only is most media research focused on contemporary thematics, but it is driven by theoretical preoccupations (like variants of structuralism and semantics) that are only marginally useful to historical research. (8) Another, less tangible, reason may be the ambivalent relationship between contemporary Quebec intellectuals and Radio-Canada. Part of this ambivalence emanates from the sense that Radio-Canada television no longer possesses those attributes that once made it one of Quebec's foremost cultural and social institutions. (9) Yet another is the broadcaster's ambiguous position in relation to Quebec's constitutional struggles with Ottawa. This problematic positioning of Radio-Canada, as well as Ottawa's frequent attempts to intervene in its affairs, have cultivated a certain cynicism or lack of trust toward the public broadcaster. (10)

This ambivalence toward Radio-Canada has manifested itself in uneven, distorted and limited narratives regarding both its history and present. For example, a recent publication by the government of Quebec continues with the populist tradition of representing Radio-Canada television's early history exclusively in celebratory terms. (11) In this version of history, television is given credit for generating the cultural, social and political changes that culminated in the Quiet Revolution. This is unfortunate because Radio-Canada's considerable achievements will not find their rightful place in Quebec's cultural heritage

unless they are presented in the light of a critical perspective. The obverse side of this ambivalence is demonstrated in works such as Pierre Godin's biography of Réne Lévesque. (12) Here the key argument is that the French television network's contribution to Quebec's cultural and political life was seriously undermined by a weak and conservative leadership as well as by its status as a federally-funded broadcasting institution.

This ambivalence regarding the early history of Radio-Canada television extends to the academy. The work of Jean-Pierre Desaulniers is a good example of the tendency to either uncritically celebrate the French television network as a cornucopia of culture, democracy and national identity, or to dismiss it as the institutional expression of cultural elitism and political conformism. In one article, the author presents Radio-Canada as the causal agency of all things good and modern in Quebec. (13) Although we agree with the author's emphasis on the importance of television in the modernization and democratization of Quebec society, we refuse to confer upon it the status of a demiurge. No medium of communication, however powerful or well-appropriated by the host culture, can generate social change of this magnitude. A more fruitful approach would be to trace the complex (and often subtle) relationships that were created between the new medium and the host society, and then suggest how these may have contributed to the construction of new realities. In another work, Desaulniers abandons his initial position and argues instead that the entry of the TVA network in Quebec in the early sixties provided a welcome alternative to Radio-Canada's cultural elitism. The new commercial television network, argues the author, was much more successful in creating a truly popular television culture and in promoting Quebec's national identity than the public broadcaster. (14) Although there may be some merit to these arguments, they fail completely in providing a critical perspective on the history of either network. As regards the assessment of Radio-Canada's contribution, it should be put in its proper perspective. A number of first-hand accounts from Radio-Canada television veterans, as well as several analytical studies of the network's performance at mid-decade, give us reason to believe that although Radio-Canada, in the

time-honored tradition of public broadcasting was keen to engage in the cultural uplift of the population, there were enough countervailing forces in operation, both within the network and outside, as to substantially mitigate the elitist or/and paternalistic proclivities of the public broadcaster. (15) As we shall be arguing in more detail in the body of this thesis, the television culture that was created by Radio-Canada did have elitist elements, but these were often contained within formats or presentation styles that made them accessible to large audience. The huge popularity of a large number of television programs and genres over the decade testifies to the fact that the network was not guided only by abstract notions of its public broadcasting mission, but kept its proverbial finger close to the pulse of the people. As we hope to demonstrate in this thesis, the culture that was created by Radio-Canada in the fifties was a hybrid television culture, one that encompassed both elite and popular elements, and which married traditional cultural idioms to newly emerging aesthetic and cultural forms. In our thinking about media history, we must never forget that this television culture or other media-related phenomena were situated in specific social, cultural and historic contexts. As a starting point, we must be careful to avoid mixing up analytical and temporal categories. We must also bring to our analysis the notion that media and communication technologies are complex and contradictory entities which are not easily amenable to facile analytical turns.

The ambivalence toward Radio-Canada television is not limited to works from within the communication or media studies field but extends to the domain of the larger historiography of modern Quebec. In spite of the general consensus regarding the importance of Radio-Canada television in the construction of contemporary Quebec society this researcher is not aware of a single monograph that is devoted to it. The French network has, however, received some attention in several general histories of contemporary Quebec. The earliest of these contributions is Susan Mann Troffimenkoff's chapter, "Içi, Radio-Canada", in her history of Quebec in the 20th Century. (16) Her analysis is problematic on a number of points, including the tendency to interpret the history of Quebec through the prism of the

modernity-tradition polarity. This tendency (which is not unique to this text) manifests itself in the representation of pre-television Quebec as a cultural wasteland. This is, of-course, a grotesque simplification of the actual situation. Indeed as the *Refus Global* , the manifesto of the artistic avant-garde so eloquently testifies, a great deal of cultural and artistic innovation was taking place in spite of the efforts from the traditional elite to control its more audacious expressions. The city of Montreal, especially, was rapidly developing into one of the most dynamic centers of post-war North American modernity. As we shall argue in the chapters that follow, when television was introduced in the early fifties, a cultural revolution had already begun in Quebec. Television's contribution was to accelerate the process of change and innovation by creating a new cultural space that was financially and politically independent from the traditional elites and the conservative Quebec state.

Another major problem with Troffimenkoff's account, and one which relates to our own pre-occupations with gender in this thesis, is that she does not integrate her otherwise interesting discussion of gender relations in the fifties with developments in television. For example, in her discussion of the "Feminine Mystique" and its relation to conservative nationalism in Quebec, she neglects to discuss how this (imported) ideological trope was propagated by television's representations of women's place and role in society. Similarly, there is no discussion of television's entry into the home nor how women's time and their power in the family were affected by this new medium-cum- commodity. To be fair, these issues constitute a fairly new and still developing area of research, and we should not hold the author responsible retroactively. But unfortunately, in spite of its importance, it has not elicited much research interest in this country even though a number of interesting studies have been produced elsewhere. (17) The problem of television's relationship to gender is a complex one and raises questions that we may not be able to answer all at once. Certainly, we are very modest about what we can accomplish in the space of this thesis. It is crucial, however, that we begin to integrate gender in any historical account of television, or any other media form for that matter. The discussion of television's relation to gender (in both

the public and the private spheres) that we have introduced in this thesis, necessarily remains underdeveloped in view of the scarcity of published research in Canada and in Quebec. We have tried, however, to be as creative as possible in the use of the material that does exist. Although there were some initial hesitations, we decided that to leave out a discussion of this important topic (however brief and inconclusively worked out) would constitute a large lacuna in our analysis. Moreover, it would be unacceptable from the perspective of our commitment to develop more refined practices of media history.

Another contribution to the early history of Radio-Canada television is an article in a collection of cultural essays edited by Fernand Dumont. (18) The author of the article, Florian Sauvageau, has been both a participant and close observer of the evolution of Radio-Canada television from the beginning. (19) Sauvageau begins by telling us that in Quebec, television, culture, language and the society grew up together and cannot be thought apart from one another. This is an accurate assessment up to a certain point, but then the author proceeds to warn us of the dangers of nostalgia and to remind us that Radio-Canada television programs were elitist and of poor quality. These observations are fair enough. The dangers of nostalgia should be avoided at all costs and a balanced account of the network's early history should include the more successful moments as well as the lesser ones. But why is Sauvageau in such a hurry to minimize Radio-Canada's achievements? And what does he mean when he writes that the programs were of poor quality ? For whom? The audience watching the programs in the fifties or post-modern channel surfers? This kind of writing is typical of the general ambivalence towards Radio-Canada. We too, believe in the value of a critical assessment of Radio-Canada's historical legacy, but we do not think that the diminishment of its real achievements serves our purposes either. Moreover, it is poor scholarship. We cannot judge the past exclusively by the standards of today. A historical analysis of a media institution cannot be contained in a polarized account of pluses and minuses. The writing of the history of Radio-Canada television must become less partisan as well as more scholarly in its approach.

The early history of Radio-Canada television is also examined by Paul-André Linteau and his colleagues in their excellent two-volume history of Quebec. (20) Although their discussion of the television network is brief and suffers from a vaguely celebratory tone, a genuine effort is made to open up the analysis to a number of neglected problems, such as the relationship between television and the increased commodification of social existence. Their narrative is also enriched by a fine sensitivity to categories such as landscape, space and geography that is quite innovative in the historiography of television in Quebec. The authors' attention to the changes affected by television within the home and the geography and landscape of the city and countryside, echoes James Carey's marvelous discussion of the electric telegraph and Edward Soja's innovative essay on the relationship between geography and history in the modern era. (21) It has been only recently that discussions of television have opened up to these "new" categories and this can only be a welcome development. For our part, although much of our narrative will be devoted to program and institutional developments, we intend to venture beyond the standard accounts of media history and follow television's trajectory both inside and outside the home, in the city and the countryside, and see how it was linked to larger social phenomena. In this context, we want to note that television's privileged status in the living room was symbolic of the new social relationships that were begotten by the economic, social and cultural changes that had followed modernity's path across the map of Quebec during the post-war era.

If the history of Radio-Canada television has received scant attention from researchers in the social sciences in general and from historians in particular, it has fared only marginally better among communication scholars. Still, some aspects of the television network's early history have been examined in several monographs on the history of broadcasting in Canada. Frank Peers has included Radio-Canada television in his study of the subject, but apart from acknowledging its distinct nature and paying homage to its programming, he brings little that is new to our understanding of the French network. (22) There is, however, some interest for us in the author's brief discussion of the important but

insufficiently researched topic of television's reception by the media establishment. We need to know more about the relationship between the public broadcaster and the other media, and we hope that in this thesis we shall contribute some useful observations. There is a tendency in the literature to portray the entry of television as if it took place in an empty media landscape. The reality, however, was that television entered a media universe that was distinguished by a high degree of maturity and sophistication. In addition to several mass-circulation dailies, there was a plethora of newspapers, magazines, periodicals and books destined for mass as well as more specialized publics. We should not forget the medium of radio, both public and private, which by the time of television's arrival had evolved into an extremely popular and sophisticated media form. Moreover, even though television was the cause of many changes in the media scene, it did not come to completely dominate it, at least not during the fifties. As we shall see, in the early years especially, there was a great deal of overlap among the various media as it was typical for journalists to work for a number of different media organizations. For example, journalists such as Gérard Pelletier, René Lévesque and Judith Jasmin, all three (Radio-Canada) radio journalists who went on to have successful careers on television, continued to contribute to a variety of media outlets throughout the fifties.

The early years of Radio-Canada television have received additional attention in Marc Raboy's monograph on the evolution of broadcast policy in Canada. The study is set against a background of historical conflict between Ottawa and the provinces over the definition, control and purposes of public broadcasting. This provides the context for a discussion of the evolution of Radio-Canada as a distinct entity from the parent corporation. Here the author offers some good observations regarding the historic struggles of Quebec to maintain control of its broadcast culture against the centralizing intentions of the federal government. What is missing is a greater sense of the French network as a cultural and social institution and a more sustained analysis of the ways in which it contributed to the modernization and democratization of Quebec. There is also a problem

with the narrative style privileged by the author. Although these grand narrative histories can be useful (they are especially good for tracing the larger picture) they also tend to be impersonal, leaving us with little sense of the human agency behind the historical developments described. Admittedly, the problems of historical narration are not easy to solve. We have faced some of these problems ourselves in our first chapter where we attempt to trace the outlines of modernity's countenance in the post-war period. In giving emphasis to the larger discourses and movements that characterized the period, we have at times portrayed historical change as the play (or struggle) of "larger-than-life" forces where human agency and will have sometimes taken a second place.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was principally conceived as a means to bind the different parts of the country together by promoting the creation of a unified national culture. This dream of a strong and well-articulated Canadian national culture with deep roots in the country's two major cultures (whose realization became the passion of so many English and French-Canadian intellectuals in the post-war period) and which was articulated so strongly by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, was not (could not have been) realized. (24) As we shall argue along with a number of communication scholars, the national broadcasting system's rather onerous mission was doomed from the very start. (25) What happened instead was the emergence and development of two separate and distinct national cultures. The original dream of the founders of the CBC, as the broadcaster of a unified and bi-cultural nation state, evolved into the reality of two separate (national) broadcasting systems, each involved with the production of its own broadcasting culture and distinct national identity.

The ostensibly paradoxical question of how a national broadcasting system can give birth to two separate broadcasting institutions (albeit joined at the head) and two distinct broadcasting cultures has become a key theme in Canadian broadcasting history. Although this thesis focuses on developments in Quebec and within Radio-Canada television in particular, the multiple links between the two national cultures and their broadcasting

institutions obliges us to revisit this enduring problem in Canadian media history. Two particularly informative articles on this subject have been written by two veterans of the two "national" networks, Marc Thibault and Neil Morrison. (26) These relatively modest, first-hand accounts of the respective and combined trajectories of CBC and Radio-Canada television networks provide the researcher with valuable insights distilled from long years of personal experience. (27) Marc Thibault, a long-time head of the News and Public Affairs department at Radio-Canada, and Neil Morrison, his counterpart at the CBC, both argue that it was quite natural for the French network to develop its own personality and style and to contribute to the development of a new, Québécois, national identity. Marc Thibault, for his part, rightly warns us against any excessive claims regarding Radio-Canada's role, pointing out that it was one component (albeit a very important one) of the larger process of social change. This latter point is a simple but yet important reminder to media scholars like ourselves that in our efforts to write the history of a particular medium, we should be careful to provide a balanced account of its relationship with other social forces and institutions. Another point we intend to argue in this thesis, echoing Thibault and Morrison, is that the separate evolution of Canada's two national public broadcasters and the distinct national cultures they helped to forge, was not an anomalous development but rather the forceful expression of the cultural vitality of two different cultures, and especially that of Quebec. These cultural differences were able to make their presence felt and resist the organizational dicta of their joint Head office as well as the nation-building imperatives of the federal government and its friends.

The important topic of Radio-Canada's distinct and distinctive place within Canadian television broadcasting is also taken up by Paul Rutherford in his study of television's formative years in Canada. (28) Here, Rutherford accepts the distinctive nature of Radio-Canada television but makes no further effort to explain it. Nor does he situate Radio-Canada's achievements historically, culturally or politically. To be fair the author does attempt to give some substance to his account of Radio-Canada's difference by offering a

detailed textual analysis of several public affairs programs, but he leaves many important questions regarding the development of the television network unasked. For example, what made it possible for Radio-Canada television to produce one of the most dynamic, interesting and popular in North America? To simply site the "genius" of the French-Canadian people or the "distinct" character of Quebec culture does not make for very good television or media history. What were the material and other conditions that enabled this minority culture within North America to excel in the cultural appropriation of this new medium? What were the social and institutional supports and constraints that produced television programs that elicited so much loyalty at home and admiration (and awards) abroad? In what ways did Quebec's passage through a cultural revolution contribute to the programs the network produced? And last but not least, does the production of a unique and popular television culture entail certain pre-conditions, such as a relatively homogeneous society, a vibrant national culture which includes considerable experience with communication technologies and media forms and a synergistic meeting of many creative currents and resources in society? These are some of the questions that we must address if we are to go beyond the simple acknowledgment of Radio-Canada's distinct character to a deeper understanding of the historical, social, and cultural factors that gave rise to it. We cannot pretend to properly address all of these questions in this thesis. We do, however, hope to make a contribution toward a more complex history of the early years of the French network and the social and cultural environment that gave rise to it.

Another major argument in this thesis will be that the popular, unique and national television culture that was created by the French network was the result of a complex determination of factors, not the least of them the public character of the institution. Although Radio-Canada's presence in Quebec was not the result of organic developments in its broadcasting culture, and in spite of a number of enduring problems relating to its origins, the network was nevertheless able to make available the resources and to provide

the possibilities, which included the programming philosophy of public broadcasting, for the creation of a popular (and national) television culture.

The complex question of the success or failure of television in general and public television in particular in encouraging the development of national identity and culture has not been fully explored in the literature even though a number of interesting contributions have been made in that direction. In addition to the works mentioned above, a monograph by Richard Collins attempts to approach this central issue in Canadian television history from an outsider's point of view. (29) After a leisurely visit of much of the extant theoretical and empirical material on the subject of the national, the author concludes that the Canadian nation state's experience in employing public television to promote a distinctly Canadian national identity has been a resounding failure. Collins here echoes the contribution of Maurice Charland to this debate. (30) Charland's core argument, (inspired by a sympathetic reading of Harold Innis's theories of the space-binding properties of broadcasting technologies) is that the Canadian nation-state's use of public broadcasting to create a unified national culture has not succeeded because communication technologies cannot create something that does not exist previously in society. Moreover, public broadcasting in Canada, Charland argues after Innis, has only reinforced American domination over Canada, not lessened it. Although there are real problems with Charland's overall argument, for example Quebec's very interesting experience with public television is left out of the discussion, it demonstrates a real appreciation of Canadian broadcasting history and contemporary realities. Unlike Charland, Collin's understanding of the history of communication technologies and media in the construction of the Canadian nation state is only theoretical. Moreover, Collins seems to have an ulterior motive, and this is to argue against the maintenance of public broadcasting in Canada and in Quebec. The author uses the difference between the two experiences with public broadcasting to argue for the deregulation of television broadcasting in Canada and in Quebec. Interestingly enough, Collins borrows from Jean-Pierre Desaulniers to argue that commercial television would do

a better job in promoting a national culture, than would public television. (31) While we are unable to engage fully with all the aspects of the arguments presented here, suffice it to say that in the case of the relationship between television and national culture and identity, historically it was public television , in all its limitations and problems, that encouraged and promoted the development of a national television culture in Quebec. By the time commercial television made its appearance in the early sixties, Quebec society and culture had already made the transition to a modern national identity. Collin's work is not without merit, but it does not work as media history. We too, believe that media history needs to be complemented by a healthy injection of theory. But above all, it must be grounded in the material temporality of the media and social phenomena it seeks to examine.

The programming philosophy of Radio-Canada television in the fifties was guided by several, interrelated goals. One of them was public broadcasting's commitment to provide a program schedule that would address the needs and expectations of a variety of publics. A related objective was that the daily and the weekly schedule should be made up of programs that responded to these publics' need for entertainment, information and education. Radio-Canada executives followed the classical public broadcasting pattern in trying to provide a program mix which balanced the educational, informational and entertainment aspects of broadcasting. As we have argued above (and intend to argue in more detail in this thesis) the unique and popular television culture that was produced by Radio-Canada in the fifties was the accomplishment of public broadcasting. Another important programming goal was that the programs reflect and further contribute to the enhancement of Quebec's distinct society and culture. While the interest to learn from other television experiences was keen (and to this end Radio-Canada executives, producers and technicians made several trips to the United States and Europe) the real goal was the creation of an indigenous television culture that reflected and articulated the cultural traditions and current realities of a modernizing Quebec. Still, while the nationalist undercurrents of Radio-Canada's programming philosophy were never hidden (in fact, the network's insistence that its

informational programming focus primarily on issues and events in Quebec brought it frequent reprimands from Headquarters in Ottawa) it is also difficult to argue that the French network pursued explicitly nationalist goals. But what can be argued is that the overall impulse, the overarching tendency of Radio-Canada television was to privilege programming that would in one way or another (from public affairs and news about events in Quebec, to variety programs featuring talent from around the province, to the national-popular ethos of the téléroman, to science and educational programs featuring Quebec scientists, intellectuals and artists) favour the construction of a national consciousness, of a distinct national culture and identity.

The literature on how the public broadcaster's overall program schedule, or particular program genres, contributed to the construction of a modern national identity in Quebec remains sparse. The spectacular and enduring success of the téléroman, a totally indigenous or Québécois cultural form with multiple linkages to national identity, has generated some interesting studies, even though one could argue, not enough to do justice to its complex forms and discourses. (32) Other program genres have elicited even less research attention, and this in spite of their popularity or importance on the program schedule. For example, Radio-Canada television, in some ways even more than the CBC, took extremely seriously its public-service mission, resulting in the production of a large number of educational and public affairs programs. Yet there are few studies of these program genres. One exception is provided by Gérald Laurence in his study of the origins and early development of public affairs programs. (33) This well-researched article is an important contribution to our understanding of the history of this network which placed particular emphasis on the informational and pedagogical aspects of its public service mission. Lawrence argues that the early public affairs and discussion programs contributed substantially to the democratization and modernization of Quebec society in the fifties, even though this genre was still limited as a television form, and despite the network's concerns that these programs not transgress the prevailing ideological and moral parameters. At the same time,

argues the author, these programs played an important role in reshaping Quebec's collective identity. Public affairs programs offered realistic and attractive representations of the emerging Quebec society. They also mitigated the difficulties of a transitional order by offering (especially) the newly established urban dwellers a sense of continuity with the extended family and the larger national community. As we shall argue in this thesis, public affairs programs along with the other programs on the schedule, but especially the téléroman, were able to bind many of the disparate parts of a modernizing society, the modern idiom with the traditional, the urban and the rural, into a new national whole.

The inadequacy of the existing research on Radio-Canada's role in the construction of a modern national identity in Quebec is not atypical of the larger historiographic picture. The problem of the relationship between media and the formation of national identity remains one of the least researched in the social sciences. Although this problematic has been taken up by sociology and political science, it has been insufficiently theorized by media and communication studies. A way out of this impasse has been proposed by Phillip Schlesinger. (34) The author (correctly arguing for a "dynamic" view of collective or national identity) undertakes to critically review the literature on nationalism and national identity in order to discover the links that have been made between the media and national formation. Schlesinger's argument that collective identity is not a static entity, given for all time, but rather something that is formed and reformed through historical time clearly resonates with the contemporary history of Quebec. This idea of national identity as a process rather than a static entity is reminiscent of the "Invention of Tradition" thesis which claims a more active or constructivist concept of national identity. (35) This conceptualization of identity, which has been adopted by a section of the revisionist historiography in Quebec, posits that notions of national identity and culture are consciously (and sometimes unconsciously) shaped by elites. These elites selectively avail themselves of elements of traditional culture, or create them where none exists, in order to give legitimacy and content to their national projects. (36) As we shall argue in more detail

in the first chapter of this thesis, the new modernizing intelligentsia, along with elements of the (modernizing) traditional elite proved themselves to be very adept at combining elements of the traditional culture with the modern idiom to in order to construct new representations and discourses of the emerging secular national community.

That the efforts of three major theorists of the nation, namely Karl Deutsch, Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, to theorize the role of the media in the process of national formation are only partially successful is indicative of the huge complexity of the problem.(37) The contributions of the first two theorists on the relationship between media and national formation are interesting in a number of respects, especially Gellner's argument that the media are important but not necessary conditions for the emergence of nationalist ideas, but ultimately unhelpful to our problematic. Benedict Anderson's evocatively entitled monograph, *Imagined Communities*, is the most promising, but is also lacking in a number of respects. Anderson's major contribution is his argument that the media are active participants in the construction of modern national identities and nation-states. But apart from objecting to the author's extreme idealization of the nation, we believe that his nearly exclusive emphasis on the print media as the principal mode by which he inserts the nation into a simultaneous mode of address does not adequately reflect historical reality. This is especially true since he is describing relatively recent phenomena in cultures in which listening to the (transistor) radio has been a more prevalent media practice than reading a novel or even a newspaper. In the 20th century, the role that Anderson has given to the print media properly belongs to the broadcast media, or at the very least should be shared with it. As the history of the media in Quebec so clearly illustrates, although the broadcast media did not totally displace the print media, they came to play an increasingly important role in the general culture and in the lives of the people.

Although Anderson's account of the manner by which the print media has participated in the articulation of the national could in principle be applied to the broadcast media, we need to pay more attention to the specificity of particular media. More recently, a number of

communication scholars have attempted more novel approaches in the study of the specific contribution of television to the national. Not surprisingly, much of this research has been inspired by the work of Raymond Williams on television. His concept of "mobile privatization" and his explorations of the relationship between television, popular culture and national identity, have provided much of the basis for theorizing this relationship. (38) Three examples of this research that are of interest to us in this thesis are the contributions of Claus Dieter Rath, Shawn Moores and Paddy Scannell. Rathe has suggested in his work that television makes available its own image spaces or "territories of transmission" and invites us to imagine ourselves located within cultural constituencies that transcend the boundaries of face to face communication. Television's electronic territories, argues the author, correspond with the space of the nation with the viewers been addressed as national citizens. (39) Moores, in his article, "Television, Geography and Mobile Privatization", ingenuinely reworks such diverse traditions within communication scholarship as Raymond Williams, Benedict Anderson and Harold Innis, to develop an analysis of television's participation in the formation of national, and in our own days, hybrid or international identities. (40) Paddy Scannell in his history of public service broadcasting in Britain has addressed the specific attributes of television, especially its ability to create modes of address that make it particularly amenable to national formation. He also argues that public service television, by the provision of a single (national) program schedule and by the showcasing of national political issues and history, consistently re-articulates regional and other differences into a national whole. (41) We find these contributions especially interesting as examples of communication research that is willing to take risks in order to go beyond charted, and safe, terrain. They are of particular interest to us in view of public broadcasting's historical understanding of its mission as that of the reconstitution of the disparate elements of the larger community into a strong and unified national culture. These nation-building goals have been promoted, as we shall see, by public television's

showcasing of national holidays and public rituals and its celebration of everyday events within the national space in news, public affairs, cultural and dramatic programming.

The role of the media in the public life of modern nations has been a central, and controversial, preoccupation in communication scholarship since the early days. Modern media, it has been argued, have contributed substantially to the democratization of the public life of the nation. Another current of scholarship has pointed to the propensity of modern media to discourage genuine cultural and political democracy, the free expression of public opinion and the participation of citizens in the life of the polity. Happily, the debate continues. A consensus, however, seems to be forming away from simple polarizations toward the notion that modern media are extremely complex, contradictory entities, lending themselves equally well to the cause of communicative democracy, as well as to its opposite. As a number of scholars have pointed out, modern media have historically encouraged progress and reform, but have also been mobilized in the cause of war, the construction of oppressive political regimes and the spread of reactionary ideologies. (42) We believe that this notion of the media as complex, contradictory entities is an important conceptual advancement over earlier ones and it lies at the heart of our understanding of them. We must always remember this fact about communication media, even in a setting like that of Quebec in the post-war period, where, as we shall argue, media in general and television in particular, played an overall positive role in the liberalization and democratization of society.

An important element of the larger debate regarding the relationship between media and public life that is of particular interest to us here is the concept of the public sphere. The concept was originally formulated by Jürgen Habermas to theorize the role of the (print) media in the constitution of free public communication in early bourgeois society. This (bourgeois) public sphere was independent of both the marketplace and the state, a new sphere carved out in civil society where private individuals could meet in congenial settings and engage in the practice of communicative democracy and in so doing, contribute to the

formation of political consensus and public opinion. (43) In this setting, the (print) media became integral elements of the political process. Moreover, they did not substitute face-to-face communication, but were used in conjunction with conversation and debate, the physical coming together of people for the purposes of communicative interaction.

Although the concept of the public sphere as formulated by Habermas has been severely criticized on a number of points, it continues to generate tremendous interest as a site for the discussion of the relationship between the media and political discourse and practice. (44) More recently, a number of researchers have attempted to theorize television in general, and public television in particular, in terms of the concept of the public sphere. (45) The basic argument is that television, in broadening the range of subjects that could be discussed publicly, in bringing issues of public interest to the attention of the private sphere and in generating a climate that is propitious to political discourse, television has been able to constitute a modern public sphere. (46) Although much of this research is weak on a number of points, particularly its tendency to overestimate the public sphere functions of television, it remains important to our project because it helps us to refine our own use of the concept, especially as it relates to the relationship between television and public life in Quebec during the period of our study. We prefer, however, to remain faithful to the original Habermasian idea of the public sphere as a physical and geographic reality in which citizens interact with the media to discuss matters of polity and to produce public opinion. Moreover, we must not forget that the medium of television is also an integral part of the commodification of culture. Even in the form of a public broadcaster, it is not a neutral entity, but as Raymond Williams has reminded us, representative of the deep contradictions of capitalist modernity. (47) In short, television is not an altruistic force but the bearer of many interests and purposes. As we intend to argue in this thesis, television in Quebec during the fifties contributed in a significant way to the democratization of the public sphere. It did not, however, constitute an independent or separate public sphere but was rather an extension of the existing (bourgeois democratic) one. Television, however

powerful a medium of communication, cannot substitute or replace the public sphere. Nor can it by itself constitute a communicative totality. At best, what television can do, and what it was able to do in Quebec during the fifties, is to enhance the communicative possibilities available to civil society and as such, contribute in a positive manner to the further development or the democratization of the public sphere.

The relationship between the public sphere and the media is, of course, part of the larger problematic concerning the relationship between modern communication technologies, media and the constitution of modernity. This larger debate is at the heart of communication theory. Yet, it remains a relatively unresearched, if not neglected, area of the discipline. Although it can be argued that this problem is addressed in the literature on media and the nation and/or the public sphere, and here the contribution of Jürgen Habermas is crucial, the exact nature of the relationship remains to be fully explored. In our consideration (however brief and tentative) of this question we shall be guided by the notion that communication technologies, media and modernity are inextricably linked and cannot be studied apart from one another. As Graham Murdock has reminded us, communications media and modernity have a common ancestry. They are part of the same historical movement, that is, they are doubly articulated. (48) To briefly quote the author, "...the organization of communications is not only constituted by the general dynamics of modernity but is constitutive of them, and that as we move towards the present it comes to play an increasingly central role in shaping both institutional and cultural formations and the textures of everyday life." (49) Similarly, we are in accord with the author's estimation of broadcasting as one of the most significant media forms of modernity. As we shall see, this observation is fully born out by the history of broadcasting in Canada and in Quebec.

The scarcity of theoretical literature on this central issue of communication research is paralleled by its relative absence in empirical and historical studies of the topic. Similarly, the growing body of literature on the advent of modernity in Quebec has not been particularly attentive to this problematic. The single exception is Elzéar Lavoie's article

examining the role of media in the constitution of cultural modernity in Quebec. (50) Lavoie makes an attractive argument on behalf of the contribution of commodified media (newspapers, magazines, radio) to the emergence of cultural modernity, the democratization of public discourse and the emergence of a populist nationalism during the first half of the 20th century. The author correctly argues that modernity and the commodification of culture were two autonomous but interdependent movements. What made these commodities special, argues Lavoie, is that they represented and were the carriers of new ideas and practices. Here Lavoie has made an important contribution to the topic and her article is an important resource to research projects such as ours. But the author, in her haste to make the case for the pre-eminence of commodified media in the constitution of cultural modernity in Quebec, dismisses media forms such as public broadcasting as foreign impositions to the cultural landscape of Quebec. Public radio and television argues the author, made no contributions to the cultural or political life of Quebec. What is more, they carved out a place for themselves by imitating, or worse, to use the author's expression, vamparising the flourishing popular culture that had been established by commodified media, especially radio. (51) Here, Lavoie points to key problems with public broadcasting, especially radio, in Quebec. But we believe that rather than stake out such a strong position on behalf of commercial media, the author should have examined the different forms of media, and the relationship between them, from the perspective of the contradictory pulls and tensions between the interests of the market and those of public life that are inherent in all modern media. As we intend to argue in this thesis, public television provides us with an excellent site in which to observe the (contradictory) relationship between modernity and culture, between the empowering properties of the media and those that work to further bind the citizens/audience to the exigencies of capitalist modernity.

At this point it may be useful to restate the central preoccupations of this thesis. First, to develop an account of the salient events and circumstances within which the medium of

television in the form of the Radio-Canada television network developed as a social institution and as a cultural form during the first decade of its existence. Second, to further develop an account of television as an embodiment and carrier of capitalist modernity in Quebec, a modernity in which the cultural, the political, the public and the domestic spheres were restructured to meet the demands and the needs of the post-war era. Within this larger account we shall examine the relationship between the media and modernity in the first instance, and the medium's contribution to the democratization of public life in the second. These two instances should be seen as interwoven levels of the same larger phenomenon. At the same time as developing an account of the relationship between media, cultural modernity and social change, we shall examine institutional developments within the network as well as the conditions that permitted the public broadcaster to create a distinctive television culture. We shall also consider the ways in which the public broadcaster contributed to the reformulation of national culture and identity in Quebec. As a historiographic project, therefore, this thesis aims to develop an account of the genesis and development of Radio-Canada television within the larger context of the maturation of capitalist modernity in Quebec in the fifties. It is also meant as an account of the history of Quebec in this period from the perspective of media history. Concomitantly, the thesis sees itself as a contribution to the development of a more progressive practice of media history.

This thesis is constructed in two parts. The first part examines key aspects of the development of capitalist modernity in Quebec during the post-war period, and its relationship to media in general and television in particular. Part two focuses more closely on the birth and evolution of the Radio-Canada television network as a social and cultural institution. We intend to map our narrative of these developments across several interconnected themes which will also constitute the main chapters of our thesis.

1: In chapter one, "Introduction", we shall present the central problematic and arguments of our thesis, as well as a historiographic review of our key primary and secondary sources.

2: In chapter two, "The Many Faces of Modernity: Culture, Society, the Media and Social Change in the Post-War Period", we shall attempt to construct an account of the changing social, economic and cultural environment of the post-war era in Quebec in relation to the central theme of capitalist modernity. Within this larger framework we shall inquire into the contemporary discourses about modernity and their relationship to politics, culture and national identity. Because the economic and the social instances are so closely interwoven under capitalist modernity, we shall examine the economic changes and social relations that expressed and sustained its development . The twin phenomena of urbanization and suburbia, changes in communication technologies and how these related to the deepened commodification of the culture and social relations will also be examined. This discussion will provide the larger context in which we shall examine the relationship between media and communication technologies to culture, civil society and the state, and the role that these played in the constitution of a mature, capitalist modernity in Quebec.

3: In chapter three, "Creating a Unique and Popular Television Culture", we shall examine the social, economic and ideological conditions which permitted and further encouraged the creation of public television in Canada and in Quebec. We shall begin the chapter with a discussion of the nature of television as a specific medium of communication and representation. We will continue with an inquiry into television's (twin) character as technology and cultural form, and follow with a review of the different cultural forms that this medium has assumed historically. Further, the reasons and the context of the federal government's decision to create two (French and English) public television networks will be examined against Quebec's resistance to Ottawa's post-war expansionism, especially in the important spheres of media and culture. Finally, we will discuss the conditions of television's reception and inquire about the economic and cultural resources available to Radio-Canada television that enabled it to become a significant site of cultural modernity.

4: The fourth chapter, "Radio-Canada Television's Debut: Opening Festivities and Early Development", is dedicated, as the title suggests, to the birth of the new television network,

the celebrations that accompanied it, and a brief look at the contents of the first daily and weekly program schedule. This discussion will be complemented by a look at the (massive) preparatory work that preceded the production and broadcasting of television programs, preparations which, among others, included the recruitment and training of the first generation of television artisans and the cultivation of the public's interest in the coming of television. Similarly, we shall examine the composition and professional backgrounds of the first generation of Radio-Canada managers and programmers, and discuss their ambitions for television, and how they attempted to implement the principles of public broadcasting to the cultural and national realities of Quebec. Finally, we shall discuss the main differences between the two (national) networks, and conclude with a brief look at the reasons for the emerging tensions between Radio-Canada and Corporate management

5: In the fifth chapter, "Program Evolution: Development of Schedule and Genre", we return to the themes we introduced in the second chapter in order to focus more closely on the programming philosophy, daily and weekly schedules, and program genres that together constituted the public broadcaster's "unique and popular television culture". In this chapter we shall have the opportunity to revisit public broadcasting in relation to the type of program schedule it privileges and review a number of arguments regarding the nation-building and/or democratizing qualities of such programming. We follow with a discussion of the differentiation of the various production departments within the network, and discuss the impact of this development on the people producing the programs, and of the programs themselves. Finally, we shall engage in a detailed analysis of the origin and development of the most important program categories or genres, focusing on questions of aesthetic and cultural value, political meaning and ideological significance.

6: In chapter six, "Institutional Structures and Social Background of Radio-Canada Personnel", we follow two separate but interconnected developments. The first, relates the evolution of the originally small and tightly-knit television team into a huge, hierarchically-ordered bureaucracy. In this context, we examine the rapid growth of the network,

especially in the second half of the decade, and the development of an institutional logic, which while permitting the network to produce an impressive quantity of programs, also encouraged the development of tensions that eventually erupted into the (nearly catastrophic) Montreal producer's strike of 1958. The second theme examines the social, cultural, generational and gender differences of Radio-Canada's management and staff, and attempts to relate these (analytical categories) to institutional developments as well as to program evolution. Within this larger discussion, we focus on the evolving position of women within the television network, and offer a provisional analysis of how this positioning related to institutional developments and orientations on the one hand, and to socio-cultural, political and ideological realities in the larger society on the other.

7: In the seventh and last chapter, which will also serve as our "Conclusion", we shall revisit the central issues and arguments of our thesis from the perspective of a comparative analysis of Radio-Canada television during its first, formative decade, and in the present as the network prepares to enter the new century.

As may be evident by our discussion thus far, this thesis project is inspired by, and owes a large intellectual debt to a large array of theoretical and historiographic currents. The "sister" disciplines of cultural studies, feminist theory and historiography, political economy, the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, the historiographic insights of *Annales* in France, and the Marxist social history of E.P. Thompson in England. We want to acknowledge the contribution of the German philosopher, Jürgen Habermas, to our appreciation of the role of the media in the conduct of our lives as citizens, and to thank him for his unwavering commitment to the principle (and practice) of communicative democracy. This thesis is also inspired by a certain "Canadian" understanding of the relationship between geography, history, communications and the search for community and identity that has been variously, and at times conflictually, articulated by Harold A. Innis, Marshall McLuhan, Northrop Frye, George Grant, Margaret Atwood, among others. Canadian also in the appreciation of the importance of political economy as an

essential (but not necessarily dominant) category of historical or cultural analysis. Naturally, there is a strong Québécois component to this thesis as well. But this component originates less in the academy and more in the living tissue, the sights and sounds of Quebec's rich and vibrant culture, particularly its popular music, its world-standard theater and dance, its inimitable television scape, (especially the wonderful téléroman) its splendid literary scene, to mention only these.. All of these striking artistic and cultural offerings are expressions of the profound need for representation, for narration of self and of collective identity, the projections of a people with a unique cultural heritage and a distinct national destiny. Quebec's culture also impresses and inspires because it is cosmopolitan and open to the world, and this despite a hegemonizing tendency towards minority cultures and "other" identities. What Quebec culture needs more of is to make more space for the voices and representations of these "others", especially those of the growing diasporic communities. These voices from the margins or from "elsewhere" have already entered, and have rejuvenated and enriched the larger or "host" culture. Their presence, whether we like it or not, has began to transform the contents and meaning of Quebec's culture and national identity. In other words, it is time for all concerned to begin the difficult but exciting process of re-evaluating the world of culture and the words we use to describe it. It should not be surprising, therefore, that this thesis is also inspired by (even though often in a quarrelsome way) the innovative approaches and novel insights in thinking and writing about, history/ies cultures, identities, nations and "gatherings of people". of such diasporic scholars as the globe-trotting but very rooted Homi K. Bhabha, Stuart Hall, Gayatri C. Spivak, to mention just these "original" three.

Of all the intellectual debts that must be acknowledged in this thesis, those toward the work of Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson are particularly large. The contribution of these scholars (colleagues and critics of each other both) stand out not only as major intellectual achievements of their time, but are stamped by an abiding love of nature and humanity, a profound sensibility, a deep understanding of the dialectical nature of historical

change. Moreover, it was their belief that communication technologies and media were to be deployed in the construction of human communities where freedom from ignorance and prejudice would prevail. Raymond Williams's pioneering work on the relationship between communication, history and culture has contributed especially to our understanding of how media in general and television in particular participate in the construction of cultural modernity and in the process of social change. In this thesis, we have been particularly attentive to his insights about the relationship between communication technologies and changes in the larger political and social culture. As Williams pointed out in his seminal work, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, (1974), the forms that technologies assume historically,(the manner in which they are employed, and the social, cultural and political changes they bring in their wake) are the result of complex interactions between a particular technology, human agency and the socio-historical context in which it is introduced. Similarly, the technology of television cannot be thought of apart from the cultural forms that it has assumed historically. In other words, a particular communication medium, in this case television, is structured as much by the ambient culture into which it is inserted as by the properties that are inherent in the technology and its deployment.

This, of course, is also an argument against the technological determinism that has characterized so much of the research on the media. Raymond Williams' analysis of the relationship between technology, culture and social change provides us with an important corrective to the strong tendency within communications scholarship in general, and media history in particular, to stress the technological over the economic, social and cultural instances. We see this thesis as a (small) contribution to this task. Here do we not want to argue that communication technologies are neutral. As James Carey, elaborating on the pioneering work of Harold Innis, has demonstrated so well in much of his work, communication technologies can exert a significant pull or bias upon all of the spheres of the host culture. (52) Nor do we disagree with the proposition that in certain historical moments and cultural contexts media can play a leading role in the process of cultural

change. Clearly they do, and this is one of the key arguments we shall be making in regards to Radio-Canada television in the fifties.

Here again, the work of Raymond Williams has served as an inspiration. In his book, *Towards 2000*, (1983) Williams returned to the theme of the relationship between communication technologies, cultural form and the socio-historic and economic context. For example, looking more closely at the evolution of public broadcasting, he reminded us that in examining the various forms that it has taken over the years, we should identify all of the key contributing factors, including the imprint of capitalist modernity's strategies, needs and contradictions. As he wrote, ".. it is not only the cultural systems and institutions that we have to compare, but the changing forms of their interlock with a developing capitalist society." (53) We shall have occasion to revisit these important insights in our forthcoming examination of the many relationships that were created by the introduction of public television in a modernizing society and to observe more closely the interaction between the technology and the social formation. At the same time, we shall have the opportunity to look at the tensions and pulls between the public service philosophy or mission of Radio-Canada television and the instrumental logic of capitalist modernity that was never really very far from its door.

As a historiographic exercise this thesis aims to break through and work across the existing genres of media history. It will not attempt to be singularly an institutional, or a cultural or even a social history of Radio-Canada television in Quebec in the fifties. Instead, it will strive for a more synthetic approach. Towards this end, it will select elements from a variety of historical approaches (or in television terms, genres) and recombine them in a narrative of the early history of Radio-Canada television network as a public institution, social agency and cultural practice in the context of a rapidly changing society. At the same time, it will be a history of Quebec's transition to mature modernity on the one hand, and

its acquisition of a new definition of national identity on the other, narrated from the perspective of media history.

We have already discussed the central methodological and theoretical approaches that have guided the conception and realization of this thesis, and we shall not repeat ourselves here. The documentation that will help us to construct the foundations and key arguments of our project will be composed of both primary and secondary sources. Since our discussion of the secondary literature that is relevant to our thesis has been extensive, we shall be content to simply mention that its scope and objectives have made it necessary that we cast our bibliographic net across a wide corpus of published material. This, along with the reminder that the state of published research on many of our topics is uneven at best. No doubt, this has left an imprint on the thesis as a whole, as well as on specific arguments, but there is little to do except hope that future research will provide a corrective. Primary or/and archival material is also important to the thesis, but will play a secondary or supportive role. There are basically two reasons for this. One is that the thesis has both a theoretical and an empirical character and thus needs to have access to a large number of published material on a variety of specific topics. The other is that most of the archival material relating to the Radio-Canada television network and its programs are not available to non-subsidized research projects. The public broadcaster, under the pressures of multiple cutbacks to its funding, has opted for less public-friendly, more commercial, solutions to its economic problems. This means that the library, documentation centre and archival holdings are accessible only to those who can afford to pay the high, per-hour fees. This is unfortunate, because, although this is not a strictly institutional history of the network, the availability of its archival holdings, including programs from the period, would have enabled us to construct a richer, more textured and densely argued narrative of the early history of the French network. As it is, the primary sources that will be used in this thesis are those readily available to the general public.

Among these, the following have been particularly useful in helping us to construct our narrative and argumentation. The *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Reports*, are a good source of information on institutional developments, program evolution and developments in schedule and genre. The *Reports* present information on a large variety of topics relating to the public broadcaster, including the creation and development of programming, strategies about how to make the two language networks more responsive to the regions, the chronic problem of how to render the culture and concerns of French-Canada relevant to English-Canada, and vise-versa. The point of view of the *Reports* is that of the public broadcaster's upper management. The image the Corporation liked to project of itself is that of a disinterested and high-minded public service. Many items in the *Reports* are surprisingly candid, and a close reading reveals a good amount of information that is extremely useful to our project. The other institutional source that has been extremely useful to us is Radio-Canada's house publication, *La Semaine à Radio-Canada*. This weekly magazine, meant for consumption by a large public and functioning like the network's program guide, was clearly patterned after Quebec's more classy fan magazines. It displayed many glossy photographs of Radio-Canada personalities, stars and invited guests, promotional articles on new programs and series, as well as more substantial pieces on a large variety of institutional and program developments.

In addition to the above sources, we have made ample use of three Royal Commission Reports. The first two, *The Royal Commission on National Development, in the Arts, Letters and Sciences*, (1951) and *The Royal Commission on Broadcasting*, (1957) are rich sources of information, either as background material or on specific topics like the state of French-language television broadcasting in Canada in the mid-fifties. The third, *The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Matters*, (1956) was called by the Prime Minister of Quebec, Maurice Duplessis, after a great deal of pressure from nationalist and business leaders. The latter felt that the Quebec state was not taking sufficient initiative in the areas of education, the economy and national culture. Although Duplessis did not

expect anything serious to come out of the Commission, the latter took its work very seriously. It held 97 public hearings, received 217 briefs and published a four-volume Report which was nothing less than an inventory of the economic, cultural and national situation of Quebec in the early fifties. Volume II of the Report, entitled, "The Problem with Culture", is especially useful to our project because, in addition to providing historical and cultural detail, it expresses the desire of a large number of constituencies to articulate new, more modern and secular conceptions of national culture and national identity.

Finally, we should mention two important sources that were closely connected with the movement/s for cultural modernity and reform. The first is the monthly magazine, *Cité Libre*. The magazine was published in Montreal by an independent group of reformist intellectuals dedicated to the cause of democratic governance and secular modernism. Gérard Pelletier and Pierre Trudeau were among the most active editors of this small but influential magazine. The August 1956 edition was entirely devoted to an assessment of the state of broadcasting, both private and public, in Quebec at this time. The several articles on television and its programs are very interesting for what they tell us about Radio-Canada's programming at mid-decade, and as a reflection of public opinion, albeit a highly specialized one. The other contemporary source that we shall make extensive use of is *Food For Thought*, the publication of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and its Quebec counterpart, l'Association canadienne de l'éducation des adultes. This bi-cultural group had been very active on issues relating to broadcasting since its founding in the thirties. A strong advocate of public broadcasting, the Association made frequent submissions to Royal Commissions, parliamentary hearings and public inquiries. The articles, often written by specialists, were destined for the public at large and contained much information, a diversity of opinion, and much support for the cause of public broadcasting in general and public television in particular. They are especially interesting to us as examples of the interest, debate and optimism that accompanied the coming of television to Canada and to Quebec.

Finally, a word about the author of this history. We believe that any narrative is stamped by the beliefs, values and personality of its author. (Since the relationship is reciprocal, she eventually comes to bear the markings of the latter.) We also believe that the author is invariably positioned in the narrative and, for this reason she should engage in a few moments of self-reflexivity. This project was preparing itself for a long time. I have already spoken of (some) the intellectual debts of this project. Within its boundaries are contained several decades of living, working and studying in this complex, two-headed, and to use Homi-Bhabha's words, "Janus-faced" nation-within-nation. I have loved, quarreled with, and have been very dedicated to this/these beautiful (but somewhat strange) countries or national entities, but at this moment, I seem to stand somewhat aloof, asking myself what happened to all the passion, the good sentiments, the social and national projects? I have always believed that Quebec is a distinct society, indeed a nation, and will sooner or later realize its historic destiny, but this did not prevent me from harboring a strong attachment to things Canadian. Although the "two founding-nations" concept of Canada has had its day, I believe that mutually exclusive definitions of national identity are similarly outdated. I find it difficult to relate, or accept, the very narrow definition of national culture and identity that has dominated official discourses of late. Plural definitions of personal and national identity are more appropriate in today's post-modern social and cultural environment. As with much else, here too, practice has overtaken discourse or/and theory. Much better to live among the people in Quebec, in Montreal especially, where plurality, multi-lingualism and cultural hybridity are experienced and celebrated every day, than to discuss "national" politics of one sort or another. There are days when I think that the past has become the present, and what we are experiencing in Quebec are the painful contradictions between an emerging, now "post-modern" civil society, and a political and ideological "establishment" that defends outdated notions of national identity and culture.

My early years as a young immigrant sensitized me to the other, the margin, the people and cultures that did not have a voice, that were excluded from the mainstream. This,

matched to a rebellious personality and an evolving system of beliefs that was feminist and politically to the left of centre, assured me a permanent place at the margins; a place that I have defended passionately at all times. My interest in the media began early in life when I started to notice that my (dissenting intellectual) father had to listen to his short-wave radio in secret, had to hide many newspapers and books, that his mail arrived already opened and that our telephone was tapped. I have been formed by these experiences of the media as well as by the media themselves; the many newspapers, books and periodicals that have accompanied me all my life, the re-discovery of radio as an "entertainment" medium, the experience of television as a teen from a different culture. As an adult, I have worked for a number of media, gaining a first-hand knowledge of its complex, contradictory nature.

At this point, I must come clean and admit that I have a love-hate relationship with the medium of television. My "natural" media are print and radio-broadcasting. Television is something like an arranged marriage. Love follows if one is lucky. I carry several, contradictory, images of television within me. One is that of a glaring, talking box that binds you to your chair (or other sitting position) while your body goes to pot. Another is of a generous, "tube" of plenty, a place to go for pleasure, relaxation or information. These ambivalent feelings for the medium have, I am sure, penetrated my account of the early history of Radio-Canada television, even though I have come to be rather fond of it (R-C television) by now. Unfortunately, I cannot say the same for the contemporary version of the television network, whose ideological (nationalist) petrification and refusal to represent Quebec culture and society in all its diversity has become retrogressive. My unhappy research experiences with the institution did not encourage me to think otherwise.

I do, however, believe that there is a place for Radio-Canada television, and public television in general, in the rapidly changing media landscape. But in this era of accelerated commodification of public institutions on the one hand, and globalization on the other, the purpose and mission of public broadcasting must become very clear. Something like a return to the sources, but updated and clearly thought through. Times have changed, and

no single broadcasting organization can hope to play the public sphere, cultural and nation-building role that Radio-Canada television was able to play during the first decade of its existence. But what it can do, and this will be a very important contribution to the enrichment of the cultural and political life of Quebec, is open up to the new realities, introduce new voices and faces in improved programming and establish a more egalitarian relationship with the public/audience. This is admittedly a tall order, but if realized, it will allow the public broadcaster to become a genuine public forum, where the images and the voices of the emerging society can find true representation.

CHAPTER II:

THE MANY FACES OF MODERNITY: CULTURE, SOCIETY, THE MEDIA AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN QUEBEC IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

Introduction:

The entry of television in Quebec in the early fifties coincided with the transition of that society and culture to a fully articulated, mature modernity. Although the process of modernization had begun much earlier, (it was in fact closely related to the twin processes of industrialization and urbanization that had begun in the 19th century) the long years of the Great Depression, Quebec's cultural specificity and its political and economic dependency on English Canadian and American powers, had put a break on those developments. The Second World War and the period that followed, however, provided opportunities for the acceleration of the forces of modernity. During the post-war period in particular, Quebec experienced a vast modernization movement which cut through all sectors of society. By the early sixties, the period that has come to be known as the Quiet Revolution, Quebec had already become a mature, modern society, a fully integrated member of North American capitalist modernity.

The post-war period in Quebec was characterized above all by an escalating momentum for change, reform and renewal. The impulses unleashed by the forces of modernity were driving large sections of civil society forward. The labour movement, a new generation of intellectuals and students, entrepreneurs, among others, felt increasingly constrained by existing arrangements and sought means to overcome them. In this context, the questioning of prevailing ideologies and the institutional forms that expressed them was widespread. These impulses for change were naturally countered by those social forces and ideologies that had dominated Quebec society over the last century. Yet even their strong resistance to modernity gradually weakened, both as a result of external pressure but also because of

internal changes. The post-war period, therefore, was characterized by a veritable hegemonic battle between the forces of modernity and tradition. This resulted in the demise of many institutions and ideologies, like the Catholic Church and corporatism, while other traditional cultural practices and discourses, and here nationalism and the arts are salient examples, were re-invigorated. Out of this encounter, emerged a re-articulated society and culture, more modern, democratic, its national identity modernized and re-inforced.

Television's role in articulating and encouraging the forces of modernity were many. Television represented modernity on a number of levels. First, television itself, as a medium of communication and cultural representation was utterly a creature of the mature, commodified modernity that produced it. Both its concrete, physical reality and its communicational components embodied and represented the brave new world of post-war modernity; a world dominated by science and technology, where the belief in progress, rational knowledge and individual competence were increasingly held as the highest of values, and where earlier notions of sociability and the natural world ceded place to celebrations of the human mastery of the world and technological prowess. Television exemplified the man-made world and the new prosperity of the period, itself a commodity of the highest status, its representations and messages articulating the naive optimism, but also the realism (and some of the despair) of the times. Above all, Radio-Canada television's representations were those of an emerging social order. During this period, Quebec society was searching for new representations of itself and television provided it with a hugely important, albeit not the only one, instrument by which to accomplish this. Television, in the context of the post-war period, served as a privileged new space or site for the collective re-imagining of Quebec society and culture. Television, in the form of the Radio-Canada television network, was able to mediate the impulses for social change emanating from society and to translate them into meaningful, and often powerful, discourses and representations of modernity, national identity and democratic governance.

An Old/New World in the Making:

We have noted above, and will argue in more detail in the following pages, that in the post-war years Quebec society increasingly came to resemble the world of North American capitalist modernity. During this period, Quebec became a fully realized, modern culture with the consumer habits (and ethos) lifestyles, economic and social activities of a mature, modern nation. The media's role, and particularly that of television, in articulating and reinforcing these trends was crucial. In fact, it is very difficult to envisage the modern, mobile and consumer oriented world that was being constructed at this time apart from developments in the field of communication and media technologies and practices.

These developments in the society and culture elicited a large range of responses. On the whole, the population welcomed them, supported by the reformist and modernizing new intelligentsia and the labour movement, while other social strata articulated more nuanced, and in many cases critical, positions regarding the pace and the consequences of modernity. Yet, in spite of this wide range of opinion, there appears to have been a general consensus regarding the character and nature of Quebec society in the future. Whatever the pace of modernization and the various changes that would accompany it, Quebec society would hold on to the cultural specificity that has distinguished it historically from the rest of its North American neighbors As the sociologist Marcel Fournier has argued, the specificity of modern Quebec is to be accounted for by the considerate, even slow, and selective manner by which the society has been able to negotiate the advent of modernity. Throughout the long years in which modernity matured in Quebec, and in spite of the range of opinions regarding the benefits and problems of modernity, there were few disputes about the necessity to safeguard Quebec's distinct culture and national identity. (1)

A distinguishing feature of post-war Quebec society was that discourses about modernity, modernization and related subjects became key themes in the public sphere. Discourses in favour of, as well as critiques of modernity and ideas and practices relating to

it, circulated widely and were frequently debated in the (proliferating) media, in university circles, the labour movement, the artistic and intellectual milieu. The artistic milieu in Montreal especially, had achieved a high point of sophistication, and there, debates about the nature, form and larger objectives of modern art were numerous and often, quite acrimonious. As the artistic, and political, manifesto of the era, the *Refus Global*, so poignantly demonstrated, many Quebec artists and cultural workers were deeply involved in challenging the prevailing orthodoxies of the times and in presenting new, bold conceptions of art and its relation to the rest of society. (2)

The intellectual and academic milieu was also closely tied up with the generation of discourses and practices about modernity. Academic institutions such as the Université de Montréal and Université Laval, especially the latter's Faculté des sciences sociales and its Chair, Père Lévesque, were very much in the forefront of this movement. (3) In 1952, Laval's Faculté des sciences sociales sponsored the first conferences of its kind in Quebec: a major conference on industrialization and its consequences. This was an exemplary modernistic gesture because it was the first time that the themes of industry and wage labour and the problems of the working class had been taken up in an academic context. (4) It was at this conference that the key themes of "underdevelopment" and the assumed lateness, or "retard" of Quebec in relation to the rest of the developed world were first introduced into the public sphere. The problem of Quebec's lack of proper development, which prevented it from joining the rest of the modern world became an integral component of the argument regarding Quebec's need to modernize its economic, social and political institutions. It was in this context that Quebec's new, modernizing intellectuals publicly put forward their critique of the ruling elites. The essential of their argument was that the latter, in their unwillingness to modernize institutions, ideologies and practices, were preventing Quebec from "catching up" with the rest of North American modernity. (5)

In addition to the modernizing intellectuals of the Faculté des sciences sociales at Laval University , a number of other intellectuals and intellectual currents took up the theme of

modernization. The secular, anti-nationalist modernism of the periodical *Cité Libre* was one important current, the neo-nationalism of an intellectual like André Laurendeau was another. (6) The traditional intelligentsia, lay and clerical, and its relationship to modernity was a complex one. As contrasted to the view of the dominant historiographical current, not all traditional intellectuals were against modernization. While many were critical of the ascending secular, materialistic modern culture, they recognized, or were forced to do so by the pressures of modernization itself, that some aspects of modernity were compatible with the survival of Quebec's institutions and cultural identity. Many others, like Abbè Lionel Groulx, were forced to modernize in order to remain relevant. Lionel Groulx, in particular, is an excellent example of a traditional intellectual who played a very important role in the construction of modern institutions. The latter was one of the founders of the Département d'histoire de l' Université de Montréal. The Department, under the direction of Groulx and a core of professional historians, set up the basis for the emergence of the historiography of the contemporary Quebec nation. The historians of this new academic institution understood that the modern Quebec nation in the making would require an appropriate historiographic infrastructure or technology. The history of Quebec was thus reinterpreted from the vantage point of the emergent Quebec nation rather than the historical struggle for the survival of the race. (7) Another reason why the case of Lionel Groulx is an exemplary one for our purposes, is that it so aptly demonstrates the point we made above; namely that the advent of mature modernity to Quebec did not only involve the creation of new institutions and ideologies, but that traditional ideas and practices were incorporated in the forging of new, modern ones. This effort to negotiate a middle ground between tradition and modernity on the part of sections of the established or traditional elite, was to a large extent motivated by concerns that the forces of modernity be better controlled. As the changes of attitude and tone towards modern ideas that began to appear in the (venerable) conservative nationalist periodical, *L'Action National* illustrate, an increasingly large section of the traditional elite came to believe that it was better to control

the secular, modernizing trends in post-war Quebec than to simply reject them and hence, to risk being marginalized in the process. This way, modernism could be brought under the forces of the established order. Quebec could remain French and Catholic and as it sought its national destiny into the modern future. (8)

As we have mentioned above the concerns regarding the emerging (modern) society and the consequences of this on the political and cultural integrity of Quebec were shared by substantial sectors of civil society. One of the major results of this society-wide concern was the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Constitutional Problems, generally known as the Tremblay Commission. The Commission was reluctantly appointed by the Duplessis government in the early fifties after repeated pressures from sections of the business and political elite, as well as nationalist intellectuals, who believed that a major survey of the unfolding landscape of the post-war period accompanied by concrete recommendations for future action was urgently needed. We are not able to at this time discuss the Commission and its recommendations in any detail. Suffice it to say that the Report of the Commission, which included a separate volume on the state of culture, was an exemplary effort to negotiate a working relationship between the existing society, its values, institutions and traditions and the modern, secular and materialist culture in the making. Not surprisingly, the Report of the Commission turned out to be a deeply nationalist document. It clearly projected forth the creation of a Quebec nation state and asked the government in Quebec to become much more active than it had been (Duplessis had introduced a Quebec flag in the early 50's) in the promotion of Quebec's distinct cultural identity. Importantly, the commissioners argued that the state had to become an active agent in the cultivation and promotion of French-Canadian culture, both inside Quebec's borders and outside. What is more, this (national) culture had not only to remain firmly anchored in its past but had to negotiate with the rising modern culture if it were to continue to survive. (9)

The debate about modernity and its consequences was not, of course, restricted to Quebec. (10) It did appear to have a particularly strong resonance here, however, for it

seems that Quebec's relationship to the modernizing forces of the post-war period was, as is so much with Quebec, quite specific to itself. Until now we have been making references to the general movement of modernity in the post-war period in Quebec. We now want to shift our focus a little more closely to the, fifties, the decade that we have located our study of the (early) history of Radio-Canada television as a social institution and as cultural practice. In turn, we now want to identify and analyze the major currents of thought, social movements and other important events and phenomena that left their imprint on the decade and which, inevitably criss-crossed their paths with that of the fabulous new medium of the decade. In this way, we hope to better situate the introduction of television into the political, cultural and social realities of the decade, thus hoping to better understand some of the dynamics between Radio-Canada television and the socio-cultural context that permitted the new medium to flourish within a few short years of its entry to Quebec.

If we were to try to sum-up the key themes of the decade, we would note that Quebec society at this time was characterized by a movement for modernity, reform and renewal. As the former editor of *Le Devoir*, Jean-Louis Roy, has written, the period was characterized by change and movement in all spheres of civil society. As the decade moved on, and as more and more sections of society became involved in the quest for change and renewal, "a new social knowledge" spread throughout society. Society was seeking new ways of representing itself and this new social knowledge was being generalized across society, with the media in general and television in particular playing a crucial role. (11) Another insightful observation about the decade has been made by the Quebec sociologist Marcel Rioux. Rioux has written that what was particular about the fifties was that Quebec society began to openly discuss and debate its past, present and future beyond specialized or elite circuits. Also, it was during this decade that the mobilization of social actors on a scale large enough to effect major changes in society, began to take place. (12)

But as we have argued above, the decade was characterized principally by the encounter between modernity and tradition. Given this state of affairs we want to offer an alternative

interpretation of the decade than is given by the dominant historiographic tradition which views the period as a transition from tradition to modernity. (13) We prefer to understand the decade not as a period of transition from tradition to modernity but as the period in which the encounter between tradition and modernity produced the mature capitalist society of modern Quebec. This encounter between tradition and modernity took many forms and manifested itself in many spheres of activity. In most cases, this encounter was relatively smooth and peaceful. In some instances it was quite acrimonious, even violent. This encounter was characterized in some spheres, gender relations, the intellectual-scientific milieu, sections of the economy, by continuity and change. In some other spheres, the arts, relations between the state and labour by confrontation and rupture, even outright class struggle. If the massive changes that took place in education, social mobility and the tech-scientific sectors, even those within the Catholic Church, came about with relatively little violence and disruption, the highly pitched tones of the *Refus Global* reveal the deep conflicts within the artistic community, and the harsh echoes of the Asbestos Strike, Murdochville and many other state-labour confrontations remind us that change is not always a gently negotiated affair. Overall, the decade was characterized by a hegemonic struggle between existing socio-political institutions, practices and ideologies, themselves experiencing pressure from the modernizing impulses traversing Quebec at this time. The emerging cultural forms and institutions were more representative of mature, capitalist modernity, which was itself sustained and underpinned by traditional elements.

It was during the long years of the post-war period in general and of the fifties in particular that the key issues and problematic of the "Quiet Revolution" surfaced, were debated, were reworked, and eventually institutionalized. The "Quiet Revolution" (which was not so quiet after all) did not take place at the behest of the legislative force of the Liberal Lesage government, which was elected in 1961. The latter was the institutionalized expression of a much larger historical process that can be traced back to the turn of the century, but which after the long pause of the Great Depression, reassembled its forces

during the Second World War and gathered momentum in the post-war period. In other words, the unquiet "Quiet Revolution" was the culmination, or the becoming visible of large-scale trends and movements that had been underway for a long time.

The term, "Quiet Revolution" has come under severe criticism and justifiably so. Its representation of social change as a smooth, linear movement, as a painless transition from one socio-political order to another via the legislative fiat is not acceptable. Also, its emphasis on the administrative, the technological, that is elite, aspects of social change has been justifiably critiqued. (14) The term, however, is not completely wrong, in so far as it points to the reformist, non-revolutionary aspects of the social and political movements during this period. The movement for reform and change was essentially a modernizing movement. The demands underlying that process were for the modernization of practices, institutions ideologies, not their radical transformation or their replacement by something totally new and different. (15) As Edward Soja has so rightly pointed out, the periodic modernization of its systems, institutions and practices is a key characteristic of capitalism and which, to a great extent, explains its capacity to survive. (16)

In the post-war period, and increasingly so as the fifties advanced, Quebec was hardly the backwater of cultural, political and artistic activity. Nor was it a "traditional", folkloric society as was frequently depicted by the (English-Canadian) media and a good number of modernizing intellectuals.(17) It was, nevertheless, still a society under the shadow of survivalist, conservative, even reactionary ideologies and practices. Historically, the fifties would be crucial for the overcoming of many of the old legacies. During this time, Quebec created a new identity for itself: it became a modern, secular, French- speaking society. It was also at this time that the historical national identification of the people as French-Canadian begun to recede in favour of a Québécois national identity. As Fernand Dumont has so aptly written, the revolution that was taking place in Quebec during the post-war years, but which crystallized in an especially salient form in the fifties, was not a quiet revolution but a big, sprawling, all-encompassing cultural revolution. According to the

author, this cultural revolution took on three main expressions. The first was the spiritual decolonization of the people, both internal and external, which permitted it to challenge the old orthodoxies. The second was the acceleration of developments in the scientific and technological domains which gave Quebec the ability to become a full partner in North American modernity. The third expression was the search for a people; for a modern, mobilized citizenry with which to populate the new nation state in the making. (18)

Changes in the Economy and in Social Relations:

Quebec emerged from World War II with a modernized, more diversified and technologically upgraded economic infrastructure. A younger, better skilled and organized labour force, a strengthened French-Canadian middle bourgeoisie and a growing new middle class (based on the new economic sectors and expanding techno-scientific fields) accompanied these developments. Despite these important developments, Quebec's economy remained primarily under foreign (American, Anglo-Canadian and British) ownership and control. Within Quebec, the French Canadians' minority role in the new economy was counterpointed by their increasing involvement in the important areas of communications, transport, construction and the service sector. These, along with financial institutions like La caisse de placements et depots, and from 1962 on the Québec state, were constructing the bases for the appearance of the new French-Canadian (capitalist) entrepreneur of the 1960's and 1970's. In the immediate, post-war period, however, American capital and the local Anglo-Canadian minority controlled the most advanced and powerful sectors of the economy, which included the largest financial institutions, the major transportation and heavy equipment and the new chemical and aerospace industries. The economic language of Quebec was resolutely English, but in the key and growing sectors of communications, media and culture, the French language was gaining momentum. As the strong French-Canadian presence in the new communication technologies and media-based cultural industries attests, Quebec was moving decidedly in

the direction of cultural modernity and was doing so in a way that would not only test and reshape but would ultimately reinforce its cultural specificity. For example, the new medium of television broadcast in both French and English. But it was Radio-Canada television, the French network, that would impress, make a cultural splash, and play a significant role in the shaping of Quebec's future. The modern, post-war economy and society in Quebec was traveling along a dual trajectory towards the realization of capitalist modernity. While the major sectors of its economy remained essentially colonized by foreign interests, it would use parallel and alternative economic routes and its abundant human, material and cultural resources to construct the conditions for the eventual realization of its national aspirations. The significance of this "project" was that while it was accomplished within the parameters of the hegemonic model of North American capitalist modernity, modern Quebec was able to retain its national identity and cultural heritage relatively intact. (19)

The demand of war-time production had pulled Quebec's economy (along with those in the rest of the capitalist world) out of the doldrums of the decade-long depression in which it had languished. During the war, Quebec added new industries such as chemical, aerospace and new communication technologies to its traditional manufacturing and extractive infrastructure. (20) In the years following the war most of the industries remained, most of them growing and spreading out in concentric circles around the city of Montreal, concrete manifestations of the new, more assertive modernism which would henceforth grow and impose its urban aesthetic, values and lifestyles throughout the landscape of modern Quebec. (21) Although the new industries were the engines of Quebec's post-war economy, its vast hinterland would be exploited for its natural resources even more intensively than before; new regions were opened up and new urban settlements were constructed. These new areas or spaces of expansion would be accompanied and sustained by the construction of massive hydro-electric projects (and which would soon come to symbolize the new-found confidence and technological competence of the

emerging Québécois national identity) which penetrated and permanently re configured the map of the ancestral lands and cultures of the First Nations people. Modernity, as Giddens has reminded us is a complex, contradictory phenomenon, characterized above all by a Janus-like tendency to create unprecedented opportunities, material wealth, comfort and security for its citizens, (for most of modernity's citizen's live in nation-states) while at the same time creating the conditions for increased (indeed systematic state) violence, imperiling the existence of large numbers of species and people, creating millions of refugees or stateless people, and last but not least, appropriating for its own uses (when it does not destroy) older traditions, cultures and practices. (22) The development of mature modernity to Quebec, as we shall see, brought with it tremendous benefits to its people and culture. At the same time, it was built on the ruins or marginalization of older or pre-existing cultures and people, on the non-recognition and exploitation of non-dominant cultures and on the whole-scale appropriation, and often destruction, of geography and landscape, all in the name of economic growth, material prosperity and progress. (23)

Another key feature of modernity is the separation of time and space as they had been constituted and experienced by humanity before the introduction of mechanical means of communication. (24) The relative unity of time and space, where most communication was experienced as co-presence, was forever sundered by the introduction of modern means of communication which made possible the normalization of the separation of time and space. (25) While modernity derives much of its dynamism from this splitting up of space and time as relatively co-present phenomena and reconstituting them through (modern) means of communication, (so for example the market place no longer has to be a concrete physical entity but can be spread through large geographical areas, nations or, increasingly, on a global scale) it creates social environments which become increasingly characterized by mediated social relations. (26) In a social environment which increasingly depends on mechanical modes of transport and electric or electronic means of communication for its survival and growth, the various human constituencies living within its boundaries, will

come to depend less on developing professional and other relationships with their immediate neighbours, and more with persons, symbolic forms and institutions located elsewhere, or as more recently with the internet, nowhere at all. They will become much more mobile, physically and through the media, than previous generations could ever hope or imagine. The advent of mature modernity in Quebec in the post-war period was premised on, and helped to usher in, a new topography, both physical and imaginative, which although it still resembled the earlier, less worked-upon one, nevertheless represented a qualitative break with it. The new social, cultural and aesthetic landscape (which was the construction of a more mediated imagination) was probably experienced as a reality that was generated somewhere between the view outside the window and images and sounds on the radio and soon, on the new, and much beloved television set.

The new settlements, mining, forestry and electricity producing sites, the fledgling towns and cities that sprouted out all over the Quebec countryside in the post-war period were connected to each other, and principally to the growing urban agglomerations (both regional and metropolitan) by new road, highway, rail and airport facilities, by modern telecommunication systems, a large variety of media, and in the early fifties, by television. This new medium introduced a qualitatively new dimension to the communication and cultural matrix of Quebec, its powerful presence and modes of intervention permanently modifying the existing patterns of communication throughout the province. Television, much more than the print media, and even radio, was a technologically sophisticated medium, a centralizing force, a medium representing and articulating the emerging modernity. It was a supremely urban medium, both because of the location of its production facilities and because it replicated the plural, fast-paced, and exciting cadences of the city, even when the images on screen celebrated the pastoral, the idyllic.

Television introduced the various emerging constituencies to one another as no other medium could, (to see is to believe it!) and it helped to bind them together by ties of commerce, symbolic kinship, new loyalties and new ambitions. This newly mobile, rapidly

urbanizing and proudly modernizing population came to know of itself, both as discreet constituencies and as a newly emerging collectivity through the new means of communication; the automobile, the telephone, the media, but especially and increasingly through television. Moreover, this new and modern medium par excellence was an integral part of the new urban ethos and aesthetic, of the emerging metropolitan modernism, calling upon the regions, the countryside, all the constituent parts of this changing Quebec to come join it in a perpetual celebration of the modern, the new, the progressive. The new medium, even in its historic renditions of the collective past, always looked forward to the future, anticipating, making representations of a world that was rapidly becoming another, more modern and urbane self. (27) In the span of less than a decade, the pursuit of economic development, progress and prosperity (the whole enterprise being aided and abetted by the development of new networks of communication systems and technologies, the proliferation of old and new media and media based cultural industries) had succeeded in re configuring the Quebec landscape into a vast site of production, commerce and consumption, a new , post-scarcity, highly mediated social environment in which the ascending hegemony of the urban presence (and culture) was communicated and adopted as the privileged sign of modernity and progress.

Like elsewhere in North America and Europe much of the war industries sector in Quebec was converted into consumer goods-producing industries; home building material, home furnishing, electrical appliances, including kitchen appliances, radio and television sets, automobiles being among the leading items. The emerging post-war economy was constructed around the twin poles of a sophisticated industrial infrastructure and a massive demand for consumer goods. The post-war diversification of the class structure, the availability of greater and more stable employment opportunities along with improved wages and salaries, combined with reduced costs of production (and hence lower prices) and war-time savings to create exceptional consumer demand. (28) The modern, capitalist economy that was being constructed in Quebec during this period, however, was a fragile,

contradictory phenomenon. Its stability was only temporary, masking by its plenitude real social and economic inequalities, ecological plundering, the substitution of material abundance for practices, values and traditions which had served as the sinews for human sociability, identity and community. (29) But the decades of material scarcity, indeed deprivation of basic needs, had left large sections of the population eager to replenish and renew their meager material resources. Although this was the beginning of a culture of material acquisitiveness, at this early stage these products of modernity (the new clothes, household furniture and electrical appliances, television sets and automobiles) were attractive and desirable. As well, they fulfilled real human needs for comfort, pleasure, security. They also provided, as we shall see, new sites for the creation of new identities.

Alongside the development of the expanded consumer goods industries, the post-war economy spawned two related economic sectors which closely linked it to the post-industrial aspects of modernity (and whose impact was to continue past the period under study and to our own days). Although the service and the tertiary sectors were not inventions of the post-war economy, they did develop more fully during this period, and came to represent the most advanced, modern aspects of the post-war economy. The service sector represented the commodification of activities previously performed outside the market economy, typically by women within the spheres of the extended family, community and parish. In the new post-war economy, these activities which were previously associated with the reproduction of human individuals and families, were converted into commodified products. Typically, the new service sector employed women and immigrants. It was labour intensive, low waged and for the most part unskilled. (30)

The service sector was symptomatic of the increasing preponderance of the city, the generalization of urban life styles, increased affluence and decreased leisure time, or alternately, like the new passion of watching television, leisure time spent in new ways. For it was mostly women and immigrants who provided the dry-cleaning services, domestic and industrial cleaning, maintenance, restaurant or prepared meals, (the origins

of the infamous t.v. dinner are to found here?), professional or home daycare and a host of other similar services that allowed greater leisure to the more privileged classes, which now included the wives of the new middle class, or simply made it possible for the nascent professional women to meet the demands of the twin responsibilities of work and family. (31) It was also representative of the growing trend to commodify female labour thus drawing women away from home and community where they had traditionally performed many of the functions now sold as commodities by the service industries. It was one of the many paradoxes of the new modernity that while women were being recruited to the lower rangs of the labour market, as well as in more traditional manufacturing and clerical employment, the ideology of the "Feminine Mystique" (a post-war discourse with ties to the Cold War) propagated the virtues of women's return to the home. This ideology, which closely linked the stay-at-home-housewife with the health and prosperity of the family, and hence of the nation, was being elaborated throughout North America but had, as we shall see, special resonance for the women of Quebec. (32)

On a much higher plane of economic sophistication, the tertiary branch of the economy was linked by a complex series of relationships to the economic, cultural and techno-scientific spheres. The impressive growth of the tertiary sector in the post-war period represented in many ways the coming of age of modernity in Quebec. This sector of the economy, which had begun to emerge in the inter-war period but which did not become fully developed until after the war, represented its more reified or abstract dimension for it was not directly linked to the production of goods, but rather with the production and circulation of information, knowledge and culture. The domain/s of the tertiary sector were academic and scientific research, teaching, the production of expertise and experts, the liberal professions, the institutions of public management and administration, institutions of higher learning like universities, colleges, art schools, specialized institutes, broadcasting organizations like the CBC and Radio-Canada. (33)

The tertiary sector of the economy included the culture industries. These had been growing steadily since the early twenties, but now, in the more vigorous post-war economic environment experienced a veritable boom. (Communications and media related activities are a very important part of the tertiary sector which encompasses such cultural industries as the cinema, publishing, the press, broadcasting and the music-recording industry). This sector was closely associated with the rise of the "new middle class" of administrators, executives, academic and research personnel, journalists and media professionals. The later category experienced substantial growth with the proliferation of media outlets and media-based cultural activities in the post-war period, a growth momentum which received a tremendous boost with the introduction of television in 1952. This new "middle class", as we shall see, rising out of and/or closely linked to the expanded state, educational and cultural institutions and activities of the pre-war and especially the post-war period, and its future closely determined by the further development of the modern spheres of the economy, culture, research and development, and so on, came to play a crucial role throughout the post-war period. This new middle class, an important component of which was the new or modernizing intelligentsia, played a multiplicity of historical and social roles, as producers and consumers of the new and expanded universe of material and cultural commodities, as producers and propagators of new types of knowledge and expertise, as agents of cultural modernity and political reform. (34) For this new class or class fragment, as with the majority of the working class, and even the more traditional middle classes, the new economy represented by the service and tertiary sectors were positive signs that Quebec was on its way to "catching-up" with the developed industrialized world and that it would soon join the rest of North America as an equal partner in the new modern age.

We have already discussed how much of the economic effervescence taking place in post-war Quebec was fueled by foreign investments, with American capital leading the way. As Hélene David has shown, American investments in Quebec, already considerable

in the 1930's, grew substantially during the war and post-war period, almost doubling between 1953 and 1961. (35) While American capital increased its hold on Quebec's strategic industries (chemical and electronics, aerospace) English-Canadian capital remained entrenched in the financial sector, transport, and shipping and communications. English-Canadian financial and industrial capital in Quebec, fortified by its excellent political relations with Ottawa and Quebec, was able to maintain its hegemonic position in this sector. (36) The public face of Montreal during this period, therefore, (we should remember that the city enjoyed a continent-wide reputation for being the "Paris of North America") was unabashedly English, as was the practice of linguistic monoculturalism (English) at the workplace and in most economic transactions. For French- Canadians to succeed in the vibrant economic environment of the post-war, the acquisition of the English language was a necessity. Yet this linguistic and cultural hegemony, as we have alluded to earlier, was temporary. In a few short years, the "French Fact" would explode across the complaisant map of English-Canadian consciousness, provoking the by now familiar range of reactions. (37)

As we have seen, the war (and especially the post-war economic boom) offered new opportunities for growth to the local French-Canadian bourgeoisie. We have also mentioned that French-Canadian capital played a secondary, but not unimportant role, in the economic modernization of Quebec. The absence of a well-developed and mature French-Canadian bourgeoisie has been the cause of considerable historiographic research and debate and we are unable here to embark on an extended discussion of it. (38) To the traditional activities of the French-Canadian capitalist class, located mainly in the labour intensive industries such as tobacco, textiles and garments, a newer capitalist fragment had developed in the inter-war period. (39) This new French-Canadian entrepreneurial capitalist class initially emerged in an auxiliary capacity to the opening up of the Quebec hinterland for economic exploitation by American capital. These French Canadian entrepreneurs eventually became independent from direct dependence to American capital, to the point

where by the end of the war they owned and controlled many of the economic activities around the great mining or forestry projects. Moreover, it was French Canadian entrepreneurs and contractors in the regional urban centers that did most of the building of the roads, highways, and new housing developments, owned the local newspapers, movie houses and radio stations. Their entry into the scene as modern entrepreneurs signaled an important rupture with the history of capitalist development and class relations in Quebec. This new capitalist class was dynamic, mobile and nationalistic. (40) Having grown up in the interstices of American and Anglo-Canadian capital, it owed neither its allegiance, its only real loyalties were to itself and to the idea of the Quebec nation state. Up until the war, most French-Canadian enterprises remained on a small scale and were financed primarily by locally generated capital. The relatively long and sustained economic growth of the Quebec economy in the post-war period, however, permitted this nascent French-Canadian entrepreneurial class to develop beyond the gestation or purely local phase. But even though it was able to benefit from considerable financial support from indigenous financial institutions like the Caisse de depots et placements, the unwillingness of the Quebec state to subsidize their projects beyond a certain point limited its growth .

Even though it took the active economic and political encouragement of the interventionist Lesage government in the early sixties before the new French-Canadian bourgeoisie began to compete effectively with Anglo-Canadian, and in certain cases American capital, already by the mid-fifties it had begun to assume a dynamic presence in the Quebec political and cultural scene. A majority of the members of this class were modernists and reformers, although they had yet to declare their political independence from the Duplessis regime. Unlike the new intelligentsia which preferred public discourse to covert political pressure, the new entrepreneurs chose instead to work with the existing political regime in order to achieve their objectives. This strategy did not exclude taking initiatives, be they of a political, economic or cultural kind. One example of this "activism" was the decision by the Duplessis government to finally call the Royal Commission on

Constitutional Affairs in the early fifties. As we have seen, the Tremblay Commission, as the Royal Commission came to be known, was primarily the result of consistent pressures exerted by this new bourgeoisie on a government that was given to nationalist posturing, but which was not, in the opinion of many French-Canadian businessmen, doing enough to promote the construction of a modern, secular and Quebecois nation state. (41) As the Tremblay Commission initiative testifies, the advent of a mature, fully articulated modernity in Quebec was accompanied by, indeed existed in mutual determination with, the increased complexification of the class structure, an important element of which was the development and maturation of a politically and culturally activist, self-conscious, national bourgeoisie.

Quebec's post-war economic growth was fueled by the existence of a plentiful and relatively cheap labour force. Quebec's industrialization was historically depended on the availability of large reserves of labour power. (42) The post-war modernization of the economy contributed to the cultivation of a highly skilled, more stable and better paid work force. (A highly skilled and primarily English-Canadian working class had been traditionally concentrated around the transportation and heavy goods industries.) The new generation of the French-Canadian working class was better educated, better skilled and better paid than any previous generation. (43) It was also a more militant and activist generation of workers, determined to use its strategic location in the economy towards the improvement of its working conditions and wages. At the same time it was a working class that had a long history of social and political activism. (44) It was this new generation of workers that played a predominant role in the reform and modernization of Quebec's social, cultural and political institutions. This younger, better organized and more militant working class, which was the object of most of the repressive measures of the Duplessis regime, repeatedly demonstrated its progressive and democratic characteristics throughout the post-war period, even though politically a large section of it continued to support the authoritarian Duplessis government, albeit with decreased loyalty as the decade wore on. One of the most salient demonstrations of its growing progressivism was "Le manifeste au

peuple du Québec" which it presented on the occasion of an all-union congress in the mid-fifties. The Manifesto, was nothing short of a call for the deep restructuring of Quebec society along more democratic, egalitarian lines. Although the Manifesto was not quite a revolutionary call, it was the nearest thing to it in the Cold-War political context of the post-war. (45) Certainly it was far more radical than anything demanded by the new intelligentsia with which it entertained good relations.

On the whole, however, the post-war economic growth of Quebec was premised on the continued existence of a plentiful supply of relatively cheap labour. The constant influx of people from the Quebec countryside to the towns, cities and industrial zones, the growing participation of women in wage labour as well as the fresh injections of immigrant labour, kept the availability of labour at high levels. Quebec's modernization, therefore, continued to depend on its ability to exploit this plentiful supply of labour at wages lower than their Ontario counterparts. Most of Duplessis' or more precisely, anti-labour, laws were designed with the purpose of maintaining Quebec's relative advantage in this area. The existence of this relatively cheap and abundant supply of labour was considered crucial for Quebec's ability to attract foreign investment and was reflected in the actions and policies of the Quebec state under Maurice Duplessis. (46)

Throughout the post-war period the conservative government of Maurice Douplessis oversaw the management of the modernization of Quebec's economy by deploying a two-pronged strategy. This strategy was premised on the idea derived from classical liberal economics, which posited that the primary objective of the state was the creation of conditions which would favour capital accumulation. Accordingly, the state and its various sub-systems would be relative small, flexible and under the control of a small number of people. The development of large state bureaucracies does not suit the temperament of authoritarian regimes of capitalist accumulation, which prefer that power be personalized and within the easy reach of the authority's arm. The Duplessis state, therefore, strenuously avoided the temptations of the "welfare state" model being elaborated in Ottawa

and worked hard to deflect many of Ottawa's offers or initiatives. While to a certain degree it did so out of genuine concern for the preservation of Quebec's political and cultural autonomy, another reason was that these initiatives explicitly challenged the liberal authoritarian model of the state perpetrated in Quebec by the Duplessis regime. (47) The other element of the strategy was that the Quebec state was, as we have seen, very proactive in the cultivation of good relations with both local and, especially foreign capital, and in making sure that the political and labour conditions in Quebec would be favourable to capital accumulation. In other words, the modernization of the Quebec economy would take place under the aegis of private capital, with the role of the state being limited to that of a facilitator or regulator for private capital initiatives. One of the consequences of this strategy of economic development was that the Quebec government spared no effort in organizing a panoply of repressive measures, including anti labour legislation, generous use of the repressive forces of the state and ideological manipulation, which included generous use of Cold War rhetoric and nationalist boasting.

Post-War Trends in Modernity; Urbanization, Suburbia and the Emergence of a Mass Consumer Culture. The Phenomenon of Mobile Privatization Comes to Quebec:

We have already indicated how the urban idiom, its aesthetic, cultural and social values came to dominate the Quebec landscape and imagination in the post-war period. The Quebec landscape, already bearing the insignia of the twin processes of urbanization and industrialization before the war, was irrevocably and radically transformed by mature modernity's artifacts which included massive power dams and the flooding of vast areas of land and flora, denuded hillsides, vast networks of paved roads and highways, suburban developments and their necessary accoutrements, the modern shopping centre, the housewife and the automobile. (48) Urban centres now much more than ever before, became poles of attraction for a highly mobile population, French-Canadian, native and

immigrant alike. Cities, in a much more concentrated fashion than ever before, became privileged sites of cultural, technological, social and artistic innovation and experimentation. Modern cities became alluring places, sites where ambition, fantasy or just a try at survival could be played out against a myriad of competing subjectivities, fantacies, real or imagined opportunities. (49) Under conditions of mature modernity, cities become avaricious places, exercising a kind of monopoly of knowledge over the rest of the domain, engulfing other entities, amassing the nation's or even the worlds's resources within its ever-expanding borders. Their style, techniques and material wealth become standards by which the rest of the world measures itself and is, in turn, measured. (50)

Up until the Second World War there existed a kind of dynamic equilibrium between the country and the city, even though there were strong signs that the latter was rapidly gaining in stature and power over the former. After the war, that equilibrium was ruptured, the countryside becoming a site where the city and its urban habits were continuously reproduced. Henceforth, the latest fashion, lifestyle, piece of information or idea, cultural product or consumer good originating in the city would be rapidly adopted and integrated in the lives of people throughout the Quebec hinterland. (51) Improved and expanded means of communications and transport (both private and public) and the multiplication and the ready accessibility of most media forms, made possible and greatly facilitated the consumption of the same images, messages and goods by people in the city and the countryside alike. Although the proliferation of commmunication technologies and media in the post-war period did to a certain extent enhance the development of regional and/or local cultures (as well as communication among them) the overall trend was for media and media and other cultural products emanating from urban centres, and especially from the city of Montreal, to establish the standards, the fashions, the styles. What came from the city represented modernity, progress and change. It would take several more decades of intense modernization for the people of Quebec to rediscover the traditional, the rural and the pastoral. In the post-war period, what was sought-after, valorized and admired were the

products of the future, the gleaming steel of the new architecture, the mechanical beauty of the automobile, the smooth asphalt of the road and the shopping centre parking lot. As we shall see, this trend towards the urbanization of the entire landscape was greatly accelerated by the introduction of television in the early fifties. As Linteau and his colleagues have observed, television was remarkably efficient in selling the values, lifestyles and goods of modernity to the entire population. So while television was much more effective than radio in ending rural isolation, it did so at the expense of rural identities. As the authors note, Quebec was gradually transformed by television into a vast and relatively unified marketplace. Television, "not only provided means of communicating information and new ideas, but it also contributed to a more homogeneous way of life by translating the same values and ways of thinking and feeling to Quebec's different social groups and regions". (52) The colonization of space via technological means is one of the key features of modernity, and in post-war Quebec, one of the many faces of modernity was the massive colonization of the vast spaces of the countryside by the techniques, ethics and aesthetics of the city. As the decade progressed, the differences between the city and the town and country became minimized, while the city continued to grow in its stature as the privileged site and experience of modernity, a place/space where desire, pleasure, ambition, plenitude and personal freedom were given free reign.

The post-war acceleration of urbanization, industrialization and economic growth stimulated the development of a number of urban centres, but the most important and the richest of all was the city of Montreal. Louis Trottier, a geographer and sociologist writing in the early fifties, attested to the rapid growth of Montreal as the biggest, most powerful, and in his opinion, the most "avaricious" urban centre in Quebec. The sheer vitality and activity of this expanding city, wrote Trottier, was chocking off growth and prosperity in the rest of Quebec. (53) Indeed, post-war Montreal did come to dominate the rest of the province at an exceedingly fast pace. Montreal's trajectory evolved in a double movement. On the one hand it became more cosmopolitan and open to the world, a new hybrid entity,

a "lieu" or space where different cultures, modern and traditional, local and foreign could co-exist, encounter each other and intermingle. On the other hand, this growing metropolis, this heartland of modern Quebec, was becoming more exclusive, a place where the new identity of the Québécois nation and culture was being constructed apart from all the other differences that surrounded it, and which to a certain extent, had become part of it. (54)

But this increasingly cosmopolitan character of Montreal was still, for the most part, a latency. The true cosmopolitan character of the city would not become visible until several decades into the future. The two "founding cultures", the French and the English-Canadian, with all the local idioms, permutations and assimilated American idioms, would continue to dominate the cultural landscape of Montreal, and continue to separate the island (and themselves) by physical and symbolic lines of demarcation. These two cultural universes, although not hermetically sealed, did succeed in keeping most people (and their cultural baggage) in their designated places on the map. Interestingly enough, it was at this high moment in Montreal's long ascent as the largest and most cosmopolitan urban centre in Quebec, and in Canada, that its decline as a major industrial and financial centre begins to pick up momentum. (55) It is at this historic moment as well, that a slow but irreversible shift in the balance of power between the two major linguistic and cultural communities would be set into motion. Still invisible, the economic, and to a certain extent the cultural, hegemony of the English-Canadian minority would begin its steep (and long) decline. As for the ascending culture, which increasingly came to define itself as Québécois rather than French-Canadian, it was too involved in its own emancipatory project to be seriously concerned about the "others" in its midst. Of course this absence (of interest) or inability to imagine the future as a hybrid, pluralistic culture would both limit the potential of the ascending Quebecois national culture whose repercussions are felt right into our days. (56)

The new immigrants who have came to partake in (and contribute) to the plenitude of this modernizing and prosperous Quebec were strangers to both the older, more established immigrant communities and to the dominant or majority cultures. (57) Most immigrants

were not prepared to encounter a majority culture that was French-speaking and Catholic. As for the majority host culture, it remained largely indifferent to the new arrivals for the duration of this period. As the Quebec historian Paul-André Linteau and his colleagues remind us, French-Canadians ..."took scant notice of the new Quebecers and made little effort to attract them or to develop contacts with them". (58) Yet their very substantial numbers and ethnic or national origins would play an important role in changing the demographic and cultural composition of the city of Montreal and by extension, the newly emerging Quebec nation. (59) As for the older and more established immigrant communities, they too demonstrated an indifference, mixed in with a measure of disdain toward the new arrivals, and pre-occupied themselves very mimimally with them. (60) Similarly, the Quebec government did not recognize the significance of the new immigrants, nor did it make any effort to help or integrate them. (61) Left essentially to themselves, the new immigrants coped as best as they could. Most survived, and flourished, by basing themselves on their own resources. With a few exceptions, they began to create cultural, social and, particularly economic, relations with the Anglo-Saxon community which, while no less exclusionist than its French-Canadian counterpart, was more "welcoming" at certain institutional and economic levels. Certainly its willingness to open its schools to the children of non-Catholic immigrants (the confessional structure of the school system precludes the enrollment of large numbers of immigrant children in the French Catholic school system) was a good strategic move on its part and would play a key role in the integration of generations of immigrants into the English community. (62)

The new immigrants lived scattered among the general population or more often, carved out physical and cultural spaces within the larger urban environment where they tried to recreate lifestyles and maintain their traditions in the face of scant attention from the Quebec government or the majority of the "local" population. (63) In many cases these "ethnic ghettoes" (or more recently "communautés culturelles") became successful, self-sustaining economic and cultural universes, with their own networks of financial, educational and

cultural institutions. The larger and more prosperous of these immigrant communities, the Italians, the Greeks and the Jews in particular, developed fairly sophisticated communication and media institutions. These played an important role in forging links with the host society, in the internal development of these communities and in the maintenance of relations with either the larger diasporic community or/and the homeland. (64) During most of the fifties and the early sixties immigrants and their communities were generally constituted as the "other". Typically, the representations of these "other" communities and cultures in the mainstream media were either distorted or non-existent. The few representations of these communities that did circulate in the mass media of the host culture were abstract, highly schematic, and often dissonant, constructions of the "ethnic". (65)

This non-recognition took place in the context of a modernizing Quebec whose representational schemes tended to either repress or ignore cultural and other differences or assimilate them as their own. Immigrants, and their children in particular, in addition to accessing their own community's media, were important consumers of the local or mainstream media, particularly radio and television. In most instances, both immigrant parents and children were inducted into modernity's ways through their contact and interaction with the media of the New World. It was through the media that they gained most of their knowledge of the host culture. Often this highly mediated relationship produced distorted impressions about the host culture. For example, a new immigrant family living in the Rosemont district of East-end Montreal in the late fifties became "enculturated" through the consumption of media that was produced elsewhere and whose major referents belonged to another culture. (66)

We have mentioned above that during most of this period, the representations of immigrants and immigrant life (as indeed other communities similarly constituted as "other") in the French and English media were either minimal or highly schematic versions of the lived lives of these communities. While the media helped the new arrivals to adjust to their new environment, it did so by recasting their identities not as "equal but

different" members of the community but as immigrants, as ethnics, as minorities. (67) Television, the favourite medium of immigrants and native-born alike, played an important role in this process of identity formation. Whether they watched the local English channels, with their plentiful selection of American programs, or Radio-Canada and later TVA, immigrants were offered representations of the world that marginalized them or constructed them as "other". For example the subject of immigrants living in Quebec or some aspect of their lives or culture, did not surface on Radio-Canada television's schedule until the spring of 1960. (68) In the days before the discourses (and practices) of multiculturalism, cultural hybridity and trans-culturalism entered the public sphere, the identity options offered by modernity were rather limited. One either belonged, or was assimilated into the majority culture, or in the special case of Quebec to one of the two major cultures, or one lived on the margins of those cultures. It is no wonder then, that for many immigrants, especially for the younger ones and/or their children, becoming modern and relinquishing one's identity as "other" was not necessarily seen as a negative option, or too high a price to pay in order to gain entry into the (modern) New World. In the absence of representations of the self, therefore, most immigrants were quite willing to substitute elements of their identity with those of popular stars and television personalities of the period. Also, full participation into North American and local versions of modernity meant adopting one or another of the major cultural identities, even though they were incomplete or still in the process of transformation. (What would a new immigrant in the fifties make out of the then widespread debate regarding the changing identity of French-Canadians? Would he/she assimilate into French-Canadian or Quebecois/e culture? Would she/he become an English-Canadian or a Quebecer?) Learning to negotiate with modernity's fixation on singular identities also meant not relinquishing one's original identity completely, even if that meant living a fragmented or sub textual existence. Many years later, these suppressed or marginalized elements of the immigrant and "other" experience, have resurfaced, demanding their share of voice and representation in a cultural landscape

that is no longer as confined by modernity's penchant for singular identities as in earlier times. In Quebec, however, the question of the constitution (and naming) of identity, culturally, ideologically and through the media, remains a controversial, not fully understood problem. Back in the mid-eighties, Radio-Canada television, the same public broadcaster that played such a crucial role in the positive "translation" of traditional notions of French-Canadian identity into a modern and secular Québécois identity , was still struggling, indeed was alarmed, with the subject of immigrants in "its" midst. The documentary *Disparaitre*, hosted by Lise Payette, the doyenne of the new, more feminine/feminist Quebecois identity and author of a number of téléromans celebrating the emergence of Quebec's more confident, national, identity, gravely warned her audiences, the famous Quebecois téléspectateurs/trices, that unless the "problem" of Quebec's increasing immigrant population be brought under strict control, the future of Quebec's unique identity and culture would be put in question. But it was not only immigrants that Radio-Canada television had difficulties in naming and situating in relationship to Quebec's culture and identity. In 1992, Radio-Canada broadcast a dramatic series, which was supposed to be a (belated) homage to the First Nation's people of Quebec, a people who have shared with immigrants and other non-majority groups the same fate of invisibility or misrepresentation. The series, *Shehawe*, directed by Jean Beadin, and featuring one of Quebec's most popular television stars, Maria Orsini, in the key role of the young native woman *Shehawe*, did make some effort in deconstructing some of the stereotypes of the First Nation's people. But whatever progress was made in this area, it was counterpointed by the fact that it was also a massive appropriation of the history and culture of the native people of Quebec. Quebec's dynamic and original television culture was enriched, but at whose expense? (69)

The Phenomena of Urbanization, Suburbia and Mobile Privatization, cont..

If urbanization and its related phenomena represent the intensification of processes set in motion since the turn of the century, the phenomenon of suburban sprawl belongs to post-war developments in the economy, social stratification and new consumer-based lifestyles. Suburbia, an extension of the city into the countryside, made its first appearance in the 1930's, but it did not become a massive movement until after the war. The extensive networks of roads and highways, the generalization of the private automobile and other improvements in communication systems facilitated the spread of suburban subdivisions into the farmlands and forests bordering the cities. Suburbia, a new, modern organization of space and time was built around the new consumer culture of material abundance and social mobility. Here, in this space of material comfort and security, the baby boom generation could be brought up in relative safety, away from the dangers (real or imagined) of the cities. Here too, the re-working of gender roles could take place amidst the newly purchased possessions in the (typically) suburban home. It was amongst these concrete and symbolic representations of the ascending material culture; a highly commodified culture which presupposed material abundance and was depended on social and personal mobility that the new Québécois identity was being forged. (70)

Suburbia is essentially a post-scarcity phenomenon, characteristic of mature modern societies. It is also characteristic of the tendency of capitalism to create distinct social-geographic spaces to be occupied by its different socio-economic groups. Here, in this modern amalgam of city and nature, the last remaining links between production and consumption, still existing to a certain extent in the city, have been ruptured. Although some important forms of production do take place, for example the reproduction of the family unit, this production is non-waged and thus not directly part of the circuit of commodity production and exchange. (71) The suburban household depends almost entirely upon the income of the husband/father, an income that would be converted into mortgage payments, furniture, electrical appliances, leisure activities, an automobile, a spanking new television set. The suburban home, this concrete manifestation, indeed

showcase for personal and professional success, became a privileged site of a modern-izing society that had successfully blended modern and traditional elements to produce a hybrid, but decidedly modernistic construct. The development of a suburban culture in post-war Quebec was, therefore, an ineluctable sign of that society's entry into mature modernity.

The suburban home's relative isolation or autonomy from the larger social and political nexus, its neighbours, the extended family, the worksite, the larger and more chaotic world of the city, this protective cocoon for the nuclear family and its possessions, is both an embodiment and a mystification of the larger commercial and ideological forces that have engendered it and sustain it. The suburban bungalow or cottage stood out as an economic and political achievement of post-war capitalist modernity. It also represented the contradictions of that modernity; the political and economic democratization of capitalist society on the one hand and its continuing dependence on the exploitation of natural resources and human labour and the deepening commodification of private and social life on the other. Moreover, the suburban home's autonomy was really a façade, masking its great dependence on the technological, material and communications advances of post-war modernity. The private sphere of the modern household was not really independent or autonomous from the marketplace or cut-off from the public sphere. What had taken place was that the private sphere had been re-articulated in a much more complex relationship with the larger world that surrounded it, but in such a way as to mask or deny that relationship. The public and the private spheres, never completely separated from each other, became much more interconnected and interdependent in post-war modernity. (72) Improved and generalized spread of communication technologies (the telephone and radio have come into universal use in the post-war, the proliferation of print media of all sorts, the introduction on a mass scale of the private automobile, and in 1952 television) created multiple networks of communication between and among individuals, social and economic units, institutions etc. These expanded opportunities for communication, both direct and mediated, made it much easier for individuals, families and other social units to connect or

link up with other private and public spheres. Similarly, the closer, more interdependent relationship between the private and public spheres meant that both were radically altered. For example, since the entrance of the broadcast media, and especially television into the media scene, it is no longer possible to think of developments in the public sphere without reference to the more private universe of the home where the audience constitutes an integral part of the discursive public of the public sphere.(73) So although the broadcast media have been developed primarily as private sphere media (at least before transistor radio became an extension of the human body and thus gained mobility in both spheres) in the sense that they are typically consumed in the privacy of domestic settings, their true role is to mediate between the private and the public spheres. Although there is a separation of responsibilities, a division of labour of sorts, one sphere is completely dependent on the other. Television, mature modernity's contribution to the media or communication technologies is an exemplar embodiment of this contradiction or unity in opposition. This, the most domestic of the media so far, was the very medium that brought in the whole wide world (or at least as it was constructed by its artisans) into the living rooms of the nation. Television's discourses, at the same time personal and worldly, domestic and national, local and international, exemplified the total disintegration of the historic distinctiveness of the private and the public spheres. After television, the two spheres continued to maintain their distinctive characteristics, but they did so only in relation to one another. (74)

The social relationships engendered by mature modernity encouraged social and geographical mobility, the creation of relatively autonomous social units like the nuclear family and single individuals, and the loosening of old loyalties and traditions. (75) The large numbers of people moving into the expanding urban centres and suburbs of post-war Quebec were leaving large parts of their identities and traditional value systems and habits behind, even though they carried many of these elements away with them to the new milieu. The new identities that were shaped in the urban or suburban environment had less of the parochial, the local and the traditional about them and more of the national, the

modern, the secular and the individualistic. Capitalist modernity has historically been a contradictory movement characterized by dislocation and the pulling apart of populations and communities and reconstituting them in different locales and under different forms of social and economic organization. In the twentieth century this process was greatly hastened by the spread of communication technologies and media into every -day life. (76) The rise of literacy, accompanied by the appearance of the mass-circulation newspapers, radio broadcasting, and the proliferation of print media of all kinds, greatly encouraged the formation of new, mobile, secular, individual identities. (77) In the post-war period, and much more intensely as the fifties progressed, the process of separation, isolation and individualization of social existence found its counterpoint in the hugely expanded opportunities for travel, communication and exploration. The phenomenon of "mobile privatization", described by Raymond Williams as the deeply contradictory impulse of capitalism to break down traditional social units in favour of small, even individual ones, while at the same time providing unprecedented opportunities for personal growth, mobility and fulfillment, had finally come to Quebec. Although mobile privatization is intrinsic to capitalism and thus had been an integral part of capitalist modernity in Quebec since the turn of the century, it did not become a fully developed phenomenon until after the war. (78)

The phenomenon of mobile privatization, the rise of a consumer culture and the proliferation of media in advanced modern societies are autonomous but interdependent components of capitalist development. As we have seen, in the post-war period Quebec society experienced major shifts in the organization of its economy and culture. Those currents of modernity that were already in place by the inter-war period, for example the development of capitalist economic and social relations, differentiation and increasing autonomy of the various social, political and cultural spheres, were greatly bolstered by developments in the economy, in sciences and technology and in the reorganization of society along more secular and materialist lines. (79) The contribution of communication technologies and media in this massive reorganization of society was crucial. The

generalization of communication technologies as we have seen, greatly encouraged the mobility of individuals and social groups, provided necessary networks of communication between individuals and social units that were separated by geographic distances, permitted the reshaping of the Quebec landscape as well as the habits and identities of its population. Similarly, the new consumer society that followed on the heels of the war, was articulated through, and was embodied by, communication technologies and media. As Graham Murdock has reminded us, the constitution of modernity through the development of modern means of communication involves the setting of parallel and contradictory processes. One of the most characteristic ones is the permanent tension between the democratic impulses that are set off and embodied by the mass media and the commodification of social relations. Modern media of communication have historically ushered in the citizen-consumer, a doubly articulated entity that personifies this new relationship to politics and to the marketplace. (80) The emerging individual and collective identity in post-war Quebec was precisely such a doubly articulated identity. The modern, secular and more confident (and nationalist) Québécois citizen was also an exemplary consumer of the material and cultural products of post-war modernity.

The new urban and suburban communities that were organized around the principles of the commodity culture were highly depended on communication technologies and media, often themselves an integral part of the intensified commodification of social relations, for their existence and further development. These new communities, with the individual nuclear home at their centre, became sites for the formation of these new, modern identities. The existence of a well-developed communications and media environment greatly encouraged this process by providing essential networks of communication between and among increasingly disparate social units, by setting up linkages between the private and public spheres, as well as providing the raw material (be that in the form of aural or visual representations, information or other forms of public discourse) that went towards the constitution of modern, that is, secular, materialist and national forms of identity.

Modern Media, the State and the Development of Mass Consumer Culture:

We have already discussed the material and ideological basis for the rapid development and expansion of a consumer based culture throughout the countries of advanced capitalism in general and in Quebec in particular. We have also discussed the crucial role of modern communication technologies and media, and of television in particular, in ushering the new culture and in the construction of modern individual and collective identities. In the discussion that follows we shall take a closer look at these phenomena and locate them more specifically in the changing social, cultural and political context of post-war Quebec.

The upsurge in production and technological innovation brought about by the Second World War had pulled the economies of the capitalist world out of their lengthy crisis. The sustained economic growth which followed the war was due to a large extent to the reconstruction of Europe, the conversion of a substantial part of the war-time productive capacities into mass-commodity producing industries and to the deepened penetration of capital into new and henceforth unexploited areas of the economy and of social existence. These new commodities were made relatively accessible to large sections of the population because new production techniques made them cheaper and because increased wages and salaries, added to war-time savings, had substantially augmented the disposable incomes of most classes and social groups. On the ideological and political front, the Great Depression and the War had resulted in the increased mobilization of civil society, had encouraged the rise of a modern labour movement and an array of reform or/and left-wing organizations and movements, including sections of the intelligentsia, which demanded greater responsibility of their respective national governments in the area of social policy and legislation. The general tenor of their arguments was that the state was obligated to protect its citizens from the worst excesses of capitalism. One way to do this was by providing a

series of social services and insurance schemes which could be universally accessed by everyone within the nation state. The state was also called upon to subsidize a whole panoply of social, educational and cultural programs, all geared towards the construction of a better educated, more responsible and prosperous citizenry. (81) These arguments and pressures on the part of large sections of civil society, the political challenges emanating from the Communist-Bloc countries along with the exigencies of the Cold War, the demise of the hegemony of classical economic discourses and the coming into prominence of economic policies inspired by Keynesian economic theory (with its emphasis on long-term borrowing and increased consumption as a key to sustained economic stability) combined to lead to the creation in most of the industrialized countries of western alliance, of the modern and expanded "welfare" state of the post-war period.

This new, enlarged and more interventionist state form became the basic model of state organization even when it was reduced to a minimal level, as in the United States, or when it was rejected outright, as was the case with the government of Maurice Duplessis in Québec. The rise of the welfare state, therefore, was premised on several interrelated developments. On the first level it was responsible for creating the conditions for the continued accumulation of private capital. The experiences of the Great Depression and the socio-ideological environment of post-war modernity meant that it had to manage the conflicts and tensions that were generated by the contradictory development of capitalism. The welfare state had to see both to the needs of capital and to those of an increasingly mobilized, more informed citizenry. Although the history of the genesis and growth of the welfare state is far too complex to discuss properly here, it is important to note that the economic, the ideological and the cultural elements were closely articulated from the start. (83) Nevertheless, although the welfare state enjoyed a relative degree of autonomy from both capital and civil society, sometimes seeming to act more on behalf of one over the other, (and here the decision of the Canadian federal state to go ahead with the construction of a public television system in spite of sustained opposition on the part of private interests

is a good example of this) its continued existence was premised on the increased opportunities for capital accumulation. The welfare state could become the patron of all kinds of non-economic activities, and here the massive expansion of the state in the sphere of culture and higher education is a good example, but it could do so only in an environment which promoted capitalist accumulation both within the confines of the nation state and internationally. (84) The balance between the rights and privileges of capital and those of citizens, always a delicate, tense relationship at the best of times, could only be sustained by the welfare state under conditions of continued economic growth. As the first major rupture in post-war capitalist expansion in the early seventies so clearly demonstrated, the political will of the welfare state to act on behalf of its citizens is largely determined by the economic interests of national and international capital. (85)

The development of the welfare state, therefore, was historically bound up with the sustained growth of the capitalist economy in general and of its consumer sector in particular. In this context, the relationship between the formerly distinct concepts of the national subject, the citizen and the producer/consumer become closely intertwined.(86) The increased opportunities for the exercise of citizenship in the post-war western democracies, always within the bounds of a watchful and expanded state administrative apparatus (and in North America especially the physical and ideological constraints of the Cold War) were both counterpointed and reinforced by the increased opportunities for consumption. The conspicuous consumer, already on the scene by the early decades of the century and severely critiqued by Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, becomes much more numerous in the post-war period and is increasingly identified with the citizen-consumer, whereby the ability to consume the products of capitalist production is a measure of the rights of citizenship in a democratic society. (87)

In the post-war context, access to consumer goods, which include cultural products like books, newspapers, films and television programs, and leisure activities, like listening to recorded music, going to the cinema and watching television, become increasingly

associated with the rights of citizenship in a modern nation state. They also became sources of personal pleasure, satisfaction and identity. (The accoutrements of the modern culture of consumption, the private home and automobile, electrical appliances, access to cultural products and media forms, fashion and style, became tied up with a new definition of social identity and status.) This new definition of social and personal identity is closely linked to the possession or access to material and cultural commodities, is connected to educational background and social mobility and is increasingly constructed through the mediation of communication technologies and the media. (88) At the same time, older forms of social and cultural capital, which conferred upon their owners an identity and social status, have become less valuable on a society-wide level. Certain types of knowledge and practices, traditional medicine, oral or other forms of culture that were not mechanically reproduced, have become marginalized or appropriated by the new cultural forms. For example, in the modernizing Quebec of the post war period, traditional practices like story telling or midwifery experience a rapid decline in their original form, but are then appropriated by the expanding sectors of the cultural industries, especially television, on the one hand, and modern medicine on the other.

Another development is that social and cultural knowledge must be complemented or augmented by material proof of success. So although education and knowledge (technical, scientific and theoretical) became increasingly important aspects of life in post-war Quebec, the owner of these qualities had to complement them with the concrete manifestations of competence and success in the material realm. Social status, knowledge and ability to consume became, therefore, closely bound up with the modern identity of the consumer citizen. If certain valuable commodities have always conferred an additional aura of worth upon their owner, the post-war process of commodification and consumption pushes that trend even further; it elevates and democratizes it at the same time. In a context of intensified commodification and consumption many more individuals can gain access to valuable goods. At the same time, these commodities were given an inordinate value. The

full exercise of the expanded definition of modern citizenship, encompasses cultural, economic and political dimensions. The ideal version of the modern, (national) citizen is a well-educated and informed, responsible and disciplined individual. The exercise of democracy in post-war capitalist modernity implied the bringing together of many discourses and technologies and practices. In the forefront of this panoply of discourses and techniques were those of the consenting, well mannered, informed and competent consumer-citizen. (89) The new relationship that was forged by the modern, post-war nation-states and their citizens was a complex one, involving the striking of a fine balance (punctuated by frequent tensions and disruptions) between those constraints and freedoms associated with the exercise of democracy and citizenship and those associated with the maintenance and reproduction of a competitive system of production and consumption.

The intrinsic links between the economic and the cultural spheres, a characteristic feature of capitalist modernity, were multiplied in the post-war environment of accelerated economic development and social restructuring. The role of the media, a historical agent of the twin processes of commodification and modernization, became very prominent under these conditions. (90) The advent of high or mature modernity in Quebec (as in the rest of the capitalist world) was accompanied by the intensification of the commodity process, with the growth of a culture of consumption being one of the most striking and representative manifestations. Here too, the modern media and their derivatives played a crucial role in the construction of a commodified social universe. The phenomenon of mobile privatization, which brings together and represents all these autonomous but related processes, became fully developed in post-war Québec. In this context, the expanded role of advertising and credit provides us with two representative examples. As M. Bellefleur et al., in "La libération du credit dans le movement des Caisses Dejardins" (1992) and L. Coté, in "Publicité de masse et masse publicitaire dans la presse quotidienne au Québec, (1929-1959) (1992) have demonstrated in their respective articles, the liberalization of credit and the expanded advertising activity in the mass circulation press played a mutually

supportive role in the construction of a modern, mass consumer culture. The example of the Caisse is particularly salient because it had traditionally prohibited loans for "non-productive" activities, considering loans for consumption to be unethical and frivolous. After the war, the Caisse introduced radical changes in its policy, which allowed it to move to the forefront of making loans available for the purposes of consumption. Unlike the Caisses before the war, the large urban dailies had always been hospitable to most kinds of commercial and financial transactions in their pages. What changed after the war is that they became primary sites for the advertisement of the new and expanded commodity universe. The tension that had always existed between advertising and news, information and editorial comment in the mass circulation newspapers was further tilted on the side of the former as most big dailies became important purveyors of the goods and services offered to the newly emerged consumer-citizen of post-war modernity in Quebec. In post-war Quebec, the coming of mature modernity was articulated through the close, but not always smooth, collaboration between the spheres of the economy, politics, media and culture.

As we have seen, one of the key features of post-war modernity in Quebec was the right or/and ability to participate in the culture of consumption for wide sections of the population. Unlike the pre-war period, the consumption of material and cultural goods was accessible to a large section of the working class. While conspicuous consumption remained the indulgence of the old and newly rich, the working class was able for the first time in its history to aspire to a level of material comfort that was over and above that of strict physical survival. As Mario Desault has written in his aptly titled article, " de l'universe des besoins à l'univers des aspirations", the economic prosperity that came with and followed the Second World War, enabled the working class to make this important transition in its material existence. (1992) The author argues that between 1938 and 1958 important increases in discretionary income for Montreal area working-class families permitted them (in addition to covering their basic housing, food and clothing needs) to aspire to, and often obtain, the purchase of homes, automobiles, electrical appliances, and

after 1952, television sets. This new and increasingly accessible universe of commodities was both showcased and embodied in the proliferating media of the post-war period. After 1952, the new medium of television quickly moved to the centre of this expanding universe of commodities. The television set, this marvelous and keenly desired consumer item, was itself a privileged site for advertising the modern and highly commodified world that was in the process of being made. The television set, possibly much more than other commodities, embodied and symbolized the emerging post-scarcity economic and social order. As Jean-Pierre Charland confirms, the people of Quebec went on a veritable spree in the purchase of television sets, so much so, that by 1958 more households possessed a television set than a telephone, and by 1960, 80,8% of households had at least one television set in their possession. (91) Charland makes the important observation that working-class homes experienced the same transformation as middle-class households in that throughout the post-war period, but particularly in the fifties, they became increasingly penetrated by technological innovations in their various commodified forms. In addition to investing in the purchase, repair or modernization of the home, working class families aspired to the consumption of cultural goods and leisure activities, and here the automobile, radio and television occupied a large percentage of working-class earnings and leisure time. (92)

Although further research is needed in this area, it is probably not unreasonable to assume that the presence of television in working class homes played a greater part in the family's leisure and entertainment activities. While it is true that the speed of the purchase of television sets was a society-wide phenomenon in Quebec, it is also true that middle-class families had both a larger disposable income and the cultural capital which allowed them to engage in a wider range of cultural activities such as going to the theater, concerts, art exhibitions and other cultural or artistic events. Working-class families, on the other hand, spent a greater part of their disposable income on the purchase of now "essential" household appliances, including television sets. Also, even though the working-class could and did participate in a whole host of leisure and cultural activities outside the family home,

the substantial expenses involved in the purchase of big consumer items, the relative scarcity of leisure time, and a whole host of other obligations and responsibilities, probably meant that working-class culture was much more closely articulated around the family home than its middle-class counterpart. (93) This observation would be particularly relevant in the case of the newly constituted urban families and immigrants, for whom the purchase of a family home, a car and a television set were important social aspirations as well as major expenditures. In the context of the absence of old social networks and before the development of new ones, the relative scarcity of money and leisure time, meant that much of their social life was experienced around work and home. Within the context of the home, watching television at the end of the day and during weekends most probably constituted a large part of social and cultural activities. (94)

The universe of material and cultural aspirations offered to the people of Quebec by post-war modernity was, like capitalist modernity itself, riven with contradictions. On the one hand, it further fastened them to the requirements, fortunes and crises of the capitalist production-circulation-consumption nexus. At the same time it rendered them dependent on a universe of increasingly commodified cultural and social existence, a social existence which was becoming increasingly mediated by communication technologies and media. As is characteristic of capitalist modernity, the intensification of the commodity process penetrates deeply into the lives of people, enters their intimate life world, their leisure, even their sleep. The expanded leisure time that is made possible by modern technology is increasingly commodified so that "leisure" activities such as going for a ride, seeing a film, listening to music and watching television become productive activities for capital. (95) On the other hand, capitalist modernity offered them the pleasures, comforts and reassurances of a materially comfortable existence. Post-war economic prosperity combined with the (apparent) generosity of a benevolent welfare state to create the semblance of a post-scarcity existence. The popular and/or working classes especially, experienced the advent of a modern, consumer culture as liberation from decades of deprivation and material scarcity.

The long years of the Great Depression along with the rationing of war years, produced a taste for, indeed a strong appreciation of, the reassurances and comforts of post-war modernity. The price to be paid in terms of greater dependence in the capitalist production and administrative machine, decreasing access to unmediated social relations, the psychological fragility of social existence or the degradation of the environment, was not immediately apparent. What did matter in the post-war context was that the long crisis of the Depression and the war years were over and a new era of material and cultural plenitude was on the immediate horizon. As Adorno noted in his critique of Veblem's severe condemnation of (all) consuming pleasures, the values of leisure, of happiness and freedom from utility that capitalist modernity makes available to its citizen-subjects should not be rejected out of hand, but rather, generalized by replacing the capitalist mode of production with another more egalitarian one. (96)

The Role of Media in the Construction of Capitalist Modernity: The Case of Quebec in the Post-War Period:

We mentioned above the substantial increase of advertising in the media in the post-war period as one of the major strategies by which the emerging commodity-based modern culture has been propagated in advanced capitalist countries. This "magic system" as Raymond Williams has called the technology of advertising, (which is a modern art form at the same time), has been at the centre of capitalist modernity's successful commodification of social and cultural existence. (97) This use of the media as modernity's main carriers of advertising messages was well developed in Québec in the post-war period. As Luc Coté and Jean-Guy Daigle have reminded us, the advertising business had a large array of venues at its disposal, but the daily press in the large urban centres, *Le Soleil*, *La Presse*, *The Montreal Star*, among others, were advertising venues par excellence. Although the authors concentrate on the mass-circulation press as the main venue for the advertising of new commodities and services, similarly fruitful studies may be conducted by examining the large numbers of smaller newspapers, magazines and periodicals as important carriers

of advertising messages on behalf of the consumer culture. Women's magazines like *Chatelaine*, *La Revue moderne*, or periodicals of more general interest like *Readers Digest* , were major purveyors of the modern world of commodities within the reach of most persons. Women's magazines, in particular, were privileged sites for the showcasing of new fashions and lifestyles, gleaming household appliances, furniture, the family car and of, course, at the centre of it all, the television set. As the advertising copy, pictures and articles in these magazines made abundantly clear, modern identity, social status and personal fulfillment were inextricably bound up with the possession of these commodities. Moreover, as these new commodities made the transition from scarce items to affordable consumer goods, the media began to treat them as necessary accoutrements to everyday modern life, the absence of which could make existence more difficult, even impossible.

Similarly, the private radio stations, always major carriers of commercial messages, became in the post-war period important auditory showcases for the seemingly inexhaustible array of new consumer goods and services. But the propagation of the modern world of material plenitude, with its links to identity formation and concepts of citizenship, was not restricted to the commercial media, for which advertising revenues were not only a condition of survival but, frequently, their reason for existing. Although the public broadcasting system (initially the Radio-Canada radio network and after, 1952, the television network) was somewhat protected from direct pressures from capital, it too participated in the articulation of a heavily commodified culture. It did so on several levels; the economic, the ideological and the technological. The first was the imperative of economic survival. For even though Radio-Canada was heavily subsidized by the federal government, it still depended on advertising revenues and sponsorships in order to cover the production costs of its programs. Not only were the networks forced to carry a substantial load of advertising messages but many of the most popular radio and television programs were sponsored by large national and international corporations. This meant, among other things, that sponsors and advertisers had direct influence on the shape and the

content of sponsored programs, something which was in contradiction, at least in principle, to the philosophy of public broadcasting. Public broadcasting, therefore, although it was to be protected from direct pressures of the commodity system, became closely involved in the articulation of the ideology of the consumer culture. For it was not only advertising and sponsorships that drew it inexorably into the commodity nexus, but as we have seen, television itself is an integral part of the commodity system that brought it into being. Moreover, television's discourses, even when they challenged the most objectionable aspects of modernity, were still advocating on its behalf. In other words, although Radio-Canada television played an important role in the transition of Quebec into a fully modern, democratic society, it also functioned as an ideological proponent of capitalist modernity. For example, when television was called upon to expose or challenge some regressive or residual discourses and practices of Quebec society, the highest principle it held out was that of modernity itself. Similarly, its critiques of traditional society, or even the excesses of modernity, were often made in the name of a "better" modernity, for a more democratic and secular capitalist society.

We discussed above how communication technologies and media have been historically an integral part of capitalism's movement towards the commodification of social and cultural life. At the same time they have been the carriers of many of the more progressive ideas, and ideals, of capitalist modernity such as the notion of the rights of citizenship, the equality of opportunity, the belief that knowledge and science should serve human needs, and so on. These discourses of modernity as progress, secularism and democratic government have been at the centre of the media's representation of itself, even though they have been counterpointed historically by its participation in political oppression and war. (98) The role of the media in modern history is too complex for us to discuss here, save to note that it interacts with the economic, political, social and cultural spheres simultaneously. Moreover, as we have seen, its relationship to the construction of capitalist modernity is doubly determined; capitalist modernity and media share a common historical

origin and have determined each other's paths from then on. As Graham Murdock has written about this relationship, we cannot begin to understand the nature and historical trajectory of modernity unless we take into account the central role of communication media in its constitution. In other words, the trajectories of modernity and modern media are mutually determined and cannot be understood apart from one another. (99)

As we have seen, a key feature in the relationship between media and modernity is the commodity form. A brief excursion into the history of this relationship reveals that the appearance of media and the process of commodifiction under conditions of capitalist modernity were mutually determined. John Thompson has noted how modern, that is mechanically reproduced media, made their entry into early capitalist modernity as commodities. The owners of the early printing presses, the booksellers, and later the purveyors of various printed material, were early capitalist entrepreneurs par excellence. The larger socio-political context in which the early media and the media-related entrepreneurs operated, as well as their relationship with the ideological and cultural spheres added other, non-economic layers and or functions. (100) The history of the book is an excellent example of the dual nature of this early modern medium. The book embodied the twin values of capitalist modernity and the production of commodities for profit while promulgating the ideals of progress, the democratization of knowledge and the secularization of society. (101)

The history of the modern newspaper is somewhat more complicated, reflecting in part the more complex environment of industrial capitalism into which it was born. (102) Not all newspapers began as commercial initiatives, and even though they eventually became a mass medium and mass commodity par excellence, many have retained a strong sense of their ideological or political beginnings. Newspapers have historically been carriers of the values of capitalism, secularism, reform and nationalism. They have been instrumental to the articulation and spread of nationalist discourses and as Benedict Anderson has argued, may have played a crucial role in the construction of "imagined communities" or modern

nation states. (1983) The print media and newspapers in particular have also been historically associated with the rise and spread of democratic politics. As Jürgen Habermas has shown, the histories of early capitalism, the print media, especially newspapers, and the construction of a democratic public sphere have been closely intertwined. (1989) Media, therefore, have historically played a double, or even triple role. They have intervened in the life of the polity as commodities, as cultural products and as public media. They have been appropriated for personal use and at the same time they have functioned as forums of public discourse and debate. It was in this dual capacity as commodities and as public media that newspapers intervened in the public sphere, were in fact instrumental in the construction of the modern bourgeois public sphere. In short, modern communications media (and here we can include the cinema and the broadcast media) have been central to the shaping of the modern era, including playing a crucial role in the democratization of the public sphere, the growth of national formations and the construction of popular consumer based cultures.

In Canada and in Quebec, newspapers appeared early in the colonial period, but did not take their modern formats (mass circulation dailies or weeklies) until the twin forces of industrialization and urbanization had secured a strong presence in the mid to late 19th century. According to media historian, Paul Rutherford, newspapers in Canada in the late 19th century were, among other things, purveyors of information, commodities, and modernity. Newspapers had a dual function as capitalist enterprises and as instruments of ideological persuasion. The commodified modern newspaper sold itself, other commodities and the ideas or ideals of progress, nationalism and democracy, all at the same time. (103) Elzéar Lavoie has argued that in Quebec, newspapers like in the rest of the capitalist world entered the scene primarily as commodities to be sold in the marketplace. But along with this purely commercial function, however, newspapers became key players in the creation of a modern, secular, and nationalist popular culture. The appearance of commercial newspapers was closely linked to the process of industrialization and urbanization and they

were the modern commodity par excellence. They were relatively cheap, contained an attractive mix of information and entertainment, were easily diffused, and carried the public sphere into the private home. They also indicated Quebec's arrival at a point in its historical development where large numbers of people were literate, could dispense the money and the time to buy, read and talk about what was in them. (104)

Between 1908 and 1919 there was a flourishing of publications of all kinds, but this momentum came to a halt in the interwar period. During these economically difficult times the newspapers entered a period of buyouts and consolidations. The era of monopoly capitalism has given rise to the mass circulation daily or weekly newspaper. According to Lavoie, the historical bond between progressive modernity and newspapers was ruptured with the appearance of these products of monopoly capital. Newspapers like *La Presse* , abandoned their historic mission as purveyors of popular culture, commerce and secular nationalism. *La Presse* in particular retreated to the prosperous region around Montreal where it could concentrate in consolidating its operations for maximum profitability. (105) The next big boom in print commodity culture was in magazines and periodicals. These new print media originated as advertising venues but eventually developed into authentic and indigenous popular cultural forms, entering as many, according to Lavoie, as two-thirds of francophone homes. (106) It is significant to note here that a large part of this new generation of print media consisted of women's magazines or magazines destined primarily for a female readership. In the post-war period the popularity of these magazines continued to grow. Four of the most popular, *La Revue Populaire*, *La Revue Moderne*, *La Petite Revue* and *Le Samedi*, had a combined circulation of 250,000 in 1955. From the mid-fifties on, however, the heyday for indigenous or locally produced women's magazines or magazines destined primarily for a female readership begun an inexorable downward slope. By the late fifties most had disappeared with *La Review Moderne* being bought out by the Toronto publisher Mclean-Hunter and transformed into the French edition, Chatelaine . The trend away from an indigenous periodical culture had begun back in 1947, with the

introduction of the immensely popular *Sélection du Reader's Digest*. By the turn of the decade, almost all of the mass-circulation magazines were brought in from Toronto or New York either in the original English or in the French translation. It was not for another decade that local general interest magazines like *L'Actualité*, (formerly a Jesuit publication) could begin to compete with the (by now well-entrenched) foreign imports.

In the post-war period, the popular culture created around print media continued to flourish. For the daily newspapers, the post-war period was one of rapid growth and restructuring. Between 1945 and 1965 the total circulation of English and French newspapers in Quebec jumped by 62% from 680,000 to more than 1.1 million. (107) The main beneficiaries of this remarkable growth were the few well-established newspapers that had survived and consolidated during the pre-war period. The mass-circulation papers in the large urban centres like *Le Soleil* in Quebec City, and *La Presse*, *The Montreal Star*, *The Gazette*, in Montreal, dominated the newspaper scene in the province. For example, *La Presse*, had doubled its circulation to 286,000 between 1940-1960, while *Le Soleil* became a regional newspaper for all of eastern Quebec with a circulation of more than 120,000 in 1960. The trend towards the concentration of newspaper ownership meant, among other things, that a number of other papers failed to grow or even stopped publishing. In Montreal, *Le Canada*, closed down in 1954 and was joined by *L'Autorité* the following year. In 1957 *La Patrie*, one of the most progressive independent dailies in Montreal, became a weekly. In Quebec City this restructuring was as dramatic, if not more so, with *L'Action Catholoque* and *L'Evénement-Journal* in serious decline. In the post-war period the trend towards the concentration of the daily press with a few large papers accounting for most of the readers and advertising reveue became consolidated.

These developments were accompanied, and to a certain extent counterbalanced, by a considerable array of independent or alternative newspapers and periodicals. *Le Devoir*, a small but prestigious daily newspaper ever since it was founded by Henri Bourassa in 1929, was able to survive the restructuring of the sector as well as to increase its circulation

from 20,000 to 40,000 between 1940 and 1962. *Le Devoir*, which had always been considered to be the paper of the Quebec intelligentsia, came under the joint leadership of Gérard Fillion and André Laurendeau, the newspaper of choice of the new or reform intellectuals. From the late forties on, the time when the new directors took over *Le Devoir*, it increasingly became a rallying point for the reform movement and its opposition to the Duplessis regime. The paper, always a proponent of Quebec's cultural and political autonomy, quite naturally became one of the leading forums for the emerging modern and secular nationalism that was gaining momentum throughout the fifties in Quebec. In addition to *Le Devoir*, a large number of other newspapers, such as *La Patrie*, or the more alternative *Le Vrai*, or still, the left-wing *Combat* , or the labour *Le Monde Ouvrier*, provided important alternatives to the mass-circulation press. In addition to these independent or alternative newspapers, the print culture of the post-war period was characterized by the existence of a whole range of magazines and periodicals designated for specialized publics. Periodicals such as *L'Action catholique*, *Foyer rural*, *Vie Francaise* and *L'Action national* were addressed to more traditional, and mostly conservative constituencies, even though many of these, particularly *L'Action nationale*, were changing to keep up with the modernizing spirit of the times. (108) Two new periodicals, namely *Cité Libre* and *Relations*, were exemplary products of the times, both reflecting important developments in the social sciences and in the reform movement during the fifties.

Many of the new media forms were purely commercial ventures, clearly designed to exploit the larger disposable incomes and emerging consumer culture of the times. The spectacular growth of a large variety of popular publications in the post-war period aimed at a mass audience, was designed to exploit this prosperous and growing market. But as with all media, these publications also fulfilled a social demand, that is for relaxation, for opportunities to escape the pressures of an increasingly technological and commodified social existence. A good example of this new kind of publication was the daily tabloid. *Montréal-Matin*, begun in 1930 as the *L'Illustration*, completely changed its format, and its

fortunes, after the war when it begun to concentrate on sensationalism, sport and pictures. The changeover turned out to be a tremendous success with circulation climbing from 11,000 in 1940 to 100,000 in 1960. (109) The weekend press, aimed essentially at the same audience also grew rapidly. But the publications that enjoyed phenomenal success during this period were publications concentrating on show business, radio and television. Existing newspapers and magazines like *Le Petit Journal, Photo-Journal and Radio-Monde, Magazine du Cinéma,* and *Le Courrier du Cinéma,* made significant gains in their circulation. They were joined by *Dimanche-Matin, Allo-Police, Nouvelles Illustrées* and *Le Journal des Vedettes* in the early fifties. Elzéar Lavoie tells us that the combined circulation of these publications reached the million mark at its highest peak in 1955. (110) These magazines echoed the remarkable rise of photojournalism in the post-war period and reflected the popularity of amateur photography among the population at large. While they took the immensely successful American *Life* , as well as less prestigious Hollywood fan magasines as their prototypes, they recombined these elements to produce a uniquely Quebecois cultural commodity. They also laid the basis for an image-based popular culture in Quebec which in turn played an important role in preparing the way for television in the early fifties. Moreover, these image-based magazines did not owe their popularity exclusively to the adulation of local radio and Hollywood film stars, but practiced "legitimate", or even avant-guard journalism and took risks in provoking the wrath of the religious and secular establishments. They also hosted the work of photographers and journalists who were unemployed or who had been forced to go into internal exile.(111) The popular culture that was cultivated by these magazines was clearly consumerist, modern and progressive. They also played a crucial role in the cultivation of a cultural environment that was extremely favourable to the reception of television.

Radio broadcasting experienced a different trajectory than the print media both internationally and in Quebec. In contrast to the print media, broadcasting was perceived as being too powerful a medium of communication (and too useful to political elites) to be left

entirely in the hands of private interests. In Canada, the tradition of the federal state to employ communication technologies in its nation-building projects, strong support for the state regulation of broadcasting from key constituencies, as well as the historic threat or fear of American cultural domination, and eventual assimilation, lead to the creation of a publicly owned broadcasting system. (112) This publicly owned system was composed of two distinct language networks, the English CBC and French Radio-Canada networks, with the latter concentrated primarily in Quebec. Public radio did not replace, but co-existed with the large number of privately owned stations which had been created in the early twenties as primarily commercial, advertising ventures. In Quebec, it was the private radio stations, and especially CKAC, that enjoyed the largest audiences. The Radio-Canada (radio) network for a large variety of cultural and political reasons, as we have seen, did not emerge as a vital communication and cultural force in Quebec until after the war. During the thirties and early forties, therefore, when radio enjoyed its greatest popularity in Quebec, it developed primarily as a cultural commodity. In Quebec, private radio became a central component of a democratic oral-based culture, which according to Lavoie, gave back to the people "la parole publique", which had until now been the monopoly of lawyers, the clergy and the professional politicians. (113)

Lavoie possibly exaggerates the radical contribution of commercial radio to the cultural and political life of Quebec. Although she is right to emphasize the potential of locally controlled media for the empowerment of the formerly silenced or repressed social groups, we must not forget that the culture was still not dominated by mediated social relations. In the thirties, forties and fifties, the tavern, the park, the union hall, the street, and the neighbourhoods were places were public speech was exercised freely and with regular frequency. Also, private radio stations were owned in their majority by the large newspaper conglomerates, for example, *La Presse* was the proprietor of the popular radio station CKAC. For these proprietors, the radio stations were primarily income generating enterprises (commercials were a large component of radio programming) which engaged in

the production of a popular culture as a secondary activity. Private radio tended to be apolitical, with the production of news and informational programming or the sponsorship of political discourse and ideological debate on the margins of its schedule. (114) Although the importance given to news and informational programming on the radio began to change in the late thirties with the beginning of the war, the real contribution of private radio was to the development of a media-based modern popular culture. This popular culture was essentially based on Quebec's cultural resources and although it drew its inspiration from many places it assimilated them to the cultural traditions as well as to the emerging styles and tastes of a modernizing Quebec. While Radio-Canada's programming largely consisted of classical music, *L'heure symphonique*, (1938) and radio casts from the Metropolitan Opera of New York, and drama, *Radio-théatre* (1938) and *Le théatre chez soi* (1939), the privately owned CKAC concentrated, and won listeners over, from Radio-Canada, on the production of popular programming such as its broadcasts of popular songs and comedies and satirical reviews. In 1935, a new form of radio-drama, the radio-serial or radio-roman, made its appearance on the schedules of the private radio stations. The original radio-roman, created by Robert Choquette in his *La curé de village*, was followed by many others, some of the most memorable being *Carrousel de la Gaieté*, by Jaques Laroche, *Fridolin*, by Gratien Gélinas, and *Zézette* . (115) The popularity of this genre persuaded the rather staid or reticent Radio-Canada station, CBF, to embark upon the production of radio-serials patterned after the CKAC prototype. The decision to make a major break with the earlier concepts of radio-drama proved to be a positive one. Between 1938 and 1940 CBF produced a series of successful radio-romans, with the *La pension Velder* (1938) *Un homme et son péché* (1939) and *Jeunesse doreé* (1940) being among the most popular ones. Radio-romans remained among the most popular programs on the radio until the mid-fifties, by which time they had made a successful transition to television as the téléroman.

As Lavoie and Linteau and his colleagues have observed in their different ways, the impact of radio on the cultural life of Quebec was immense. Radio made it possible for new

social groups to have access to cultural experiences, drama, literature, music from which they had been traditionally barred because of geography, lack of economic means or cultural capital. Radio was also instrumental in the encouragement and cultivation of a professional cultural community of writers, actors, musicians and playwrights. A number of factors, especially the language barrier (which meant that American radio programs could not penetrate as deeply in Quebec as in some parts of English Canada) encouraged the development of a local, authentically Québecois radio culture. As Linteau and his colleagues have put it, "The years from the mid 1930's to the mid 1950's can be described as the golden age of radio. Reaching all Quebec homes (88 per cent in 1947), it was the most powerful medium of communication and its influence was felt in all sectors of cultural activity." (116) Indeed, the influence of radio on Quebec society and culture during this time is indisputable. From the late 1930's on, radio steadily developed and extended its influence. During and after the war, it enjoyed a position in Quebec's cultural life similar to that of television a few years later. Everyone listened to radio, radio hosts and actors were stars, the popular music, comedy and dramatic series had a large and loyal following.

At the same time it is important not to overestimate the importance of radio, or any other medium in the structuring of post-war cultural modernity. Although it is undeniable that radio, like the print media before it and television which followed it, became an extremely powerful commmunication and cultural medium, it did not encompass or dominate all social life and cultural activity. People in the countryside, as well as in the cities for that matter, continued to enjoy and partake of a variety of cultural activities that were not mediated by radio. Although radio did introduce people to new or formerly less accessible forms of cultural experience or encourage the development of popular musical forms, this does not mean that before radio people lived in a cultural wasteland. On the contrary the new medium, as other communication and cultural innovations before it, was employed to reshape the cultural map. What radio did was to modernize, commodify and professionalize many of the cultural activities, traditions and practices that already existed in society.

Traditional cultural forms such as music, story telling, dance, legends, ceremonies, religion and pictorial arts were modernized, mechanically reproduced, combined with emergent cultural idioms and articulated as new, modern forms of cultural activity. These new cultural activities were less likely to call forth the participation of people in their production, as had been the case in traditional culture. Or rather the participation they called forth was of a more intellectual, abstract nature. The audience-participant becomes the audience-interpreter of cultural products or commodities produced elsewhere. In the more deeply commodified cultural context of the post-war individuals were seen primarily as consumers of culture. What they did with the cultural products once purchased and consumed was a matter of individual taste. This is not to argue that these new, commodified and professionalized forms of culture were less valuable than traditional forms, or that once part of the new cultural landscape they did not become integral, even empowering features of social and individual life. It is to simply make the point that the cultural modernity which modern media of communications played such a big role in bringing about was not magically created out of thin air nor was it "given" to populations that were culturally bereft. It does mean that modern media of communication, be they print media, radio, as we shall shortly see television broadcasting, helped to create modern cultures that offered their populations a greater variety of opportunities and choices regarding their cultural, entertainment or informational needs. But it is important to keep in mind that this new or greater range of possibilities took place at the expense of older or existing practices that had also served their practitioners well, or possibly better.

There is a strong historiographical current in Quebec which argues that the advent of cultural modernity in the province has been principally the achievement of capitalist enterprise and creativity. (117) This argument is most closely linked to the broadcast media since they were the only mass media in the 20th century to come under government or pubic ownership and control. This position, most strongly articulated by Elzéar Lavoie, argues that the existence of the publicly owned, more specifically, federally funded Radio-

Canada radio and television networks contributed negatively to the construction of the populist, nationalist, and democratic cultural modernity that had been created in Quebec in the middle of the century by private media enterprises. Indeed many of the points in the arguments are historically valid. Initially Radio-Canada did remain aloof from this populist culture preferring to cater to the tastes of the middle classes which meant among other practices, promoting "proper French" on its airways, giving emphasis to high or classical culture, international writers or texts and prohibiting the sounds and music of such popular local artists as "Le Bulduc". Once it became clear, however, that the public network could not compete with private radio, especially the widely popular CKAC, Radio-Canada began to develop a more interesting schedule. For Lavoie this means that the public broadcaster decided to mimic and plagiarize commercial radio, stealing its program ideas, writers and sponsors. Now, although it is true that Radio-Canada radio was bound up with elitist notions of public broadcasting and that it borrowed substantially from private radio , the charge that its contribution to the construction of cultural modernity in Quebec is a negative one is not a fair one. According to this thesis, the advent of cultural modernity in Quebec is exclusively tied up with the direct participation of the media in the commodification of culture. Moreover, Lavoie refuses to admit or identify any of the negative or less emancipatory consequences of the commodification of culture. Although she does work within a problematic of cultural modernity which views it as the result of the dynamic interaction between traditional and modern elements (which implies a dialectical view of historical change) she refuses to acknowledge any of the contradictions or dark sides of cultural modernity. Although Lavoie tends to exaggerate the importance or value of commmodified cultural forms, her argument regarding the historical coincidence between private enterprise, the development of various media forms and the process of cultural commodification, secularization and modernization is a strong one. She is totally wrong, however, when she argues that by mid-50's the new medium of television had not

innovated in any way, but like Radio-Canada radio before it, had simply absorbed, indeed had engaged in the wholesale appropriation, of commercial radio culture.

But we shall return to this later point shortly later. We now want to conclude this chapter by noting that whatever disagreements we may have with Lavoie's assessment of public broadcasting, the fact remains that public broadcasting, although it is not directly locked into the commercial nexus, has nevertheless entered the modern media and cultural scene as a commodity, has actively participated in the process of the commodification of culture and is an integral part of the larger process of mobile privatization. During the post-war period, these trends were intimately bound up with the process of secularization, technological and scientific progress, material prosperity and social mobility; in short the brave new world of mature, capitalist modernity. As we have noted above, public broadcasting has also been historically caught up in the contradictions between its public service vocation and the many ties that bind it to the capitalist system. Similarly, Radio-Canada television was introduced in the early fifties, at precisely the moment when the various forces, movements and discourses about modernity, reform and national identity were gathering momentum. It became intimately connected to the movements of social, cultural and political reform as well as to the processes of cultural and social commodification. Radio-Canada television, as we shall see, helped to articulate the various trends and discourses circulating in Quebec during this period for reform, modernity and greater intellectual and artistic freedom, while at the same time further binding the society into the North American nexus of capitalist production and consumption.

CHAPTER III:

CREATING A UNIQUE AND POPULAR TELEVISION CULTURE.

In this chapter we shall examine the genesis and evolution of the Radio-Canada television network as social institution and cultural praxis. Here we begin with the premise that the medium of television (as all media for that matter) cannot be examined merely as a technological apparatus nor as an institutional structure in isolation from its historical determinants and cultural specificities. The technological character or bias of the medium, a powerful and structuring force itself, is ultimately appropriated and shaped by the larger ambient culture, the creative will and agency of its artisans, the historical and social imperatives as well as the possibilities and constraints of the social formation. It is for this reason that television is above all a social institution, with technological, communicational, representational and cultural components. (1)

Moreover, the practice of television is a complex and contradictory cultural and social process. It both shapes and is shaped by the host culture, an interaction whose consequences have sometimes been foreseen, but most often not. Television does not generate completely autonomous representations or sound/images but reworks existing and emerging (or still, imagined or idealized) discourses and representations into a new and distinct televisual language. By becoming an integral part of the larger cultural apparatus of the social formation, it serves to sustain the dominant cultural and ideological paradigms as well as to reshape them. (2) Sometimes television has come to play a key role in the restructuring of the cultural matrix and the social relationships that are embedded in it. (3) At other times it has played a crucial role in providing society with new representations of itself that are more appropriate to a changed economic and socio-cultural environment, as was the case in Quebec in the fifties. (4)

The history of television shows us that as soon as it makes its entry into the social formation it begins to inexorably reshape the cultural forms, contents and representations of the host society. Television has been described as an avaricious medium, or more politely a synthetic medium, one which devours or embraces most other cultural forms and contents. (5) Whatever the position one takes on this latter point, it is undeniable that television has combined most previously existing cultural forms into its own unique televisual idiom. This new cultural form quickly reconstituted the popular cultures of the host societies (and in time the entire cultural landscape) and has in time come to dominate the everyday lives of the majority of people in the modern world. One of the peculiarities of television, therefore, is that it re-organizes the entire fabric of the lived culture rather than specific aspects of it. (6) From the very start television reconstituted the various existing cultural forms to create its own television culture, one that quickly moved to the centre (indeed came to dominate) the popular cultures of many social formations.(7) Finally, the character and style of the culture that has been historically produced by television has varied from one social formation to another, has assumed a number of different social and cultural forms and has engaged the society in a variety of ways. At the same time the medium has imposed its own televisual logic and its own aesthetics and language across these various cultural, social and political terrains in such a way as to alter their morphologies in a permanent way. (8)

Moreover, the cultural forms that television produces belong both to itself and to that of (modern) popular culture more generally. In turn the popular culture that modernity has produced is a culture that often refuses previous codes or distinctions of cultural taste and value. As Bill Schwarz has reminded us, modern popular culture, itself a product of the great commodification of culture that accompanied the rise of monopoly capitalism, has come to be increasingly characterized by the erosion of distinct boundaries between different cultural forms. (8) Television, therefore, produces a culture that is at the same time a deeply commodified culture and a culture which may contain substantial public sphere elements or even liberatory potential. (10) The popular culture that is produced by

television and which has historically come to dominate the lived cultures of most mature capitalist societies in the post-war era, is simultaneouly unique to a particular social formation and a component of the universal culture of television. To paraphrase Raymond Williams, the technology of television takes many cultural forms, but at the same time, the technology and cultural form that is television imposes its own logic or "flow" on the realities of the production and consumption of television. (11)

The entry of television in Quebec in the early fifties brought about substantial modifications or changes to the cultural landscape of the society. With the introduction of television, the cultural modernity which had been evolving in Quebec since the turn of the century (or at least since the twenties) entered a more complex and more developed period of its development. (12) Moreover, television's entry in Quebec at a decisive moment of its historical trajectory, meant that its impact on the larger culture was in many ways more intense and widespread than in many other social formations in capitalist, post-war modernity. The forms that the technology of television took in Quebec were conditioned by a number of factors, including the historical and cultural specificities of the society, the public structure of the Radio-Canada television network, the cultural resources available to it, the background and political will of its directors and artisans and the nature of the relationship between Ottawa and Quebec City. Overall, the television culture that was produced by Radio-Canada television was both typical of television culture in general and a unique cultural artifact, a blend of the universal elements of television culture and the specific cultural idioms and practices in Quebec. As we shall argue below, one of the key elements of the success and popularity of the television culture that was produced by Radio-Canada in the fifties was the creation of a new synthesis out of traditional and modern elements, enabling it to create innovative combinations by merging high and popular cultural idioms as well as local and universal cultural elements. Another important factor was the (impressive) ability of the early directors and artisans of Radio-Canada to bend the new medium to the cultural and social requirements of their society. (13)

Our examination of the genesis and evolution of Radio-Canada television as social institution and cultural praxis necessarily involves a closer examination of the ways in which the public broadcaster came to be constituted as one of the most significant sites of cultural practice in Quebec in the post-war period. To this end, we shall critically examine Radio-Canada television's successful entry in Quebec and its development as a social institution as well as a cultural phenomenon. We shall do this against a background of the tremendous social, economic and cultural transformations taking place in Quebec during one of the most decisive decades of its (modern) history. We shall put forward the argument that Radio-Canada television, operating within the institutional and ideological framework of a public broadcaster, with all the range of possibilities and limitations implied thereof, was successful in creating one of the most vibrant, distinct and popular television cultures in (at least) North America. This cultural form, whose essential outlines were already in place within a few years of television's entry in Quebec, proved to be both productive and prolific. By the beginning of the second half of the decade, Radio-Canada television had produced a wide range of programs of an impressive quality and quantity, had won recognition and awards for its work both at home and abroad. Most importantly it maintained a dynamic and close (if sometimes quarrelsome) relationship with the public and its audience. Moreover, the French network had become the envy of its "big sister", CBC English television. (14)

This impressive achievement was to a large extent the accomplishment of the new generation of modernizing intelligentsia (artists, intellectuals, writers, journalists, technicians and engineers) which was able to successfully appropriate the new medium and submit it to the cultural, social and political imperatives of a highly resourceful and extremely receptive socio-cultural environment. An equally important component of television's success was that its entry was guided by a network leadership which, having worked hard to win back Radio-Canada's integrity (badly compromised by its war-time activities) and having succeeded in transforming the radio service into an indigenous

cultural institution, was determined that the new network would reflect Quebec's distinct culture, and to the degree that it was possible, maintain its autonomy from the national Corporation. Of equal significance, the early directors of Radio-Canada television rejected the option to imitate existing models of television programming, both public and commercial. Their intention (or project) was to create a distinctive television culture by combining selective borrowings from other television cultures with their own, locally generated, program concepts and styles. The central or guiding idea throughout, was that the development of Radio-Canada's television programming would be based primarily upon the significant cultural resources available to it in Quebec. The television culture produced by the French network, therefore, would be resolutely modern, secular and open to the world. At the same time it would be attentive to the pulses, traditions and idioms of Quebec's rapidly changing cultural and social realities. (15)

Another distinctive characteristic of the television culture produced by Radio-Canada was that while it was "beholden" to public broadcasting's historical mission "to educate as it informed and entertained", which among other things meant frequent forays into avant-guard, experimental and other "high" cultural forms, on the whole it avoided browbeating its audiences into some form of elite cultural submission. Similarly, in spite of the obvious pull of its educational mission, it avoided overburdening its broadcast schedule with educational and informational programming. Possibly a major reason for this "reticence" was that, as we shall see in more detail below, Radio-Canada's strong-minded and activist audience would not have tolerated it. Another reason was that the first generation of Radio-Canada's television artisans was a youthful group of men and women who approached the new medium without any pre-conceived ideas about television programming. Also, although they were well educated and familiar with the classics of elite culture, they were (given the times they lived in and the modernizing and reform influences that guided their thinking) generally attracted to creating new or hybrid cultural forms than in reproducing existing ones. They liked to combine elite and popular cultural idioms, mostly of a local

provenance but with strong international representation, and wanted to produce television programs that would be accessible to and enjoyed by the majority of the audience. Even though the new network did offer a substantial number of "high culture" programs on its schedule, the presentation styles, conditions of production of early television, and permissive atmosphere prevailing at the public broadcaster's studios in the early years meant that the elite quotient of even the high culture programs was relatively modest mitigated. Equally important, Radio-Canada television, unlike the radio service, did not remain aloof from the vibrant popular culture that surrounded it but proceeded to embrace it instead. Although, as we shall see, this embracing was not without its problems, the network's television programs were on the whole accessible to and enjoyed by the majority of the audience.

The result (several years in the running) was a reconfiguration of Quebec's popular culture, with television at the centre of things. Television easily and quickly replaced radio as the central site for the production of popular culture, and it absorbed and integrated many elements of popular theater, music, cinema and other forms of commodified or non-commodified cultural and leisure activities. Watching television quickly became an integral part of everyday life. The people of Quebec were clearly enchanted with the new medium of television (which doubled as a prestigious household commodity). But they were particularly drawn to their sets because of the quantity (and increasingly quality) of television programs offered to them by the French network. In keeping with public broadcasting's commitment to a comprehensive program schedule, one that was responsive to a variety of publics and tastes, Radio-Canada offered its audience a substantial variety of programs ranging from a choice of popular and high cultural forms, educational and informational programs, to programming designed for specific constituencies such as women and children. The television culture that was created by Radio-Canada television in the fifties, therefore, was both a universal popular culture, proper to the medium of television and a television culture that was unique to Quebec. It was, above all, a hybrid

television culture, composed of diverse, even disparate, elements and inspirations. Perhaps one of its most distinctive aspects was the bringing together of international and local influences, American and European television styles and programming ideas and merging them with the cultural idioms of a rapidly modernizing and assertive Quebec. This unique and popular television culture was the negotiated result of a large number of elements, among them structural and historical factors, a receptive socio-cultural environment, the ethos of public broadcasting translated in Quebec's cultural and social specificity. Other significant contributing factors were the propensities, technological possibilities and limitations of the new medium, the cultural resources available to it, the culture and intentions of Radio-Canada television executives and artisans, and equally important, the characteristics and predispositions of the audience. In this chapter, therefore, we shall examine the conditions that made possible and further encouraged the construction of Radio-Canada's distinct and popular television culture in the fifties.

The federal government's decision to go ahead with the creation of a public television network system was taken after considerable thought, consultation and mediation. It was preceded by a number of major studies, parliamentary reports and even a Royal Commission. The reasons for the government's hesitation were many, including the need to mediate between the many and often divergent political, economic and regional interests in regards to television. This was the second time within a few decades that the structure and regulation of a new communication medium had become a cause of considerable public debate in Canada. (16) On this occasion, the Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent wanted to make sure that most major interests had a chance to express themselves on this issue before it committed itself to a particular form of television broadcasting. (17)

Among Ottawa's reasons for taking a cautious approach on this matter may have been its historic (and not completely resolved) jurisdictional disputes with the provinces, and particularly Quebec, over broadcasting rights. (18) The addition of a television network to the federally funded Radio-Canada (radio) network was certain to provoke strong reactions

from a variety of constituencies in Quebec, with the conservative and nationalist government of Maurice Duplessis among the strongest objectors. Indeed, as we shall see in some detail below, the announcement of the federal government's intention to create a public television system was received with mixed reactions in Quebec. Public broadcasting in Quebec had an ambiguous status at best. Although Radio-Canada had made substantial changes since the end of the war, the memories of its role during the conscription crisis, its long record as the voice of a distant elite and a certain aloofness from Quebec's popular culture had all combined to create a strong sense of ambivalence towards it. (19)

Public broadcasting had not emerged organically in Quebec and many of its future actions did not endear it to wide sections of the population which had turned to commercial radio instead. Even though the renovated radio network had gained support among important sections of the population and especially the reform movement in the post-war years, this support was always qualified by concerns regarding Radio-Canada's federal allegiances. Under these conditions the future success of the public television network was not assured. Like public radio before it, public television had not emerged organically from Quebec's socio-cultural environment and would have to prove itself before it was accepted as an indigenous institution, something that the new network accomplished with impressive rapidity. Unlike the radio network, Radio-Canada television did not take a long time to distance itself from the national Corporation or to forge a distinct identity for itself. As we have seen above, an important reason for its acceptance was that by the time television came to Quebec the cause of public broadcasting had gained a substantial following among a variety of constituencies. Ultimately, the successful appropriation of the new medium by Radio-Canada producers and artisans and its use in the production of programs which resonated with the public played an important role in the acceptance of the new television network. The networks' extremely fruitful relationship with the new generation of intellectuals devoted to the cause of social renewal and political reform was yet another reason for its rapid success. Within a few years of its entry into Quebec therefore, Radio-

Canada television (except in the view of the Duplessis government and its allies) had become a prestigious broadcast institution and an integral part of Quebec's media and cultural landscape. It also proved to be an excellent medium for reworking the existing cultural idioms and new representations of society into a vibrant and modern popular culture. Yet in spite of its accomplishments, Radio-Canada television's trajectory, so brilliant and full of promise in the early years, would eventually be held back (even be distorted) by unresolved issues relating to its difficult birth and its overlapping loyalties.

Yet another reason for the federal government's hesitation regarding the form that television broadcasting would assume in Canada was its efforts to balance the pressures emanating from two strong but divergent constituencies. These were the private broadcasters and their powerful allies, who were lobbied vehemently for the creation of a commercial broadcasting system, and the supporters of public broadcasting who constituted wide sectors of the population, were articulate and well organized, and had the tradition of public broadcasting on their side. Although the private broadcasting lobby led by the Canadian Broadcaster's Association enjoyed substantial support from many powerful groups in society, including most media organizations, (public television would after all compete for audiences and advertising revenue with the large urban dailies and radio stations) by the early fifties, it would appear that the idea of public television broadcasting had gained favour with large sections of public opinion both inside and outside Quebec. (20) In addition to the Royal Commission (on the Arts, Letters and Sciences Report) which had come out in favour of the extension of the public broadcasting system, there were a large number of private individuals and social, educational, cultural and labour groups that avidly supported the cause of public television broadcasting in Canada. (21) Many of these organizations and groups, including the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Institute of Public Affairs, the Women's Institutes, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Conféderation des Travaillleurs Catholics du Québec, university teachers and support staff organizations, youth groups, the co-operative movement, lay

religious groups, even the nationalist Societé de Saint-Jean Baptiste and of course, the Canadian Public Broadcasting League, expressed strong support for the creation of a publicly funded television system. (22) In English Canada especially, public broadcasting enjoyed considerable favour. The radio network, in spite of its many problems, had been able to provide a wide range of alternative programming to the Canadian population and this was very much appreciated. (23) Most importantly, it had succeeded in merging with a growing sentiment of Canadian nationalism, and to a certain extent expressed the will and/or desire for the creation of a Canadian national identity that would be distinct from both the former British colonists and the rising American superpower south of the border. (24) In contrast to the situation in Quebec, the role of CBC radio during the war years had served to reinforce the sentiment in English-Canada that the public broadcaster had become a truly national (Canadian) institution, a genuine expression of the strivings of the Canadian people for independence and nation hood. This favourable attitude towards public broadcasting across the country, but especially in English-Canada, played no small part in the federal government's eventual decision to opt for a national public television system.

There were also political and economic aspects to Ottawa's hesitation in choosing between a public and a commercial television system for Canada. Television was an extremely expensive technology to produce and operate. A public broadcasting system would have necessitated a tremendous allocation of public resources. A completely new infrastructure for television would have to be built, including parallel systems for producing and broadcasting television programs. Given the geographic vastness of the country, the creation of a national, coast-to-coast television system, one that would be composed of not one but two language networks, would have presented a major drain on the public purse. Also, Ottawa was concerned that the modalities of financing the new television system did not alienate the private broadcasting lobby, which whatever the ultimate choice for a national television system, was still expected to play an important role in the evolution of television broadcasting in Canada. (25)

The government's problem of how to deal with the private broadcasters' demands that they not be left out of the projected television system reflected a larger dilemma, namely its divided loyalties between the capitalist logic of the larger socio-economic system and the public service ethos that had gained considerable momentum in post-war Ottawa. During this time the federal government was rapidly expanding its jurisdiction across a whole range of social, economic and cultural sectors. The federal state, always a strong presence in post-confederation Canada, was now busily involved in building the "welfare state", a much enlarged and interventionist entity whose public persona displayed the paternalism and dispassionate benevolence of post-war liberalism, but which also had the job of promoting the general interests of the capitalist system. (26)

In this context, the creation of a purely commercial television system would have been something of an anomaly. Since the principal objective of commercial broadcasting is private profit (which does not preclude the creation of good programming as certain examples of commercial radio had shown) Ottawa's opting for a commercial television system would have indicated a renunciation of the public service aspect of the new state, in addition to appearing to favour a particular segment of society, something which ran counter to the purported objective of creating a more egalitarian social climate. More importantly still, it would have deprived the expanding and increasingly interventionist federal state of the control of this powerful and extremely popular new medium. A public television broadcasting system would not only have negotiated the differences or contradictions between the various social, economic and cultural forces in society, but would have been a wonderful instrument for promoting the new post-war culture of material abundance, national pride and social harmony. It would have served as a marvelous medium for shaping the subjectivities of a rapidly changing demographic reality into a reasonably coherent national entity, and a responsible, well looked after and "well tempered" citizenry. (27)

The public service ethos that seemed to have overtaken post-war Ottawa, was related to a number of parallel issues. One of the most important was Canada's post-war ambition to become an important player on the international political scene. A related one was its on-going (and historic) struggles with national and cultural identity. We may recall that Ottawa was at this time keenly interested in finding an honorable way out of its British colonial past, while at the same time trying to avoid becoming a satellite of its powerful American neighbour. Ottawa envisioned a future for itself as a mid-sized power with a strong role to play in the international political arena, an ambition which it demonstrated by its rapid involvement in a variety of international forums and movements such as UNESCO. (28) In this context, the acquisition of a strong national image was more important than ever before, and this for both internal and external consumption. Within Canada, the interventionist state would have attempted to employ the new institutions and agencies it had created to mesh the different nations, cultures and rapidly changing demography of the country into a semblance of a coherent national identity. Moreover, this more distinctly Canadian national identity was needed to promote its international interests and projects. If Canada were to carve an important role for itself internationally, it had to do so from the basis of a strong position at home. One of the key elements in this plan was to give Canada an impressive range of cultural institutions, the range and quality of which would reflect its coming-of-age as a nation state, and which would help to elevate it to full membership among the industrialized western powers.(29) Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent expressed this desire in a speech in which he argued that Canada's cultural development was far behind its economic growth and that it behooved the Canadian state to fund cultural and educational institutions which would promote the intellectual and moral energies the world needed in the post war era. (30) It would appear, therefore, that one of the key tasks of the Canadian nation state was to provide the fatigued and morally depleted world with some of these scarce resources, while at the same time encouraging its own population to participate in the moral and intellectual uplift project that Canada was offering to the rest of the world.

It was in this larger context of a maturing but still fragile Canadian national identity, of local concerns and international ambitions that the federal government appointed the Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences in the Fall of 1949. The Royal Commission, generally known as the Massey Commission after its Chairman Vincent Massey, (also known as the Massey/Lévesque Commission in honor of its prestigious member from Quebec)) was called at a time when the question of the future shape of Canada's cultural and national identity had become an important issue for both large sections of civil society and the federal state. A concurrent issue, which was an integral part of the larger debate, was the future of broadcasting in Canada. Although the Commission's mandate, as its title suggests, was much larger than broadcasting, it is not surprising that given the importance of the issue, it became one of the most substantial aspects of its investigation. The Commission's Report was published in May 1951, after much research and numerous hearings in towns and cities throughout the country. The two-part volume which constituted the Report, examined first, the state of cultural life in Canada as it had developed to date, and then offered a series of recommendations to further develop that cultural life. The Commission's definition of culture was decidedly highbrow, although some efforts had been made to take into consideration elements of the lived culture of the people as well as those of public and commodified popular culture. Overall, there was a strong coincidence between the federal state's perceived need for development of prestigious cultural institutions and the Commission's recommendations that the Canadian state assume a much more active role in the creation of those institutions, including universities, museums, the Canada Council of the Arts, Sciences and Humanities and an expanded public broadcasting system, among others. (31)

The Commission's chapter on broadcasting focuses on the question of a single system of broadcasting for the entire country. After considering the arguments of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters for more freedom for private broadcasting initiatives, it dismissed them as pretentious and insubstantial. The Canadian Public has been well served

by the public broadcasting system, in spite of its weaknesses, argued the commissioners, as have private broadcasters who have flourished under the mixed system existing in Canada. A better, more effective broadcasting system would involve strengthening the programming, regulatory and financial powers of the public broadcaster, not weakening them. Although the Report recognized the contribution of private radio to Canadian culture, including its public-service functions in many communities across the country, it was, on the whole, very critical of the level of the programming, which it found to be very low. The high levels of advertising and the large numbers of foreign programs were also criticized. CBC radio, on the other hand, was given a much better report card, was found generally satisfactory and was even commended for having become a "source of gratification and pride" for many groups of listeners. (32) The Report, clearly inspired by a high modernist ethic, focused on the social utility functions of the public broadcaster, highlighting its more noble, altruistic aspects while ignoring some of the less attractive ones , such as its propensity to centralize and its distance from the cultural life of the popular. Public service broadcasting for the Commission meant to inform and educate, to cultivate the spirit and the mind. Ostensibly, this project of moral and intellectual uplift would be accessible to all who may have desired it, thus its universal tone. At the same time, lest they be taken as cultural snobs, the Commissioners reminded their readers that not all public radio should be about knowledge and national unity. Canadian, that is public radio, would offer its listeners new sources in the arts, letters and drama. (33) Evidently, broadcasting was a serious business, even when it tried to lighten up. It would seem that for the members of the Royal Commission, the "higher" objective of cultural uplift, (so necessary to counter the nefarious influence of private radio and its excess of popular culture) could not be forgotten, even when radio attempted to entertain rather than to strictly inform or educate.

The Commission's observations and recommendations regarding television were much more restrained than they had been for radio. Television was still a new, rather mysterious entity. The Commission was, therefore, relatively cautious and modest in its approach to

the new medium. Accordingly, it initially recommended to the government to proceed with caution. This position was later revised, however, because it was felt that unless the federal government acted fast and created east-west lines of transmission for Canadian television broadcasting, the private broadcasters would once and for all install their (north-south) lines, thus permanently depriving Canadians of their own television system. Finally, the Commissioners demonstrated a refreshing open-mindness toward the new medium. It recognized television as an unexplored political and cultural force, but one that obviously possessed tremendous potential as a cultural artifact and as a means of communication. Although they were not in a position to elaborate a great deal on this latter point, they wrote that they believed that it was quite possible for television to produce its own unique cultural and aesthetic forms. Here it is significant to note that the Commissioners argued that television was still a developing cultural form and that producers must be given maximum freedom to experiment in the most favourable conditions possible. (34)

Not surprisingly, the Commission believed that the new television system must be a continuation of the national system of broadcasting. It was also argued that television, because of its technical requirements and political and cultural potential, must be subjected to a rigorous system of controls. In addition, the Commission urged the government to properly finance the new television system and that it not be allowed to succumb to the temptations of excessive commercialism and suggested a financing scheme which would combine a licensing fee on television receivers, commercial revenues and statutory grants. Like radio, television promised to be a valuable institution of national unity, education and entertainment. But the Commissioners did speculate, not without reason, that television promised to be "a popular, as well as a persuasive medium", and suggested that ultimately it may be more appropriate to news and actualities, variety and sports than more serious music and drama programs which may be best developed by radio. (35)

The Report made another important, but not fully formed recommendation. There was an urgent need to create television programs in the French language, argued the

Commission,.. "since this continent is predominantly English-speaking, such programs in the French language be produced that will meet the interests and the needs of the French-Speaking Canadians". (36) The rather laconic tone of this recommendation is somewhat puzzling given the less than admirable record of the CBC radio network on this matter. The French-Canadian population outside Quebec had not been well served by the French network of the CBC, and this in spite of repeated requests, petitions and requests from French-Canadian organizations and individuals inside and outside Quebec. (37). Clearly, if Canada was to invest in a truly national television system, the needs of the French-Canadian communities across the country for adequate radio and television service from their public broadcaster had to be made a top priority. As it was, the future Radio-Canada television network was essentially concentrated within the confines of the province of Quebec, with all kinds of political and cultural consequences for all concerned. By the time the Royal Commission on Broadcasting released its Report in 1956, the continuing absence of adequate service to French-Canadian communities outside Quebec was found to be one of the major weakness of the "national" system". (38)

The Massey Commission's recommendations for a more activist role of the Canadian state in the promotion of Canadian culture and for a strengthened single (public) broadcasting system found a receptive environment in the governing circles in Ottawa. In many ways the Commission's recommendations were the distilled and refined articulation of the liberal modernist ethic that had gained prominence among the government and intellectual elites in Canada in the post-war period. The Liberal administration in Ottawa was planning the creation of the structures and institutions of a modern industrial power and the Commission's recommendation received a favourable hearing. Here it is important to keep in mind that in the context of the post-war world, the ethos or principle of public broadcasting was an important element of the liberal-modernist discourse. Accordingly, the new medium of communication had to be rescued from (outright) commercial exploitation and put into socially productive use.

Public television, therefore, in addition to playing an important role in the articulation of the emerging welfare state, was also important for mitigating the worst excesses of the commercial television culture that was being produced just across the border. While its supporters did not want to erect an electronic "iron curtain" across the frontier, (thus the decision to adopt the same reception technology as the United States), they also wanted to make sure that the new medium could not be exploited by commercial interests alone. While entertainment was admittedly a key function of television, it also had to be used for pedagogical purposes. Information and education along with entertainment, would thus become the "holy triad" that guided the construction of public television's program schedule. As we shall see in a later chapter, this implied a balanced, well-rounded weekly schedule, one that would respond to the interests of the various constituencies across the country but which at the same time would provide a shared framework of expectations, a unifying cultural ideal, a common base from which to construct more evolved notions of national identity and responsible citizenry under conditions of capitalist democracy.

Within 18 months of the Commission's Report, the Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent announced its policy regarding broadcasting in Canada. It accepted the Report's recommendation for a single system of Canadian Broadcasting. The government gave television licenses to CBC and private television stations, but reaffirmed the former's control over the overall system. The private stations would remain subservient carriers of a full program schedule out of CBC/Radio-Canada studios, augmented by local productions and possibly some reports from the United States. Moreover, only one television station per city was allowed until a national television network was put in place. Also the CBC exercised the right to a monopoly in large urban areas such as Montreal and Toronto. (39)

Yet despite the rhetorical posturing regarding its commitment to a fully articulated public television system, the government never provided the CBC/Radio-Canada television networks with enough funds to properly carry out their mission or to build an adequate television production and distribution system. The funds provided by the government, a

combination of statutory grants, loans and advertising revenue, (the proposed license fee having been rejected) allowed only for the construction of a skeletal chain of CBC stations across the country. (Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver) Although this situation improved later on, especially in Quebec, by the end of 1956, the country had only eight CBC owned television stations and 22 privately owned ones. (40)

In the end, the federal government's choice of a mixed public television system was "a typically Canadian compromise between the European pure public model and the American commercial system" as Alphonse Ouimet, one of the pioneers of television in Canada and a key figure in early CBC/Radio-Canada television put it. This expressed the federal state's desire not to alienate the private sector while continuing with its project of building the welfare state. (41) Taking on the private broadcasters as partners, (their television stations would serve as affiliates of the CBC/Radio-Canada television networks and carry a minimum amount of the public broadcaster's programs) while maintaining control of the overall national television broadcasting system seemed to be a good solution to both CBC/Radio-Canada's need for partners in this immense and extremely expensive project, and a good temporary appeasement of the private broadcasters. The latter were granted a good number of television licenses, free programming and the opportunity for earning handsome advertising revenues. (42) Similarly, the decision that the new television system would only be partially funded by the federal government made sure that the new public television system in Canada would not exit the orbit of the commercial nexus. The need to raise up to forty per-cent, sometimes more, of its annual budget through advertising revenue and commercial sponsorships meant that CBC/Radio Canada television programmers were never in fact completely free to act in the public interest.

Public broadcasting, especially public television, as it evolved in Canada and in Quebec, while not freed from the pressures of the instrumental logic of capitalist modernity, nevertheless created a space where the inherent tensions between the public interest and the exigencies of capital could be negotiated. Although the service of the

"public interest" on whose behalf public broadcasting bases its existence has been narrowly defined by both the legislation and CBC/Radio-Canada, there have been many examples where the networks have stretched that definition to its maximum. The television culture that emerged out of this union between capital and high-minded public service bore the imprint of both. Public television's dependence on advertising revenue, sponsorships and ratings never allowed it (as it was not supposed to) to develop a non-commercial, alternative culture. On the other hand, its public funding, legal status and institutional prestige have allowed it to minimize those pressures, to invest in the kind of cultural, informational and educational programming that have set it apart from its commercial counterpart. But it was in Quebec, where this distorted form of public television created, for a time at least, one of the most vital and popular television cultures in the western world. (43)

Public Television Arrives in Canada and in Quebec.

By the time CBC/Radio Canada television was ready to begin regular broadcasting on September 1952, the American precedent was already established. It was inevitable that CBC and Radio-Canada television programs would be compared to the American example. It was also very likely that given the much smaller resources of Canadian television and its belated start, the comparison would be negative for the locally produced programs. But the Corporation's management and its artisans, the Canadian government and large sectors of the public had already decided that Canadian television was more than ready to meet that challenge. Indeed, there was strong determination that Canadian television would be not only different but much better than its American counterpart. It was generally believed, at least by those constituencies active in the cause of public broadcasting, that American television, in spite of its attractive packaging, was ultimately bereft of educational and social values, and was a fanciful and even degenerate pastime. (44) Canadian television, on the other hand, by drawing from the local cultural traditions, the experience of CBC/Radio-

Canada radio and by selective borrowings from the best of American and European television experiences, would offer its audience quality programming in which enlightenment and entertainment would not be separated as in the American example; they would be brought together in a close and collaborative union. (45) What was more, television in Canada, by being primarily under the aegis of public broadcasting, would be able to avoid becoming a complete hostage to the commercial interests that underwrote television programming south of the border.

CBC and Radio-Canada management knew that the Canadian and the Quebec publics were eager to have their own television programs. They also knew that the television medium itself, however modest the programs, was compelling and that audiences would be ready to respond. The wide ranging public discussions and debates that had preceded and followed the decision to establish a public broadcasting system in Canada had made it abundantly clear. Also, a large number of people already owned television sets and were more than eager to begin enjoying a regular program schedule, even if that meant some of the programs were less than exceptional. The challenge of Canadian television, however, proved to be more difficult to realize in Toronto where viewers were for years picking up television programs from Buffalo. Indeed the CBC transmitter was in mid-Toronto and many of the existing antennas were south of that point. (46)

If domestic television programming had to fight for acceptance in Toronto, this was not the case for Montreal. The Quebec metropolis had a predominantly French-speaking population; 900,000 French-speaking potential viewers and 300,000 English-speaking ones. This was a major factor in favour of locally produced television programming. Also, Montreal was relatively far from American urban centres and it was more difficult to pick up American television signals. Unlike their Toronto counterparts, Montreal audiences had yet to develop strong ideas about what constituted good or interesting television programs. In the absence of the American model as a standard of measurement, they were more open to judging locally produced programs on their own merits. Another important advantage

was the existence of a well developed, media based, popular culture which made it all the more natural for people there to accept locally produced television programs. Moreover, Radio-Canada managers and producers were committed to developing non-imitative, original television programming. Their strategy was to bring together the best or the most relevant of what these other cultures and experiences had to offer and to combine them with Quebec's cultural idioms to produce a distinctly Québecois television culture. (47)

As we shall discuss in more detail below, an inseparable dimension of this television culture were its social, national and public-sphere dimensions. From the start, television was envisioned as a key instrument to the re-imagining of Quebec society as a modern, democratic and secular collectivity. The enthusiastic response of the people of Quebec to many of the television programs produced by Radio-Canada is testimony to the remarkable coincidence between the intentions of the public broadcaster and the desires of the population. In Quebec, television became much more than a medium of entertainment and edification, although it was those things as well. Radio-Canada became one of the key instruments by which an entire group of people negotiated its passage from one era to another and by which it refashioned its image as a modern and dynamic collectivity.

The preparations for the construction of a public television system in Canada and in Quebec had begun soon after the war. Although the joint CBC/Radio-Canada management had no assurances that the Canadian government would support its bid for the creation of a television system, it wanted to be in a strong position to argue its case before the government, business interests and other concerned bodies. (48) These preparations included many trips to the United States and Europe to consult with experts and study the television systems there as well as wide-ranging consultations with all kinds of experts, private individuals and representatives of social, educational and professional groups at home. (49) But as soon as the Liberal government in Ottawa announced its decision on a television system for Canada, the public broadcaster embarked on intense, even feverish preparations for the official launching of television broadcasting in the fall of 1952. The

work ahead was immense. A completely new infrastructure of television stations, transmitters and micro-wave links had to be put up. Even though the initial production facilities were to be concentrated in Montreal and Toronto, the requirements of setting up an entirely new television system composed of two separate language networks were staggering indeed. In addition to the infrastructural and technical problems, studios had to be outfitted with cameras, lights, sound systems and other equipment essential to television production, technical and production teams had to be put together and intensively trained, real television programs and program schedules had to be designed and produced. (50)

The two television production units in Toronto and Montreal put together teams of about 100 persons each. Many of these early recruits came from the respective radio services of CBC/Radio-Canada, the theater, the film industry, universities and wherever else they could be found. It appears that the English network experienced some difficulties putting together this first television team, whereas Radio-Canada happily reported the possession of an enthusiastic, talented and skilled group of initial recruits. For example, the Corporation's *Annual Report* of 1952 complained about the scarcity of qualified candidates, giving the distinct impression of having had to scrape together its first television team, while *Semaine à Radio-Canada* appeared more relaxed, even proud of its first television team, and was already featuring interviews with rookie directors before the official opening. (51) Indeed, publicity shots of this first Radio-Canada television team show small groups of intense young men (!) involved in one operation or another, keen expressions on their faces and clearly delighted to have embarked on this new adventure. Although it is unlikely that this first group of recruits was as qualified as Radio-Canada's publicity claimed, the look of confidence on their faces must have reflected the confidence and general sentiment of optimism that prevailed in the French network at this time. A typical example of this first group of Radio-Canada television recruits (and of the confidence and enthusiasm that appeared to characterize them) was Jean Yves Bingras, a 33- year old producer who had joined the Radio-Canada television team after a career in

radio and the film industry, private film and the National Film Board. In an interview with Radio-Canada's weekly magazine, *La Semaine à Radio-Canada*, Bingras waxed eloquently about his love for television. The artistic potential of the new medium was tremendous, said Bingras, for it allows not only unlimited experimentation but personal creativity and "la plus grande phantasie". (52) From our perspective, Bingra's remarks may sound somewhat naive. Given the awkwardness of early television technology it is hard to imagine how a filmmaker could be more creative with television than with a film camera. But the real issue here may not be the relative degree of creativity of these respective media, but rather the excitement and enthusiasm, indeed the thrill, that this first group of television artisans experienced in its encounter with the new medium. For them, television was a new and exciting adventure. It was also a complex technology that had to be mastered and put to work, a new visual aesthetic to be invented. Bingras' enthusiasm, therefore, was both an individual person's creative response to the new medium and a generation's collective response to the promises and challenges of the modern age. It also represented to a large degree the positive and creative approach to the new medium in Quebec from the very beginning. Television, with few exceptions, was not perceived as a foreign intruder, a technology to be feared or to be placed under strict supervision. Rather, it was seen as a new creative implement, a new medium to be quickly appropriated and put into productive use, much like the technology of radio before it. (53)

CHAPTER IV:

EMERGENCE OF RADIO-CANADA TELEVISION: YEARS OF GROWTH AND MATURITY.

Radio-Canada Television's Debut: Opening Festivities.

As the official opening of the CBFT television station was moving up closer on the calendar, the level of activity at the Radio-Canada building reached a new high. The television group now began to train very intensively, with the help of professionals brought in from a variety of backgrounds and places, including the United States and Europe. Consultations with all kinds of experts, specialists and organized groups were intensified, and several members of the team were sent abroad for extra training. (1) But above all, the team was working at learning how to operate the new technology, how to solve the major technical problems of television broadcasting and generally how to produce and broadcast a live television program. It was also important to have a stockpile of television programs on hand, for general use and for the extra programming that would be needed during the inaugural week. To this end, about 75 television programs and films were produced by the team and its collaborators and stored in kinescopes for future use. (2)

The new Radio-Canada television team was directed by four veterans of the radio-service. Alphonse Ouimet, considered by many to be the "father" of Canadian television, (and whose work on television eventually won him an international award) was a trained engineer with 16 years experience as a research engineer at Canada Television Limited. In 1936 he came to CBC/ Radio-Canada as an assistant Director General and was the key person behind the public broadcaster's planning of the television network since the end of the war. The second in command was Aurèle Séguine, Director of television in Montreal. Séguin had a long radio career at Radio-Canada, but became interested in television from an early date. In 1950, he conducted an extensive trip to Europe to study the television

systems there with the objective of contributing to the eventual design of the Radio-Canada television network. Florent Forget, the Director of Programs for television, came to the television team after a career in public administration and theater. He had also been the producer of the prestigious educational program, "Radio College", at Radio-Canada radio. Finally, Charles Frenette, the Director of technical services, also came to television after a long radio career at Radio-Canada. (3)

The excitement regarding the coming of television to Montreal was not exclusively focused on the opening ceremonies at CBFT, but had been building up for some time. Radio-Canada had seen to it that a number of opportunities be created in order to introduce the new medium to the population of Montreal in as congenial a manner as possible. These were also excellent occasions for the public broadcaster to come closer to the population, befriend it, and cultivate support for its projected television network. The first major event of this kind took place in 1951 when the new Radio-Canada building on Dorchester street was completed. The new building, housing one of the most modern and sophisticated broadcast centres in the world, was equipped with the latest radio and television technology, including three television studios. (4) A proud Radio-Canada management organized a big inaugural party, complete with a huge media splash. It also threw open its doors to the public, drawing more than 17,000 visitors in two days. Both the visitors and the media members covering the event were very impressed with what they saw, with the gleaming new television stations drawing the greatest amount of admiration.(5)

The other major event leading up to the official opening of the CBFT television station, took place at an exhibition of television and radio receivers organized by the Chambre de Commerce at the Montreal Merchandising Mart. The Radio-Canada television team had set up its booth here and it included a temporary television studio complete with television cameras, lights and a sound system. For two hours each evening, the public was treated to live and filmed programs sent over by micro-wave link from the Radio-Canada building. This week-long event drew more than 100,000 people to the Radio-Canada booth. Here,

in addition to viewing television programs, they could participate in rudimentary television programs made on the spot, have questions answered, discuss issues of concern with members of the television team, and in general take part in this new and wonderful cultural adventure that was unfolding before them. This tremendous public relations coup for Radio-Canada had a number of important elements to it. Not only was it able to demonstrate to the public what it could do with the television technology but it was able to present it in a friendly and attractive manner. Radio-Canada was thus able to introduce television to its future audiences as a highly desirable, very accessible and inclusive medium. At the same time, this provided a marvelous opportunity for the members of the television team to practice their new craft, solve technical problems and test their skills in front of a live audience. The success of this experience surpassed all expectations and Radio-Canada's weekly publication allowed for a self-congratulatory complement. "Cette experience", it wrote, "organisé par la service de télévision de Radio-Canada a permis le public de se rendre compte de l'excellence de ce nouveau médium qu'est la télévision". (6)

The first official CBC/Radio-Canada television broadcast took place in Montreal on Sept 6, 1952. This was not the first time, however, that people in the city had seen television programs broadcast out of CBFT's studios. Radio-Canada television had attempted its first broadcasts earlier in the summer with the showing of two programs. The first, a baseball game, was broadcast in July and the second, a children's program featuring puppets, in August. (7) The official broadcast in September was a bilingual, bi-cultural affair. This was a temporary arrangement until a second transmitter could be put into place, so that the two language networks could broadcast on separate channels. Until such time, the single transmitter located on top of Mount-Royal had to be shared by both networks. The broadcasting on September 6, therefore, started in French and alternated between French and English for the rest of the schedule. Attending the inauguration ceremonies, were all the CBC/Radio-Canada brass led by Chairman Davidson Dunton. The Prime Minister of Canada, Louis St.Laurent, accompanied by senior cabinet ministers, called the

inauguration of the Montreal station a "significant event in the history of the country. This new service will undoubtedly bring much to entertain and interest you... It should contribute to the full development of an enriched family and national life in Canada". (8)

The first program, a newsreel, started at 7:30 p.m. In true live-television fashion, it was able to offer the first public announcement of a hostage-taking event that was going on in downtown Montreal. At 8:00 p.m. a bilingual variety show preceded a documentary film about Montreal. At 8:55 p.m. there were interviews along with the ceremonial inaugural program from the lobby of the Radio-Canada building. The evening program ended with "Kaleidoscope", a film program about television. It was followed by Jean Cocteau's "Oedipus Rex" in French produced by Georges Groulx. (9) As always, Radio-Canada was anxious to derive the full public relations benefits from the inaugural celebrations of its television network. The public was clearly smitten with television but still no effort was spared to further cultivate that sentiment and tie it all the more closely to the public broadcaster. On the occasion of its first official broadcasting week, CBFT offered the population in Montreal special programming all week long as well as the opportunity to go down to the television studios in the Radio-Canada building and watch the miracle of television being created live. (10)

The weekly schedule, 18 hours long, was established in a fairly stable pattern within a few weeks of the station's opening. Keeping in line with CBC/Radio-Canada policy that Canadian television programming was to be a distinctive mix of informational, entertainment and educational programs reaching out not to a mass audience but to specific audience groups of different backgrounds, ages, and tastes, CBFT had attempted, even in these early days, to offer a program mix with something for everyone. CBC/Radio-Canada executives had rejected outright the American model of a mass television audience and had made every effort to design programs for a diversity of publics and tastes, making in the process some assumptions that may have been born out by reality, and sometimes not. (11) As one of the Directors of television at CBFT noted, "..la télévision doit se préocuper des

publics les plus divers...les gouts du public peuvent etre contradictoire; musique, sports, travelogue,... et les couturiers interesseront sans aucune doute presque toutes les spectatrices". (12)

In keeping with the public broadcaster's program philosophy the television schedule offered a wide variety of programs ranging from sports to children's, drama, women's interest, quiz and game shows, news and public affairs, educational programs, travelogues, classical music and opera as well as light entertainment and variety shows. (13) There was also an effort to blend the genres. One English variety show called, "Sing out the News" on Tuesday evenings was very popular. It was followed by "March of Time", the American documentary series. Another popular early program was the bistro-style variety program, "au Café des artistes" later renamed "au p'tit café", featuring local and European song and music.Yet another popular program was the quiz show, "le nez de Cléopatra", an off-beat blend of wit, serious and less serious questions, all in the company of charming personalities from the cultural and media milieu in Montreal. On Friday evenings, the first "Téléjournal" broadcast took place. The Saturday evening schedule was designed around the first of the "Hockey Night" live broadcasts, a program offering which proved to be as popular and durable as the téléroman. (14)

The public's reception of the first generation of Radio-Canada television programs remains to be fully explored. What we do know about it, however, permits us to think that it was a keenly interested and supportive public, but at the same time one that could be critical of the new network's program fare and the direction it seemed to be taking. It was certainly a public that felt it was involved and sought out even more involvement in the future. It was also an activist public, one which took every opportunity to communicate its opinions and interests to the network. One clue of the early outlines of this relationship was provided by Alphonse Ouimet's speech to the Advertising and Sales Club of Montreal in late October, 1952. He told his audience that Radio-Canada had received 17,000 phone calls since television broadcasting begun in September of that year. These calls, which

were augmented by letters and personal visits to the Radio-Canada building, revealed a public which was both sympathetic and critical of CBFT's program fare. Ouimet noted that many of the phone calls were critical, of various aspects of programming, but mostly they were extremely encouraging. At the same time, they expressed a keen interest in the future of television broadcasting. Ouimet went on to say that the network had placed most of its resources in the building of the television broadcasting infrastructure and the technical mastery of the new medium. He admitted that although most of the programs were excellent technically, many of them lacked artistic merit and promised that raising the production level of its programs was the next top priority of the network. (16) Clearly what had taken place between the new television network and its audience/public during these first months of television broadcasting was a re-adjustment of a relationship whose terms until now had been more or less dictated by the public broadcaster. In its sympathetic but critical response, the audience was giving "its" television network notice that while it remained an enthusiastic supporter of Radio-Canada's programming efforts, it was far from being a passive or even a grateful audience. It most certainly was not a "captive" one. (17)

Developments in the months following Radio-Canada television's inaugural ceremonies were rapid and extremely encouraging. Within a few weeks of its official launch, the French network's production facilities were put into full use and by the new year, CBFT was able to increase both the quantity and, as Alphonse Ouimet had promised, the quality of its programs. Some of the programs added to the weekly schedule were, an afternoon program designed for the middle class housewife, with the suggestive title, "Réve Réalite". several newsmagazine and public affairs programs including "Carrefour", "Conference de pressse", and carried over from the radio and now in simulcast, "Les idées en marche". There was also, "Science en pantoufles" the first of a series of popular educational programs written and produced by Fernand Séguin, a trained scientist, university professor and one of early Radio-Canada television's most creative and charismatic figures. Also,

history was in the making, and it was in the first television installment of the radio dramatic series, "la familial Plouffe" by Roger Lemelin. The radio series had enjoyed a large following but in its transformation into a television dramatic series (or more appropriately a téléroman) it became an instant and immense success, thus setting the stage for a television tradition that Radio-Canada would call towards the end of the decade, the "backbone" of its program schedule. (18) A new play by the well- known and much admired Québécois playwright, Gratien Gélinas, inaugurated Radio-Canada television's theatrical series, "Télé-Théatre", which showcased some the best contemporary plays, from both at home and abroad. (19) All these new additions had, by early 1953, increased the original program schedule of 18 hours a week to more than 30 hours. Since its opening, the Montreal station had presented 1,430 program's representing 841:15 hours of broadcast time. Most of this admittedly impressive number of programs had been produced at Radio-Canada's Montreal television studios. The remainder of the schedule was filled with some American and British television programs, a few programs from the Toronto studios, plus several films produced by the National Film Board. (20)

One of the central arguments of the need for public television broadcasting in Canada was in regards to its ability to contain, if not entirely bypass, the commercial pressures which had, it was argued, transformed American television into a veritable money machine. (21) Among the many tasks that public television in Canada was given by the various constituencies that supported it, was that of a cultural institution, an agent of social change, the ability to mediate between the interests of capital and those of citizenship. One of the ways public television would accomplish the latter task was by using the funding provided by the state, (or raised by combined statutory grants, license fees and sales of its programs) in order to produce programming that was relatively free from commercial pressures. Indeed both CBC/Radio-Canada management and the Board of Governors, however lenient in their dealings with private interests, (their generosity with the private affiliates is ample proof of this) were seriously concerned that television programs do not become

"excessively commercialized". (22) This, however, pre-supposed sufficient funding from the federal government and/or other sources. As we have seen above, in spite of its rhetorical posturing the federal government did not provide this minimum requirement to the public broadcaster. While it is true that CBC/Radio-Canada's programming philosophy was very expensive to produce, this was not something that had grown in opposition to the government's wishes. Paradoxically, or appearing to be so, government funding became increasingly scarce as the public broadcaster prospered and expanded and its financial needs grew. (23) The Corporation was forced to raise increasingly large portions of its income through commercial revenue, something that clearly jeopardized its avowed commitment to non-commercial broadcasting. As it was, by mid-decade, the broadcaster found itself seriously underfunded (by the government) and was forced to raise 3, 250,000 million dollars of its revenues from advertising and other commercial endeavours. (24)

The Radio-Canada television network was as touched by the federal government's increasing tightfisted policies as was the English Network. Possibly more, because, although the two language networks received approximately the same global budget, Radio-Canada produced a larger number of its programs than did the CBC. (25) In the early fifties, public television was still not heavily commodified. In 1953 most of CBFT's programs (77.1%) were self-sustaining. That is, the network carried the cost for their production and broadcast, with the remainder, 22,9% commercially sponsored. This balance would change dramatically over the course of the decade, as the network had to raise an increasing amount of its production costs. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that in the battle to limit the pressures of the marketplace, the public broadcaster did put up a good fight during these early years. The management of the French network especially, was jealously guarding its prerogative to protect its programs from excessive or unsuitable demands made by advertisers and sponsors. Often it was the producer of the program in question that had to broker an acceptable compromise between the advertiser or sponsor

and television executives. As Guy Parent, one of the first generation of producers at Radio-Canada has written, a producer had to work hard to obtain the consent of high-minded executives, who, in spite of the network's increasing financial difficulties, were as likely to reject a lucrative sponsorship than to accept it. (26) News and public affairs programs in particular, the most obvious and prestigious public service of public broadcasting, were considered to be off-limits to commercial exploitation. Protecting television's sacred public trust did mean, however, that television executives had to spend a considerable amount of time raising the funds for their enterprise. Alphonse Ouimet's public relations talk at the Advertising and Sales Club in Montreal of which we spoke above, was an early example of an increasingly necessary activity if the public broadcaster was to carry out its public service mission.

One of the central attractions of public broadcasting in Canada was its potential as a unifying, nation-building force. The addition of television to the public broadcasting system was meant to reinforce those tendencies. Yet Canadian television, in spite of its other achievements, did not succeed in bringing closer the various elements, especially the two dominant cultures, of the country. On the contrary, television seemed to accentuate, rather than diminish, the differences between them. The existence of two language television networks and production centres in Montreal and Toronto was meant to help bridge the gap between Quebec and English Canada. The two networks were part of a single public broadcasting corporation, and as such were expected to be routinely involved in common projects including exchanges of ideas and programs. In order to hasten this collaboration, the corporation was keen to have the television station in Ottawa built as soon as possible. The station in Ottawa, the physical symbol of the aspired unity between French and English Canada, would be used as a relay station by providing a micro-wave link between the stations in Montreal and in Toronto. This would permit the direct exchange of programs, something which the corporation hoped would increase with the passage of time. (27)

This hope or expectation did not materialize. Once again the federal government had to discover that the new technologies could not in themselves compensate for history, politics and cultural difference. (28) Although a number of programs were exchanged between the two stations (the popular variety show "Music Hall" was one successful example) this proved to be the exception rather than the rule. An effort to promote exchange through kinescope, or television recordings, did not amount to very much. As CBC veteran and media historian, Sandy Stewart, has written about this Canadian historic dilemma, there was little reciprocity between the Montreal and the Toronto television stations, with the latter proving to be the least co-operative of the two. While Radio-Canada bought several productions from the Toronto station, Toronto never reciprocated. (29)

Early on there appeared to be some key differences in the respective approaches of CBC and Radio-Canada television programming. The television team in Montreal seems to have been much more determined to create a distinctive television culture than their Toronto counterparts. The Toronto producers, although genuinely committed to public television's mission to create a non-commercial, Canadian alternative to American television operated under conditions which tended to undermine this key goal of the Canadian television system. One obvious reason is the cultural proximity of English Canadian culture, or certain elements of it, to American culture. Television producers in Toronto were also predisposed to the American television idiom through their relationship of proximity and repeated exposure to it. A case in point of the closer contact between English-Canada and the United States is that the CBC's, CBMT, station in Toronto was linked by micro-wave to the Buffalo television station before it was linked to Montreal. (30) Another reason for the Toronto producer's attraction to American television is that they operated in a different socio-cultural context than the CBFT producers. In contrast to Quebec, post-war English Canada was still trying to mould a cultural and national identity for itself. As we have seen. many of the cultural policies and institution building undertaken by the federal state during this time was a concerted attempt to redress this problem. Also, the first generation of

television artisans in Montreal was moved and inspired by social and political imperatives that were only minimally developed in English Canada. The combined result of these differences was that it took much longer for CBC television to invent a distinct identity for itself, whereas at Radio-Canada this happened from the beginning. One example of this cultural difference between the two stations was that the producers in Toronto were always attempting to dress up their television programs in the garb of entertainment. This tendency became particularly evident in a number of public affairs programs, notably "Tabloid" and "Close-Up", where discussion of social and political issues was handled with a light touch, and where the producers did not hesitate to resort to all sorts of on or off camera gimmicks and attention-grabbing devices in order to bolster their show's ratings. (31)

Although the Toronto producers did not always get away with their showbiz antics (nor were all assiduously committed to American-style television) there was a general tendency to promote television primarily as an entertainment medium. While attention getting devices such as charm, personality, and the "light touch" were not completely rejected by Radio-Canada, in fact the local supper-hour newsmagazine "Carrefour" used a panoply of such seductive means to attract and keep its audiences, the more overt attention-grabbing devices were rejected for a more subtle, less extravagant style. (32) Public affairs programs especially, were approached with a certain gravity and simplicity. Most of these programs, privileged content over form, substance of discussion over anecdote and seriousness of purpose over the care-free, debonair style that was favoured by many producers in Toronto. The temptation of a number of producers and television personalities, including René Lévesque, to introduce a greater amount of the American flair to their public affairs programs was rejected by executive producers who may have been open to a good measure of improvisation, even experimentation, but had little tolerance for mimicry and self-indulgent behavior. (33) Radio-Canada executives already had a large uphill battle to produce and broadcast serious discourse in the hostile political context of the Duplessis

regime. They were not likely to jeopardize important, and for the times, politically risky, programs like "Point de mire" by indulging in unnecessary attention-grabbing devices. (34)

Yet another divisive issue between the Montreal and Toronto stations was that the producers at CBMT thought that they had a thing or two to teach their colleagues in Montreal regarding television production. This was deeply resented by Radio-Canada personnel who believed, in fact knew, that they were perfectly capable of creating television programs without being overseen by their anglophone "big brothers". These divergences in approach to programming as well as the attempts of the English network to supervise the work of Radio-Canada, were not new developments but, as we shall see, reflected a history of deep and divergent differences between the two networks. The French network was often treated in a patronizing manner by the English network, a behavior that further reinforced Radio-Canada's strong autonomist tendencies. As long-time CBC staffer Neil Morrison has written, "naturally, francophone Quebeckers wanted to run their own show and to report and reflect their own society and resented any attempts to interfere or control by the anglophones." (35)

As we have seen, one of the distinctive attitudes of Radio-Canada to television was that the Montreal management was determined not to be overly influenced by prevailing television fashions elsewhere. Although the members of the television team were extremely interested in learning from the experiences of television systems in other countries, they certainly did not want to imitate any of them, especially the one south of the border. In contrast to the English network, the managers of CBFT did not seem unduly worried that most of their producers had seen very few, if any, television programs before embarking to make their own. This was an integral part of Radio-Canada's policy that it should develop its own style and techniques to solve its own problems. (36) The impression, however, that Radio-Canada was hermetically sealed from any outside influences or experience would be misleading. As we have seen, most of the directors of television at Radio-Canada had made several trips abroad to study and learn from television experiences there. Also, a

number of producers, including Jean-Paul Pailleur, hired for the fledgling "Téléjournal" in 1952, were sent to New York to study production techniques. (37) In addition, there were certain things about the medium of television, the state of the technology in the early days, as well as the precedent that other television cultures had established, that made it impossible to ignore or reject what was being done elsewhere. For example Radio-Canada's daily, even weekly schedule, was not an innovation, but rather a result of the production possibilities at the time, plus already established rules about what programs should be placed where on the schedule. (although the necessity to produce almost all of its programs, and thus less beholden to American popular programs than the English network, did increase its freedom or flexibility on this matter) Accordingly, news programs were broadcast in the early and late evening hours, children's programs in the mornings and Saturdays, programs destined for women in the afternoon, variety and drama in the evening. Similarly Radio-Canada, along with the CBC, borrowed extensively from the American and the British experience in news, public affairs and light entertainment programming. However, it innovated more in variety, dramatic, educational and children's programming. For example, the téléroman, although originally "borrowed" from radio where it had developed into a highly sophisticated art form, evolved within a few years into one of the most distinctive, and popular, television forms or genres on Radio-Canada's schedule. But even in the case of those programs where it borrowed heavily from elsewhere, Radio-Canada producers brought their own particular flair and style. For example the public affairs program, "Point de mire", and the mixed genre, (public affairs and travelogue) "Pays en merveille", were like their counterparts elsewhere as well as uniquely local creations. Similarly, the newsmagazine, "Carrefour", both resembled its "Tabloid" counterpart on the English network and was distinctively a product of francophone Montreal. What seems to be a more accurate interpretation of Radio-Canada's legendary aloofness, (other than the myth of its uniqueness that has been cultivated by the network and the passage of time) is that the executives and producers did not want to be

overtly influenced by television practices elsewhere. This did not mean that they neglected to follow development in television elsewhere and help themselves to liberal doses of borrowing if the occasion suited them, and this especially as the decade progressed. It did mean, however, that they were seriously committed to creating programming that in its style and content was, as far as possible, unique to the French network. In order to accomplish this, they focused on developing television programming that was closely related to Quebec's own traditions and cultural heritage, including its flourishing popular culture. At the same time they wanted to produce programs that articulated and promoted the political and socio-cultural enterprise of the modernizing reform movement. As we shall see, the managers of the television network were moderate nationalists and modernists. Also, the men and women who went to work for Radio-Canada television in its beginnings belonged, for the most part, to the rising generation of intellectuals, artists, journalists, labour and political activists who were anxious to bring about changes in Quebec's political and social arrangements. For them the new medium represented a welcome opportunity to break free from what they felt to be the prison of tradition, outdated political structures and social injustice. (38) It is one of those paradoxes in history that the most ardent supporters of public broadcasting were to be found not so much in English Canada, the "home' of public broadcasting, but in Quebec, which had a long and difficult history with it.

The following two years, 1954-55, were important years of expansion for the entire CBC/Radio-Canada television system; a rate of growth which was unmatched in any other country according to the corporation's own publicity. (39) This growth, which was accompanied by a spectacular demand for television sets, (by 1956, 2 million sets had been sold in Canada) was reflected in the extension of the television schedule; 40-45 hours of programming on the English network, 55% of which was locally produced, and 34-40 hours of programming on the French network, 80% of which was produced at the Montreal station. CBFT's major program innovations during these years were in the téléroman and in theatrical productions. A new téléroman, "14 rue de Galais" (by André

Giroux) was launched with considerable success. The new téléroman, in contrast to the large working class Plouffe family, was more representative of the small, nuclear middle class family unit that was in the process of emerging in Quebec. The new series was much less concerned with the everyday, survival aspects to modern urban existence than the Plouffes, with the intrigue focusing much more closely on the emotional trials and tribulations of individual members. (40) A new theater series, "Théatre Populaire" was introduced and a new play by Radio-Canada's "house" playwright, Marcel Dubois, "Chambre à louer" headed the season's lineup. Also, since the occasional women's interest program, "Reve, Réalité" had proved to be quite popular with the audiences, and its producers decided to make it a more regular feature of the afternoon schedule. This weekly afternoon program, featuring the usual assortment of items for women (chat, fashion, household tips and childrearing) was hosted by Jacques Normand.(41)

In the summer of 1954, André Ouimet, the manager at CBFT and Fernand Guérand, the new director of television programming at the station, left for a month-long trip to Europe. (42) The purpose of their trip (in addition to the pleasures of a European vacation) was to study developments in television there, participate in exchanges with their counterparts in a number of different countries and ultimately use their findings in thinking about the further institutional and program evolution of Radio-Canada television. Upon their return to Montreal the two television executives reported that they were extremely pleased with the progress of Radio-Canada television to date. Compared with what was being accomplished by public broadcasters in Europe, Radio-Canada could indeed congratulate itself for its achievements, even though it still had things to learn about television from leading broadcast experts like the BBC. The two executives were also quite impressed with the work that was being accomplished by Italian television but were extremely disappointed by the state of television in France. They were particularly appalled by the slowness in the development of French television, finding that it possessed neither technical sophistication nor variety or excellence of programming. In their attempt to

understand the reasons for the woeful state of television in France, the two Radio-Canada executives made some interesting (and highly revealing) observations about the television systems and cultural idiosyncrasies of the countries they have just visited. They supposed that the combination of French psychology and a rich, even dense, ambient culture did not encourage the rapid development of mediated forms of communication and culture. This interesting observation (which does not ask the question of why television developed to such an impressive level of sophistication in a country like Britain which did have a rich and complex ambient culture) was complemented by some additional speculations about the differences between North America and Europe, both in terms of general cultural development and the state of television broadcasting. For example they found that television in North America was on the whole more technically sophisticated but that television in Europe was more developed as an art and cultural form. They noted, not without some envy, that television in Europe was less commercial than television in North America, and that public broadcasters there, unlike CBC/Radio-Canada, less beholden to the wishes of advertisers and sponsors. This allowed the Europeans, they pointed out, a greater degree of freedom to experiment, to try out new ideas, to do things differently, like having programs that run up to two or three hours and are free of commercial breaks. (43)

For the first five to six years of its existence, Radio-Canada television was basically confined to the province of Quebec. Although the federal government had promised the allocation of funds to build a national French television network, by the time of the Fowler Commission in 1956, French-Canadian communities outside Quebec were very poorly served by a number of CBC/Radio-Canada affiliate stations. (44) As the many representations to the Fowler Commission made clear, French-Canadian minorities outside Quebec were becoming very critical of the poor service they were getting and demanded that the federal government make sufficient funding available so that a truly national television service in the French language could be constructed. (45) In spite of the numerous representations on behalf of the extension of the French network and the Fowler

Report's criticism of the federal government and the CBC on this issue, the problem was not quickly corrected. As late as 1958, C.D.Rouillard, a professor of French at the University of Toronto, wrote that many French-Canadian communities in Ontario were still deprived of service in the French language and that it was unfair to expect French Canadians living outside Quebec to be content with the existing situation while English Canadians were able to enjoy the full benefits of public broadcasting in their own language. Why, asked the professor, is it always the French-Canadians who have to make the make the compromises on the language issue? He went on to suggest that a fuller service in the French language would enhance the cause of bilingualism, and hence of Canadian unity, especially with the younger generation. (46)

The production and diffusion centre of all French programming in the early years was the Radio-Canada television station, CBFT in Montreal. Slowly, other stations were added to the network, beginning with the station in Ottawa, (CBOF-Canal 9), Sherbrooke, (CHLT), Rimouski, (CJBR-TV) and Jonquière, (CKRS-TV). On September 1957, these stations were connected by microwave forming a network which brought television to 80% of the population in Quebec. The Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec stations were owned outright by Radio-Canada, while the rest of the network was constituted by private stations affiliated to the public broadcaster. The program schedule of the Quebec stations and the affiliates was filled mostly with programs produced at CBCT (which the affiliates received for free) with the remainder produced locally, (typically, light variety, chat and local news) or bought from the United States. Most of the locally produced programs highlighted local culture, interests and tastes, such as country and western music and dancing, storytelling and comedy. (47) The Quebec and Ottawa stations produced a much larger proportion of their own programs, which included in addition to those highlighting local culture and traditions, news, newsmagazine and variety programs. (48.)

Confined almost exclusively to the province of Quebec, the French television network was also an isolated one, a kind of appendage to the national network with which it had a

complex and difficult relationship. In the mid fifties, CBC management attempted to create a truly national service by pulling a good number of Montreal and Toronto producers and managers to the new CBC/Radio-Canada Headquarters in Ottawa. The creation of the Headquarters was also meant to serve two related purposes. On the one hand it was to create a new, more neutral focal point for the Corporation that was removed from the two contending production and cultural centres of Montreal and Toronto. On the other, management would be able to more tightly control radical influences emanating from producers and other creative staff. This strategy did not result in much success, however. As had been the case with the radio networks of the CBC, the two television networks were really two systems; one English, directed from Toronto, and the other French, run from Montreal. As it turned out, the Ottawa headquarters developed into a massive bureaucracy against which executives and producers from both Montreal and Toronto had to fight for their administrative and artistic autonomy. Also, since the real production centres remained in Montreal and Toronto, the "Kremlin" (as the Ottawa bureaucracy came to be known) had little direct influence on the everyday decisions and practices of the two "sister" networks. This would be true especially of CBFT, which regularly had to remind management in Ottawa of its acquired rights to autonomy. (49)

For the most part, however, it seems that Ottawa was willing to go along with Radio-Canada's autonomist stance. Until the 1958 Radio-Canada producer's strike in Montreal, it appears as if Ottawa was quite content to let the Montreal station go its own way, occasionally firing off missives about how Radio-Canada television should enlarge its national programming and should have more items about Canadian events and issues in its news and public affairs programs. (50) Also, Ottawa did not appear to be too unhappy to see the Duplessis regime be challenged by Radio-Canada journalists and their invited guests. There was little love lost between the Liberal administration in Ottawa and the Duplessis regime in Quebec City. Although the public broadcaster was not an appendage of the federal government (at least not at this time) there was a natural affinity between the

liberal/modernist managers of CBC/Radio-Canada and the Liberal administration of Louis St. Laurent. Until the election of a Conservative government in Ottawa under the leadership of John Diefenbaker in 1957, there appeared to be a loose consensus between the federal government and the CBC regarding the general aims and purposes of public broadcasting. This consensus included the reformist, modernizing and neo-nationalist impulses of Radio-Canada television. The sudden, lengthy and acrimonious labour conflict involving the striking producers and management at the Montreal station in late 1958, ended the somewhat aloof, but reasonably amicable relationship between the Ottawa headquarters and Radio-Canada. One of the major consequences of the strike, as we shall see, was the radicalization of the majority of its staff. Before the strike, the national ambitions of many reformers in Quebec could still be envisioned within the parameters of a federal system. After the strike, a large majority of the reformist/modernizing forces, including many members of the Radio-Canada personnel, began to think that a nation-state for Quebec was the only way that their reform and national project could be fully realized. (51)

Years of Growth and Maturity:

The troubles of 1958 were still in their gestating, invisible stage when the two Radio-Canada television executives returned from their European trip. As far as they (and most of their colleagues) were concerned the future of television in Quebec was bright and problem free. In many ways they were right. The years following the summer tour of 1954 were full of growth, optimism, and network expansion. The French network really began to take off when CBFT became a separate, completely French station, and a comprehensive program schedule in French could finally be designed. From here on the rate of growth was very impressive, with the French network adding about 10 hours of programming to its schedule each year. In 1955 Radio-Canada television produced about fifty hours of programming. In 1957 it produced 66 hours. By 1961, it was up to 84 hours a week. (52) This was a remarkable quantity of output by any standard, and it is important to keep in mind that it was produced with a relatively small amount of money and an insufficient

number of people. While Radio-Canada television received about one half of CBC television's budget, it produced over 80 % of its programming as compared with 50% for the CBC. Also noteworthy is the fact that as late as 1961, 75 % of Radio-Canada's programs were live! As two people who were part of these years of expansion and creative maturity have written, Radio-Canada television did far too much with far too few resources. (53) The real costs of this impressive record were born by the people who worked for the public broadcaster. They paid with their idealism, health, their youthful exuberance, and sometimes, with their own money. (54) These personal costs were, of-course balanced out by the opportunity to live through and contribute to one of the most remarkable cultural and social phenomena in Quebec's history. Whatever our conclusion on the balance between the costs and gains for this first group of television artisans, there is no doubt that the achievements of Radio-Canada television could not have been accomplished without the commitment, talent and energy of a whole generation of young people who, historical conjecture would have it, were available just as they were needed the most!

The years of 1955-1957 in particular were among the most creative and productive in the young network's trajectory. Radio-Canada was growing and maturing as a public broadcaster and as a social and cultural institution. Similarly this was one of the most fertile periods for program development. During this time, Radio-Canada television made an important leap in the range and quality of its programming, innovated and refined its practice of television, introduced important new programs and continued its search for a specifically Québécois (but at the same time universal) language of television. It was during these years of expansion and relative internal stability that most of the major television genres were introduced and developed and a more complete and well articulated weekly schedule was put into place. These extremely positive developments were counterbalanced, as we shall see, by an insidiously expanding bureaucracy, the estrangement of production and managerial staff and the waning of the initial spirit of energy and idealism that had

propelled the young French network into one of the most vibrant and creative television broadcasters in North America.....and quite possibly the western world.

This second phase of Radio-Canada's early development was highlighted by the maturing of a specifically televisual aesthetic form and cultural practice. The early years of television practice had produced programs that were extremely simple in concept and format. They had also produced various experiments with television like the creation of a ballet, Variations *en blanc* , that had no music, soloist or decor. The intention of this piece, according to the network's publicity, was the depiction of dance in its pure form! (55) But apart from this and other similar efforts at artistic expression, most programs (apart from theatrical productions) were and looked like radio programs with pictures. This was both because many of the early television programs had begun their careers on the radio, the inexperience of the production staff as well as the complex and still unmastered nature of television. We may even safely assume that many of the early television programs were inferior to their radio counterparts. By the time television entered the scene, radio had developed into a highly sophisticated cultural form, a status that television had to work long and hard to acquire, possibly never developed to the extent of radio at its height. Nevertheless, television, in spite of its awkward, even primitive, early countenance was novel and alluring, a new technology and cultural form to be mastered by its practitioners, the carrier of modernity, novelty and progress to its audience. (56)

Gradually, as the technology was mastered and became easier to use and as producers became more confident and capable, a more methodical, less survivalist approach to television production and experimentation developed. Producers begun to innovate in a much more self-conscious manner and became more realistic about both the possibilities and limitations of the medium of television. Similarly, the vague idealism of the early years which had led young producers like Jean-Yves Bingras to declare their "passion" or "belief" in television was replaced by the more measured and somber observations of, by now, more experienced producers like Louis Georges Carrier. (57) In an interview about

the upcoming production of *Romeo and Juliette* , Carrier spoke knowingly and intelligently about the difficulties of television with classical dramatic productions like the one he was working on, and its greater affinity for realistic drama like Dubé's *Chambre à louér.* He also pointed out the medium's difficulties in creating subtle emotional states, its craving for detail and its ability to create an intimate kind of visual poetry, but its limitations with the depiction of metaphor or intellectual concepts and abstract ideas. (58)

The acquisition of competence with the new medium meant not only becoming knowledgeable about how to use the technology to get the desired results or constantly working at improving existing genres like the variety show, but generating new ideas about programs that would be practical and successful at the same time. Being practical in the context of a public television network in the fifties meant the conception and production of programs that would be new and interesting, acceptable to executive producers, advertisers and sponsors and, of course, pleasing to the audience. This decidedly tall order was considered a normal part of a producer's responsibilities and he (for production was as we shall see almost exclusively male territory) had to juggle with all of these aspects of producing a successful television program. Moreover, as the decade progressed and as the network's financial worries increased, getting the co-operation or approval of advertisers and sponsors and keeping a program's ratings as high as possible became an important consideration in the creation of television programming. (59)

The case of Guy Parent, one of the most prolific producers at Radio-Canada television in the fifties, provides an excellent illustration of these developments. Parent, like many of his fellow producers, came to television with little experience in media or related arts. His apprenticeship at the network was extremely arduous but fruitful and within a few years he had produced a large number of programs, some quite successful, others less so. (60) Among the first group was the educational program *C'est la loi* , which discussed various aspects of the law. The program was structured around an acted sketch followed by discussion and/or interview with an invited legal expert. (61) The critical and popular

success of this program inspired the development of a similar program, *C'est la vie*, with Parent as the main producer. (62) The subject of this program was the exploration of various professions, traditional and newer ones, created by the post-war economy. *C'est la vie* which had used the sketch and interview/discussion format of the earlier program, begun to slide on the ratings and management gave notice that it would be taken off the air unless there was an improvement. Parent and his colleagues worked hard to come up with a winning formula that would be pleasing to advertisers and acceptable to the public service concerns of the executive producers. (63) After considerable deliberation it was decided to jettison the sketch-interview format and to blend the two in one integral half-hour program. This new format had more of a "showbiz" quality to it than its predecessor, as it attempted to present the educational content of the program in an entertaining package. Or to use the terminology of the producers at Radio-Canada television, a really good "show". (64)

The creation and the selling of this new program concept to the advertisers and executive producers of Radio-Canada television is instructive for the changes that were taking place within and outside the network. The redesigned *C'est la vie* was sold to the advertisers only after Parent, at a meeting with network executives and representatives of the advertising agencies, promised them a rapid increase in their ratings (something that he was able to deliver on). Afterwards, Parent was criticized by the Radio-Canada executives attending the meeting for his "selling" of an educational program produced by the public affairs department, as though it were just another commodity. At the same time he was taken to task for his increasing attraction to more commercial, to wit "American", styles of television. This lingering (and to his mind ultimately impotent) insistence by management that public service programs be protected from commercial interests, and above all, that they do not become "shows", found little sympathy with Parent who by now had become a highly skilled and seasoned producer. This meant, among other things, that he had come to accept the ratings game and the "showbiz" as integral elements to the success, and hence the survival, of television programs.

In a certain sense television had come of age in Quebec. It was not only the producers at CBC television who had been converted to the American-inspired, "showbiz" aspects of television. The producers at Radio-Canada, albeit in a more subtle, less imitative fashion, were also discovering the appeal of a more flamboyant, less somber approach to television production. Moreover, the appeal of the American inspired showbiz idiom, especially in relation to public affairs and educational programs, was not new in Quebec. We have seen how some producers and journalists (René Lévesque and Fernand Séquin among others) had, from time to time, attempted to introduce a certain flair or even "sex-appeal" to their programs, even though this was not always met with the approval of management. (65) Through the fifties there was an ongoing debate at CBC/Radio-Canada television regarding the right mix of entertainment, information and education within and across the genres. (66) In Quebec, questions of taste and moral rectitude may have been even more important than at the English network. Here, the network did not only have to worry about the ready vigilance of the Church and State in these matters, but the public as well. The latter seemed to be more accepting of transgressions from private media than from the public broadcaster, which was expected to keep up its dignity and good standing at all times. (67) In the struggle for ratings and audience's attention, however, many of the initial reservations on the part of management gave way, starting with programs like the early evening newsmagazine *Carrefour*, where an attractive team of male and female journalists, successfully tested the boundaries between news, information, entertainment, and the subtle arts of audience seduction. (68) What is more, the appeal of showbiz was not restricted to the audience and artisans of television programs. Reportedly, Alphonse Ouimet himself, was quite taken with this more sexy, less dour idea of television, and for a while, at least, became something of a showman, declaring that one of the worst sins that television could commit was to be dull. (69) The unique and popular television culture that was being created in Quebec in the fifties, therefore, inevitably came to include elements of the universal culture of television, including the commercially driven one south of the

border. In contrast to the standard accounts of the first decade of Radio-Canada's history, the network did not evolve and develop its distinct identity and unique program schedule in isolation from the commercial, cultural and socio-political pressures that characterized North American capitalist modernity during this time.

The gradual acceptance of those aspects of television that were originally considered to be antithetical to the public service mission of public broadcasting (that is concern with ratings, the increasing influence of the corporate sector in programming decisions and the attraction of American inspired formulas and models) were born part by necessity, part of the attraction of the American television idiom, and part of the continuing search for television styles and genres that could be successful with audiences and please management, sponsors and advertisers, all at the same time. It was crucial that all these elements be addressed in the making of program decisions, because public television had to raise an increasingly large part of its production costs and although its program philosophy, and mandate, continued to dictate the production of a large variety of programs, the ratings system (which was operative from the beginning but became a key factor in programming decisions in the second half of the decade) necessarily limited the full development of the network's public service role. (70)

At the same time these constraints did not prevent Radio-Canada television from continuous experimentation with the medium or the creation of a large variety of high-quality and popular programs. Throughout this period of expansion and consolidation, the search for a uniquely televisual aesthetic and a specifically televisual language, was an ongoing concern among those who worked at the French network. We have seen how some of the early efforts at innovation and experimentation with the new medium yielded awkward or pompous results. But with time these efforts became both more systematic and increasingly successful. One of the most notable of these efforts was the experimental drama series, *Trente Seconds*. The series which was conceived as an opportunity for producers and directors to attempt different approaches to the creation of television drama,

turned out to be a major critical success. (71) Not all the contributions to this series were well received by the public, however. For example, the piece contributed by Guy Parent and his collaborators substituted the camera for actors and used context and decor to tell a dramatic story. The piece was a critical success but was a failure with the audience. Yet even this mitigated failure (or success) was instructive to the production team because, in addition to the opportunity to workshop and to further explore the artistic possibilities of television, it received a very useful lesson regarding the audience. For the producers, the crux of the lesson was never to take their audience for granted, to always prepare them in advance for the presentation of more experimental work and to better contextualize it. (72) This was not, of course, the first time the audience had delivered its verdict upon a particular program or series. We have seen above that Radio-Canada audiences were very active and participatory, communicating with the public broadcaster on an ongoing basis and doing so in impressive numbers, something they continued to do as the decade advanced. (73) Producers quickly learned or were reminded that they had a very sympathetic audience but not one that was easily pleased or that could be manipulated at will. At the same time they learned that audiences in Quebec were like audiences everywhere else; they tended to prefer programs and styles that were familiar to them and they wanted to be entertained in ways that did not demand an excess of effort or change of viewing habits. (74) At the same time they were becoming more literate with television and hence, more demanding of the quality of programming that was made available to them. (75)

On their side, the producers and managers at Radio-Canada were learning that their programs had to take into account certain realities of the context of television viewing, the nature of television audience, and how to balance experimental or more demanding types of programming with more entertaining, less demanding fare. For example, they learned that unlike the theater or the cinema, television audiences were easily distracted by events in the ambient environment and that they had to use both the image and the sound possibilities of

television to their maximum in order to keep the attention of their viewers. (76) They also learned that efforts at experimentation had to be properly contextualized, the audience adequately prepared and forewarned. As we mentioned above, the television audience in Quebec were particularly receptive to television, both the technology and the programming. For them television represented the coming of the new era, material abundance and social progress. Also, Radio-Canada television was French-Canadian television; it was about their history, culture and dreams. For all these reasons, they were a very receptive, generous audience. They were not, however, an uncritical or undemanding audience. Most certainly they were not a "captive audience", as many had argued at the time. (77) Although it is true that the Quebec audience did not have the (American) choice of their counterparts in Ontario, there is good reason to believe that they preferred their own television. For example, when given the choice between an extremely popular American program like the *Ed Sullivan Show*, (which was broadcast by CBC television) and the locally produced variety *Music Hall*, they overwhelmingly chose the latter. (78) This did not mean that they liked or accepted whatever was given to them by Radio-Canada. On the contrary it meant that they expected, and often received, programs whose quality and style often equaled and in many cases surpassed those offered by the competition. It was in this context of multiple constraints and unfolding possibilities, therefore, (keeping an eye on the ratings, pleasing the advertisers as well as an increasingly demanding audience) that Radio-Canada's television artisans embarked upon this most important and decisive phase of program development and consolidation.

CHAPTER V:

PROGRAM EVOLUTION: DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULE AND GENRE.

When the CBC/Radio-Canada television service begun to broadcast its first programs in the fall of 1952, the concepts and practices of schedule and genre had already been established. Although these were relatively new (as was the technology and practice of television) and were by no means fixed notions or practices but continued to evolve over the course of the succeeding decades, the basic notions of what they were and what they were intended to accomplish had become part of the lexicon of television practice everywhere. When the time came, therefore, for CBC/Radio-Canada executives and programmers to design a weekly and daily schedule for the new television network, they did so within an established tradition or framework of television programming. Whatever innovation did take place in this respect (and there was a considerable amount as we will see) it was very much within this established tradition or framework of daily or weekly schedules and program genres. When innovation did take place, as with the development of the téléroman, it was codified within its own distinct television form or genre.

In the days before television technology and practices had matured sufficiently to produce the continuous or uninterrupted broadcasting of programming that Raymond Williams so aptly characterized as the "flow", (1974) weekly and daily schedules were carefully constructed around a core of a limited number of live programs augmented by filmed television programs and films. Slowly, as the new technology was mastered and the required skills assembled, the schedules grew and expanded both in terms of length and variety of programs or program genres. From the early days of television, therefore, the weekly and the daily schedule and the program genre developed as two interconnected determinants of television forms. We can briefly define the weekly and the daily schedule

as the architecture of a television network's programming, and genre as the stylistic or aesthetic conventions developed to contain particular programs and distinguish them from other types of programs. (1) As John Corner has written regarding the historical development of television's schedule and genre conventions, "scheduling was an institutional strategy intended to shape its audience's weekly and daily frameworks of expectations", while the "development of conventions and genres exerted a more direct pressure, namely, the search for the development of a specific television aesthetic". (2)

As we have seen, much of early television was radio programming in a new visual format. The development of a specific television aesthetic can be referred back to the technological limitations and/or possibilities of the medium. For example, "live" television of the early 1950's exchanged a rather limited range of stylistic and representational possibilities for the values of immediacy and spontaneity. In mid-decade, as we shall see, the introduction of mobile film teams and lightweight cameras brought a new influence on the generic potential, especially in the genres of news, public affairs and documentary. (3)

The development of specific genres, like variety, public affairs or the téléroman, the latter was carried over from the radio but was significantly altered by television, were also institutional strategies intended to combine schedule and genre in such a way as to identify the best time slots for particular members of the audience. The development of genres is therefore (also) an institutional devise for constructing a particular type of relationship with a particular type of the population. For example, the so-called "Women's Interest" programs which were also carried over from radio, continued (in fact intensified) the public broadcaster's relationship with the adult part of the female population. These programs, which sought to create an especially warm, affectionate bond between adult women (and homemakers in particular) and the television network, participated directly in the process of constructing a specifically gendered female identity. This identity was ideologically tied up with the conceptions of modern womanhood articulated by the ideology of the Feminine Mystique, which essentially sought the modernization of women's traditional roles as wife,

homemaker and mother. (4) The ideology of the Feminine Mystique as picked up and represented by television attempted to elaborate a particular relationship between women and modernity. This had particular resonance for the reworking of the relationships between the private and the public spheres, while firmly maintaining women's central place in the private sphere of their modernized and technologized domestic kingdom. Television, through its ability to connect the private and the public spheres in particularly attractive and/or eloquent ways, would theoretically contribute to the maintenance of the boundaries between them by providing its female audience, comfortably ensconced in its private sphere, a "window" or an outlet on the "masculine" world of the public sphere. As the scheduling of the Women's interest programs in the early afternoon makes clear, the public sphere may enter or intrude on the private sphere, or at least the feminine public sphere, only at such times when the housewife for whom these programs were intended, had accomplished her primary housekeeping and childrearing responsibilities. Women's interest programs, therefore, were an exemplary case of an institutional attempt to forge a "special" or particular type of relationship with a specific section of the population, while at the same time participating directly in the post-war redefinition of gender, and by extension, social relations.

We have seen that for the first generation of CBC/Radio-Canada television executives the ability to produce a full and balanced program schedule was one of their highest goals. The ideal and practice of a balanced schedule was an integral component of public broadcasting's mission to provide a wide range of programs designed to inform, educate and entertain as many constituencies or publics as possible. In terms of the philosophy of programming, this meant the rejection of the idea of one mass public and the recognition that audiences were composed of a plurality of constituencies and tastes. According to Davidson Dunton, the Corporation's chairman, this dictated a weekly schedule that contained a broad selection of programs blended together in an interesting, entertaining and hopefully, edifying, mixture of program fare.

> "Audiences in Canada should be able to find lots of things that are simply entertaining, that pass the time in an amusing way.... But in addition, they should find that...there is a good deal of material that adds a touch of beauty, new insight, and perhaps better understanding of things that go on in Canada, a glimpse of what big minds in other places and other times have created." (5)

In practice, this philosophy or approach to public television programming translated into the striving for the middle ground between the American commercial approach and the European public-broadcasting model. The objective was to strike a balance between popular and high cultural forms and between the entertainment and pedagogical or social utility aspects of public broadcasting. It also sought a balance between and amongst the various commercial, political and artistic pressures, not only within separate programs or distinct genres but across the daily and weekly schedule. (6) Having rejected the (American) notion of a mass audience the Corporation did not want to resort to its opposite; that is, cater exclusively to elite or minority audiences. At the same time, the rather highbrow or elite definitions and practices of European public broadcasting were judged to be unsuitable for Canada, and this in spite of the general admiration of the work of the BBC in particular. As Alphonse Ouimet and his colleague wrote upon their return trip from Europe in 1954, the most appropriate form of public broadcasting for Canada was a synthesis of the best elements of American and European models of television. (7) This view of public television was embodied in the objective of a full and varied schedule, offering quality programming to most segments of the population.

A concomitant aspect of this programming philosophy and practice was not to patronize the audience. In concrete terms, this meant that the modes of address were to be those that acknowledged the members of the audience as co-citizens and which seriously took their cultural tastes, program interests and needs into consideration. The experience of the Radio-Canada radio network, in particular, had taught the early television executives that public broadcasters could never succeed in imposing their (ideal/ized) notions of programming, however laudable their objectives, if these were not approved by the public. They had also learned that public broadcasters had to be cognizant of the on-the-ground,

lived culture of the people and that they include those cultural forms in the conception and structure of television programming. This idea of respect for the diversity of the audience, of its right to receive programming that was relevant to its tastes and needs were expressed by this CBC/Radio-Canada submission to the Fowler Commission on Broadcasting:

> "There is no typical Canadian audience. No uniform Canadian public which has one taste. The Canadian public is made up of a great many different individuals with a personal taste in broadcasting. It follows that part of our responsibility to the Canadian people is to cater to as many different tastes and not reduce everything to the lowest common denominator." (8)

Of-course, this non-singular concept or definition of the public or the audience did not mean a truly plural or non-hierarchical conception of it either. The CBC/Radio-Canada television programmers did not have a fragmented or a genuinely pluralistic public in mind. Rather, they programmed for a national public that was composed of identifiable social and political constituencies. Public broadcasting operated within the framework of existing definitions of socio-economic groups or those that were identified by age or sex, like those of women and children. Social groups that were marginalized or had not yet acquired social visibility like immigrants, native people, the less privileged segments of the working class, among others, were not acknowledged or identified either by the schedule or within specific programs or series. Similarly, the public broadcaster reserved for itself the right to construct representations and discourses of the social world that it judged to be valid or accurate. In other words, although CBC/Radio-Canada television programmers in the early years consulted extensively with organized social, educational and cultural groups (and in the case of the public affairs program, *Les idées en Marche*, actually co-produced it with the Association canadienne de l'éducation des adultes) they remained the ultimate arbitrators of what the appropriate definitions of the public were, which public/s in fact deserved to be recognized as such, and in whose public interest the public broadcaster would speak. This was true of Radio-Canada television as well, even though the level of interaction with the audiences was both qualitatively and quantitatively very high. Here too, the network executives rarely permitted the audience to register its program preferences or tastes in a

direct manner. Even though the public was encouraged to interact with the broadcaster in a variety of ways, none of these consultations (letter-writing campaigns, phone calls or personal visits to the Radio-Canada television studios) were binding for the public broadcaster. Moreover, when suggestions of creating some form of on-going, direct audience program input were put forward by interested groups or even from within the broadcasting organization, they were generally pushed aside by Corporation executives. They were also rejected by public bodies like the Fowler Commission which were invested to study and make recommendations on the subject of broadcasting. (9)

It would appear, therefore, that those in control of public broadcasting in Canada and in Quebec, however democratic or reform-minded they believed themselves to be, had not totally divested themselves of the old Reithian ideal that the mission of public broadcasting was to program "in the public interest", and that they, not the public, were in a position to be the ultimate judges of the latter's cultural, informational and entertainment needs. (10) In the end, the corporate institution that was the CBC/Radio-Canada television preferred the relative political safety of the Audience Research Department, which it established in the later part of the decade for both commercial and public research interests, to any form of direct participation by the audience in the construction of its program schedule. (11) The only time that the prospect of establishing program advisory committees came close to becoming a reality was shortly after the fiasco with the Montreal Producers strike. In the Spring of 1959, S. Bushnel, the Corporate Vice-President who was in charge during the strike (temporarily replacing Alphonse Ouimet, now Chair of the Corporation) revived the idea of the program advisory panels as a peace-offering to a disenchanted, indeed angry, Quebec. There is no way of knowing how such a program advisory panel or committee would have worked out in practice. However, Alphonse Quiment, upon his return to the helm of the Corporation immediately put an end to this experiment. Ouimet was an engineer, a conservative modernist and an institution builder. He was, as we shall see shortly, the key figure behind the Corporation's major bureaucratic restructuring in the

second half of the decade. The prospects that such a man would risk losing even a fraction of control of the public broadcaster to segments of the public was simply unacceptable. Public broadcasting in the end, meant broadcasting "in the public interest" not broadcasting with or in close collaboration with the public. (12)

Another key component of the program philosophy of public broadcasting has been the single schedule. As we mentioned above, CBC/Radio-Canada television did not program for a fragmented, disparate public but aimed instead for a well-rounded, single schedule. This single schedule, which expressed both the technological limitations and the political choices of the times, was available to everyone at the same time and served to bind the separate or distinct sections of the audience or publics into one, relatively coherent even though diverse, national public. In other words, while public broadcasting admitted or recognized the existence of a variety of publics and tastes, (contained as these were within elite definitions of public and taste) it sought at the same time to mold these two categories into first, an audience loyal to itself, and secondly, to the institutions, symbols and needs of the nation. The audience that public broadcasting sought to address, in the early decades of television broadcasting at least, an essentially national public, one composed of these various smaller publics in general and of the family unit in particular. (13)

Paddy Scannell, in his work regarding the history of public broadcasting in Britain has emphasized the democratic and nation-forming propensities or/and intentions of the single schedule. He has argued that the wide variety of programs offered by public service television within the framework of the single schedule, ultimately served to reinforce the sense of national identity and thus national community. A single schedule with a large variety of program choice encourages the formation of national identity because everyone watches the same programs, more or less, at the same time. A national community that is larger than its component parts, like class, gender and age divisions, is thus forged together through television's national channels. (14) Scannell has also stressed the democratic or public sphere functions of public service broadcasting that is composed of a single schedule

which offers a range of mixed programs. This model of broadcasting, argues Scannell , which presupposes a society that has overcome material scarcity, encourages the further erosion of class and other distinctions by making available to the entire national public, informational and cultural resources that were formerly available only to small or more privileged groups in society. Scannell argues from this, that public life has been immensely enriched *and* unified because of public broadcasting's ability to address a variety of publics in a variety of particular locals. This model or practice of broadcasting has resulted, according to the author, in the shaping of a variety of particular publics into a more coherent, and thus more national, "plural general public". By placing a variety of different types of discourses in the same context, public life (which for Scannell is synonymous with national life) "was equalized as never before." (15)

The relationship between the media in general and the broadcast media in particular and the distinct but not unrelated processes of national formation and the democratization of the public sphere is an extremely complex one. We have referred to these relationships throughout the thesis, indeed they are at the very heart of our pre-occupations. We are, however, unable to embark on a full discussion of these extremely important and relevant problematics here, but expect to do so in a future research project. We can state, however, that although the body of research that addresses these interrelated phenomena has grown to an impressive level over the last decade, and that many of the hypotheses and arguments that have been put forward in this context are extremely interesting and constitute important building blocks towards a more complete analysis, we are still in the exploratory stages of our research, especially in relation to television broadcasting.

In regards to Scannell's argument that public broadcasting via the deployment of a single mixed broadcast schedule played a crucial role in the construction of a more democratic and coherent national culture, we want to note two things. Firstly, that although Scannell's general argument is a plausible one, he tends to exaggerate the role of the media (in this case, public broadcasting) at the expense of other developments in the culture. The

other is that Scannell's argument is a functionalist one. He stresses the utility of public broadcasting in the construction of a more democratic national culture, but he does not take into account, contradictory forces or developments, such as the exclusion or marginalization of certain populations and regions at the expense of others and the propensity of public broadcasting to privilege hierarchical or elite definitions and discourses. The better argument would be that media, including public broadcasting, can accelerate certain social and cultural developments and can even to help shape the course of social change, but they cannot create them out of thin air. Scannell also plays down the fact that all media operate from within an existing discursive and representational universe.

In spite of these criticisms, we must acknowledge the resonance of Scannell's arguments in the case of the relationship between public television in Quebec in the fifties and the creation of a more democratic and modern national culture. As we have seen, Radio-Canada television did not create the new definitions, concepts and representations of national identity and national culture that were emerging in post-war Quebec. On the contrary, Radio-Canada picked up these discourses, and shaped them through the medium of television into representations that both echoed those discourses and contributed to their further development. Through its various programs and program genres (be that variety, news and public affairs, the téléroman or drama) the French network reshaped the discourses circulating in society about reform, democracy, modernity and so on, into attractive representations of these ideas or movements. Public affairs and téléromans especially, each through different rhetorical and stylistic approaches, presented the Quebec audience with plausible and attractive versions of a more modern, democratic, indeed more desirable individual and collective existence.

The nation-forming propensities of television have been highlighted by Paul-André Linteau and his colleagues. (1986/1991) They have implicitly accepted key components of the argument that has been put forward by Scannell; namely that television was able to shape a variety of particular publics into a relatively homogeneous national public.

According to the authors, Radio-Canada television was able to contribute significantly to the emergence of a new, Québécois, national identity through the intermission of shared experience and self-identification. In other words, the single schedule of mixed programming encouraged the formation of a sense of coherence and self-identification. "Not only did it provide a powerful means of disseminating information and new ideas, but it also contributed to a more homogeneous way of life by transmitting the same values, and the same ways of thinking and feeling to Quebec's different social groups and regions." (16) The emerging, Québécois, national community was discovering itself in the process of its transition to mature capitalist modernity. Across Quebec, people watched each other through the intermediary of Radio-Canada television, as they were evolving into a modern, more democratic and secular national community. (17)

This process was accelerated by two additional factors. The first was television's tendency to privilege the intimate mode of address. The implicit/complicit "we-ness" that is so integral to the television's mode of address begins at home with the single audience member or more likely for the period we are studying, with the family, and then expands to the community, to the nation. (18) When this bias of the television medium is combined by a public broadcaster (like Radio-Canada) which actively encouraged the creation of networks of solidarity among the citizenry, ..."It helped make television viewers across the province aware of being not only a single huge audience, but also a distinct society, with its own particular characteristics and collective needs". (19) Nevertheless, it is important to reiterate here that when Radio-Canada started broadcasting, the process of the transition to a new definition of national identity and culture had already begun. What Radio-Canada accomplished was to encourage this process and hasten its maturation. As Marc Thibault, who was in charge of Public Affairs for the latter part of the fifties has observed, Radio-Canada must be historically contextualized. The French network was a key participant in the modernization of Quebec society, he has correctly argued, not its creator. (20) Finally, we cannot forget that Radio-Canada's nation-building task was made much easier by the

fact that the French television network operated in an environment that was compact and relatively homogeneous. The disparate publics and regions that Radio-Canada helped to mould into a national public already had a strong sense of itself as a national community. The substantial change was in the reformulation of a more traditional French-Canadian national identity into a modern, more democratic and secular (Québécois) one.

Scannell has also argued that public broadcasting's emphasis on a unified, single schedule composed of a large variety of program genres encouraged in Britain the development of a pluralistic, democratic public culture. (21) Although we are not able here to engage with this argument in regards to the situation in Britain, we can note that this position must be modified in regards to the situation in Quebec in the fifties. While it is incontestable that public broadcasting (in the form of Radio-Canada television) contributed significantly to the creation of a modern and more democratic television culture, we cannot say that this culture was a pluralistic one. The national culture that Radio-Canada television helped to call forth was defined in the singular. The emerging national culture, like all national cultures, was constructed in contradiction. Those social, ethnic or racial groups which did not fulfill the criteria of nationhood as defined during the post-war period (that is white, French-speaking and Catholic) did not and could not, belong to the national community, properly speaking.

In regards to the democratic impulses of public broadcasting's television culture, they too, must be modified. We have seen in an earlier chapter that the democratization and the modernization of lived culture is intimately linked with the history of the media and with the process of commodification of social and cultural life. The popular culture that Radio-Canada television gave rise to reflected this ambivalence as well as the potential. The commodified, mediated popular culture that Radio-Canada television constructed contained both elite and popular cultural forms. Radio-Canada's programming aimed to occupy the middle ground, to mediate between elite and popular cultural forms. This middle ground strategy worked especially well for Radio-Canada, as contrasted with its sister network, the

CBC. A crucial factor in the latter's success was a synergy between the people on the ground so to speak, the artisans of this television culture, and the goals of public service broadcasting. The approach and general culture of Radio-Canada television producers (that is to treat all television programs with the same "egalitarian" manner, as well as the reform and democratic impulses that informed their work) meant that the elite, or highbrow tendencies of public broadcasting, were greatly mitigated. This agile negotiation between popular and high cultural forms (which was demonstrated by the ease of moving back and forth between the production of an avant-garde play and a téléroman among others) was one of the distinguishing characteristics of the first generation of Radio-Canada television programs and one of the key elements of their success with audience and critics alike.

The above argument that Radio-Canada television negotiated a middle ground, or more precisely a new synthesis, by successfully combining a variety of cultural forms into a popular and relatively democratic television culture, is not shared by all scholars. The revisionist current in historiography (which made a very important contribution in de-mythologizing recent Quebec history, especially the post-war period and the Quiet Revolution) have either cast dark aspersions at television or have ignored it altogether. One suspects that Radio-Canada, which has been closely associated with the modernizing generation that came of age in the fifties and assumed political power in the sixties and seventies, has become the black sheep of contemporary Québécois intellectuals. (23)

This rather extreme position, which is also presented by Fernand Sauvageau in a more modified form, (1991) is not without its merits. Sauvageau recognizes the overall positive contribution of Radio Canada television to the maturation and modernization of Quebec society and culture and pays tribute to the network's early years which he writes were characterized by unprecedented artistic creativity. Radio-Canada television developed a program schedule that was interesting, innovative and offered the Quebec people access to cultural resources and information that may have been otherwise unavailable to them through cultural series like *L'Heure de Concert* or *Téléthéatre*, the popular new television

genre of the téléroman, and public affairs programs like *Point de Mire*. (24) Nevertheless, argues the author, in retrospect many of these programs appear to be elitist and badly made. What is more, Radio-Canada's civic mission translated into programming that was too upscale and too far-removed from the people. Radio-Canada did not succeed in creating a popular television culture. This task was fulfilled, according to the author, by the commercial network, TVA, which apparently developed programming and modes of address that were truly popular. (25) While this position is basically motivated by ideological considerations and is thus of limited value (that is, it is not the result of new or systematic research but rather a series of affirmations based on a selective reading of the historical record) its questioning of some of the central verities of public broadcasting does create a useful opening (even if itself has to be criticized) for a more accurate reading of Radio-Canada's achievements. The historiographic tendency to idealize the first decade of Radio-Canada television must be corrected by more sustained, critical research and analysis. (26) At the same time, casual retrospective readings such as Sauvageau's (or even Lavoie's) which merely state the elitism and poor quality of Radio-Canada's programs but do not support it with serious research and argument, is not acceptable either.

We have seen above that the programming objective of the CBC/Radio-Canada television networks was to develop a full and balanced schedule which responded to the tastes and needs of large sections of the population. We have also seen that the definitions of those publics and cultural tastes were often upscale or elite ones and that the public broadcaster generally operated from within the ideological and political parameters of the dominant culture. Nevertheless, on the level of intentions, there was a sincere desire to develop a program schedule which would encourage the creation of a television culture that was representative, comprehensive and relevant to the people of Canada and Quebec. Of-course these objectives could not always be met. The reasons are many and complex, some of which we have already discussed. For example, the development of a full and balanced

program schedule was a very expensive proposition. By the mid-fifties, the Corporation was spending over one million dollars on talent alone. (27) Also, throughout the fifties the Corporation continued with its project of program innovation and expansion of its schedule, as well as the consolidation and expansion of its superstractural capacities. All these were very expensive propositions and as we have seen they coincided with the worsening of the Corporation's finances over the course of the decade. This meant among other things, that severe curbs or limitations had to be placed upon the full implementation of its programming philosophy.

Within the limits imposed by commercial, financial and cultural constraints to the realization of a full and comprehensive program schedule, Radio-Canada television fared much better than its English sister network. We have seen that the French network was able to produce at least three-quarters of its programs, and this with less financial resources than CBC television, while the latter by the mid-fifties had already become heavily dependent on the importation of American programs in order to fill out its schedule and attract audiences. (28) For one, Radio-Canada's ability or need to produce most of its own programs permitted it to be more innovative over a longer period of time than the English network. For another, it enabled the French network to be more flexible and creative about developing a full and comprehensive program schedule than was the case with the CBC. This dependence on American television programs not only placed limits on the English network in what it could develop in terms of the quality and the range of its programs but, as former CBC executive and historian Frank Peers has reminded us, it was forced to "sell" many of its own programs to a difficult audience by placing them between more popular American imports! (29) One of the consequences of this practice was the development of programs that would seek out the common denominator. Another was the tendency to cater to cultural tastes acquired from heavy exposure to American television fare. Radio-Canada's greater control over its program development on the other hand, not only enabled it to create original programs that were not heavily influenced by other television cultures,

but also gave it much greater flexibility in developing a schedule that was more appropriate both to the lived culture of the people and to the larger objectives of public broadcasting.

By the mid fifties, the CBC/Radio-Canada television service had grown beyond its original (rather small) dimensions and was becoming a large, hierarchically organized institution with huge production and infrastructural resources and properties and thousands of employees to look after. The rapid expansion of the two networks, the pressures of production and distribution as well as the ideological bias of the executive corps. resulted in the creation of a large bureaucratic organization and the introduction of an industrial division of labour. At about this time, the Corporation's program division, which until then had functioned as one unit, was divided into an assortment of specialized units. It was thus that the separate Talks and Public Affairs, News, Drama, Music, Variety, Women's Interest and Children's Departments were born. This development proved to herald a new phase in the life of the young network. While the increased specialization in production did offer producers the opportunity to refine their skills, it also turned out to be the first phase of what became a protracted period of separation and alienation of the executive corps from the people who were actually involved in the making of television programs.

This development, as we shall see, was the cause of serious problems for producers at Radio-Canada television, and contributed substantially to the creation of a conflictual situation which culminated with the Montreal producers' strike in the winter of 1958. Until the mid-fifties, all of the producers and their assistants were housed together on two floors of the Radio-Canada building in down-town Montreal. Here they lived, worked and generated their programs in a spirit of mutual inspiration and solidarity. After the creation of the separate departments, the producers were divided up, each sent to work in the various newly created units. This was especially difficult for producers at Radio-Canada since many of them remained generalists; that is, they were involved in the production of a number of programs, either simultaneously or successively. The absence of a base from which to operate and to engage in creative collaboration with fellow producers, many

became alienated, aloof and ultimately less committed to the ideals of public broadcasting. Producers also had much less decision-making power than before, as much of it was transferred to a new, middle level layer of executive producers, who either singly or with other executive producers ran the new departments. It was under these difficult conditions, therefore, that Radio-Canada television developed its major program series, genres and program schedule. Nevertheless, the network (operating under conditions characterized by rapid expansion and growth, increasing financial and commercial pressures and the bureaucratization of the network with the attendant alienation of much of the production staff) managed to produce an impressive range and quality of programming. It also created a program schedule that was as close to what an ideal public broadcaster operating under a multitude of pressures and constraints could hope to achieve.

Radio-Canada television throughout the fifties, then, strove to develop a program schedule that would best reflect its public broadcasting mission to provide programming for a variety of publics. We have seen above that CBC/Radio-Canada television's conception of the public was structured in dominance and that it did not encompass all actually existing publics. But even from among those sections of the population that were identified (by public broadcasting) as legitimate recipients of its attentions, not all were actual publics. Television, like all media but in its own specific manner, addresses specific publics as much as it constructs them or calls them into existence. Many of the publics public broadcasting had in mind were in fact ideal or potential publics; publics that would spring up upon commencement, and would reflect the success of the network's broadcasting efforts. These ideal publics existed within and across all the program genres but were especially concentrated within the informational and pedagogical areas of its programming. These were the areas where public broadcasting would best show its capacity to cultivate its ideal citizens. Women's Interest programs were another example of how a public broadcaster worked with an actual existing public, in this case women, to construct an ideal

public (that is the modern housewife) whose identity derives from her status as a wife, mother and competent manager of the prosperous, technologized, modern home.

In its efforts to help mold modern, informed and responsible citizens Radio-Canada developed a number of programs that addressed various aspects of this mission. Its educational and children's programs were especially notable efforts to use the television medium on behalf of public education. We have already seen how educational programs like *C'est la loi* and *C'est la vie* produced by Guy Parent were sustained efforts to combine the entertainment values of the medium with the informational and educational goals of the public broadcaster. Among the educational programs, two series stand out in particular. These w ere the extremely popular, *Science en pantoufle and Roman de la science.* Both series were written and directed by Fernand Séguin, a young scientist and university professor. Séguin, by all accounts an exceptionally talented television personality, was also representative of the post-war generation of intellectuals who went to work for Radio-Canada television in the early fifties. In a retrospective interview, Séguin stressed the role of these science series in encouraging the interest of an entire generation of Québécois youth in the study of science and technology. (30) In this area of programming Radio-Canada continued the legacy that had been established by the long-running radio program, *Radio-College*, which was a veritable university of the airwaves. Television adopted the basic ideas of this popular and highly respected radio program and extended them across a large variety of genres; most notably, children's, science and technology series and public affairs programs.

During most of the decade, Radio-Canada television produced an extraordinary range of children's and young adults programs. Gérard Pelletier is probably right when he reminded us that few other television organizations have devoted as many resources and hours on its schedule to children and young adults as Radio-Canada in the fifties. (31) According to the network, the principle objective was to create programs that would be instructive and entertaining to children while at the same time cultivating their interest in a

large variety of cultural, scientific and social issues. (32) To this end, the network developed a large variety of programs, ranging from puppet shows for the very young to programs about the world of culture, science, politics and society for older children. Radio-Canada devoted a good part of its schedule on week-day afternoons and most of Saturdays to programs designed for children of all ages and young adults. During the week, children were entertained and informed by *Bobino* for the very young, *Aventure Aviation*, *La boite à surprises*, *La vie qui bat* for the pre-adolescents, and *Opinions*, a discussion program for young adults hosted by Jeanne Sauvé. On Saturdays, a full day's program schedule awaited the children. These ranged from the puppet show, *Forifon* for pre-schoolers, to programs like *Ciné- club* about the inner world of filmmaking, the newsmagazine program, *Magazine des jeunes*, the world of music, *concerts pour la jeunesse*, and quiz shows for the older children. Radio-Canada television, in its commitment to encourage local writing talent, organized the hugely popular annual contest for young authors, *Les jeunes auteurs*, which featured several categories of writing such as poetry, short story, non-fiction and the short novel. Radio-Canada television even had something for the parents of children. True in its belief that education was a life-long process and that contemporary social existence demanded a more scientific approach to parenting, it produced, *Ecole des parents*. It should perhaps not be so surprising that a public broadcaster which came into existence at a crucial moment of Quebec's historical trajectory. This was a broadcaster that felt strongly about contributing to the formation of a generation of young people who could stand up to the demands of citizenry in the new age.

Public affairs was another major program category or genre that brought together the informational, educational (and sometimes entertainment) aspects of television broadcasting. The ideological or political nature of public affairs programming has historically rendered it one of the most sensitive areas of television broadcasting in general and public television in particular. The latter's complex relationship to the state and civil society, its vulnerability to political pressure from government and various social and

economic constituencies and its desire, indeed need, to maintain a high degree of independence from all of these, have resulted in the almost occult-like status of public affairs programming. This has meant that public affairs, the television genre that most explicitly addresses the realm of the public sphere, has had to evolve very sophisticated modes of address that will allow it to construct discourses about the "real" world without falling prey to charges of partisanship and lack of independence from various (especially political) constituencies. This has, in turn, led to the development of public postures and professional practices that protect it from such charges. At the same time many of these practices, such as objectivity, balance and impartiality have become codified into rules of conduct that have robbed this genre of much of its initial relevance and interest. (33) Ironically, this most "public service" of television's program categories has evolved apart not only from other program categories, but from the world it was supposed to discuss and explain. This development points to, among other things, the limits of public discourse conducted in the medium of television in general and public television in particular. It also points out to the paradoxical nature of the medium itself. While the technology of the medium made possible the production and circulation of discourses of all kinds on a previously unprecedented level, the political, institutional and cultural constraints placed upon it have acted as counterveilling forces which have served to curb or place serious limits on what would actually be achieved by public-affairs television. Yet in spite of these limitations, it is without a doubt that public television's (and public affairs programming especially) engagement with the public sphere has been one of most important contributions to the democratization of public life in the post-war period. Moreover, in certain settings and historical contexts (such as Quebec in the fifties) public television's contribution to the democratization of the public sphere through all of its program schedule but especially through public affairs programs, has been a real one. At the same time, as Marc Thibault, who ran the public affairs department at Radio-Canada television in the fifties has reminded us, we must be careful not to overestimate the influence of public affairs television. (34)

Public affairs programs developed historically not only as one of television's major genres with its own distinct narrative conventions, visual sytle and mode/s of address, but it, along with news, has constituted the most important genre distinction in television culture. This distinction is between fictional and non-fictional programming. Although the boundaries between these two formal systems are by no means hermetically sealed, in fact the interplay between these two major conventions is becoming a key feature of much public-affairs programming. Historically the television institutions and the producers of these programs have made a sharp distinction between the two. (35) While the two modes share much of television's common vocubulary, or as John Corner puts it, "certain principles of television grammar", they are also distinguished from one another by the presence in public affairs television of certain elements like symbolic discourse and the presence of television's own representatives. (36) For Corner, the key feature that "serve to mark the two areas out into two distinctive communicative realms", is their characteristic relationship with their viewers. In the case of non-fictional programs like public affairs, the relationship is that of "knowledge", typically framed in direct speech from presenter, host or reporter to the viewer. (This holds even when programs are presented in the form of entertainment like sports, travel and so on) In fictional television, the characteristic relationship is "imaginative pleasure, particularly that derived from character and narrative development. (37) While Corner's specifications are very important in helping us to understand the realm of public-affairs television and its genre specificities in particular, it tends to be somewhat formal and all encompassing. As John Hartley has pointed out, public affairs television has historically strained very hard to maintain the façade or regime of unmodified "truth" and hide the fact that it too, is a partially fictional construction, just like any other television program. (38) Although (as mentioned above) these generic distinctions are being gradually discarded in favour of more self-reflexive or hybrid forms of public affairs programs, Hartley's comments do serve to remind us of the fact that this

complex television genre has always had a problematic relationship with the "real world" it was supposed to observe and comment upon.

The development of news and public affairs programs was a rather slow process on CBC/Radio-Canada television. The reasons for this delay were both of a technological and political nature. Television is an essentially visual medium and its discourses must be accompanied by iconographic and visual testimonies and the technology to obtain visual information that was relevant and up to date took some time to develop. Also, it was several years before CBC/Radio-Canada developed its news-gathering teams and embarked on exchanges with the American networks (CBS and NBC) for actuality material. Moreover, the legacy of the radio news service, (which Don MacDonald has described as essentially a CP (Canadian Pacific) rewrite service) and the unrelenting competition for resources and time on the schedule between the news service and the fledgling public affairs departments were additional factors that contributed to the delay. (39) At Radio-Canada television the competition between these two services was less severe. This was probably due to the fact that the French network acquired its news service earlier than CBC television, and left the fledgling Public Affairs department to develop slowly from the Talks department on the radio service. (40)

Despite the serious technical and resource constraints that faced the development of the news service at CBC/Radio-Canada television, both networks possessed fully functioning news services within a couple of years of their birth. At the English network, the groundwork of the news service was accomplished by Gunnar Rugheimer, who as Chief News editor created the first daily news-casts for television as well as the weekly *Newsmagazine*. He was also determined, against considerable resistance from the radio people, that television would develop its own news gathering service, at home and to the extent that it was possible, overseas. (41) At Radio-Canada television, the development of a news service as a distinct entity took place under the direction of Joseph Beauregard. The news service, which focused on local and regional (Quebec) events developed fairly

smoothly and within less than a year begun to produce the news program, *Téléjournal*, initially on an occasional basis and then with increasing regularity until 1954, when *Téléjournal*, became a permanent item on Radio-Canada's daily schedule. (42)

One of the reasons why the development of a television news service could take place sooner than public affairs programming, was that the former was considered a priority by the public broadcaster. Another reason is that this development was relatively free from political considerations. The strict enforcement of the values of facticity, objectivity and impartiality, while straitjacketing news formats, allowed news editors to frame the news as simple factual events and to present them in a scrupulously neutral style. Public affairs programs on the other hand, were politically much more sensitive territory. Even though they too, were subject to many of the constraints of the newsroom (with extra emphasis placed upon balance and fairness) the nature or purpose of public affairs programs made them especially vulnerable to political interference. If the basic function of news is to present compact reports or narratives on selected events as they are taking place "in the world out there", the function of the public affairs genre is to produce accounts or discourses that seek to explain the reasons and causes of a multitude of social, economic and political events. It is, therefore, this interpretative function of public affairs programs that gives significance to their discourses, but which at the same time renders them among the most sensitive or vulnerable program categories in the broadcast media.

The sensitive nature of political discourse, the public broadcaster's fear of repercussions from its political masters and the inherent conservatism of its executive corps had combined to produce public affairs programs on the radio that were characterized by their bland quality. The public broadcaster had decided that the best way for it to protect itself from political censure (or even outright censorship) was to remain neutral at all costs and to avoid those subjects that may have led to controversy. The strict observance of this approach was that public affairs remained scrupulously neutral and expressed no opinion that could be identified with the Corporation. Veteran CBC broadcaster Sandy Stewart has

written that in circumstances where the expression of an opinion seemed appropriate or necessary the corporation brought in people from outside to do it for them. (43) In fact, the bringing in of noted academics and journalists to discuss international and Canadian affairs was a regular part of the daily schedule. Opinions, therefore, were not only tolerated but were presented on a regular basis. The problem was that these opinions were not those of the public broadcaster, or if they were, they could not be acknowledged as such. (44)

After the war there begun a gradual thawing of this rigid, extremely conservative approach to the discussion of public affairs on the radio. This development was part of the more general opening up of the public broadcaster to the changing culture and issues of the times. Also, the men who had guided the destiny of CBC/Radio-Canada like Dr. Augustin Frigon (an original member of the Aird Commission) began to retire and to be replaced by younger, more reform-minded ones. A number of important program innovations had already been introduced during the war, including *Citizen's Forum* on the English network and *Les idées en marche*, on Radio-Canada. These programs, co-produced with the Canadian Association for Adult Education, took a less cautious approach to the discussion of social, cultural and political issues than any programs produced previously by the department. The production of these programs had not taken place without a struggle within the various echelons of the Corporation. Their continued presence on the schedule after the war, therefore, was a clear indication that a shift in the orientation of informational programming was taking place. (45) Nevertheless, the public broadcaster continued to be more comfortable with its pedagogical than with its public sphere functions. For example, Radio-Canada put considerable resources in the production of the (popular) radio program, *Radio-College* throughout the fifties, this time, in collaboration with the academic community. In addition to *Radio College* (a veritable university of the airwaves at a time when access to higher education was still restricted) the department continued to produce a large number of programs, including programs for women, features, farm broadcasts, sports, specials and features. (46)

While it is true that the radio service of Radio-Canada was making serious attempts to strengthen its public sphere role and was gaining considerable recognition (and audiences) for its efforts, these developments remained circumscribed by its continuing penchant for caution and respectability. The coming of television in the early fifties was very important in helping the public broadcaster shed many of its conservative tendencies. It also became more open and accepting of the new ideas that were being circulated in civil society at this time. According to Gérard Pelletier, the entry of the new medium had the effect of (among other things) "widening the ideological corridor" at Radio-Canada. (47) Pelletier, who was the host of the radio public affairs program, *Les idées en march*, (later the program was simulcast on both the radio and television networks) has written that the public broadcaster entered a period of renewal as a whole generation of young reform minded modernists came to work for the television service. While Pelletier gives us the impression that this spirit of innovation and reform took place across the board, it was in fact rather slow to develop at the fledgling Talks and Public Affairs department. The public broadcaster was more comfortable innovating in its cultural than in its informational programming. (48)

Like at the English network, public affairs programming at Radio-Canada developed at an extremely slow pace. This was partly due to the continuation of the radio legacy, the newness of the television medium, the relative scarcity of resources and of course, the larger political context in Canada and especially in Quebec (which was dominated by the heavy-handed administration of the Duplessis regime.) For all these reasons the CBC/Radio-Canada Corporation did not feel comfortable about taking a clear position on public affairs programs on television until the mid-fifties. In 1956, the television service finally felt sufficiently confident to allow full development of its public affairs programming which it divided into four major categories. These were Features and Documentaries, Women's Interests, Interview Programs, Forums and Discussions. (49) Yet in spite of these efforts to extend "the scope of television discussions" as the broadcaster put it, "to include some of the most fundamental problems facing us today",

both in terms of international and domestic developments, the Corporation continued to proceed with great caution. On the English network, covert enforcement of cold-war policies and the conservatism of the political culture meant that controversial issues continued to be avoided (even though some of its producers, especially of its most popular newsmagazine,*Tabloid*, created a lot of controversy anyway.) (50) In one instance where the public affairs department had taken a risk with its decision to the simulcast of the extremely popular program, *Fighting Words*, hosted by Nathan Cohen (which took-up controversial issues in the guise of wordplay) both host and program were destroyed by the direct interference of the state because of the host's alleged communist sympathies. (51)

Ironically, Radio-Canada television suffered less from direct political interference than the CBC. Even though the Duplessis regime presented itself as a cold-warrior of the first order and Quebec as a major centre in North America in the fight against communism, the new network did not seriously suffer as a result of the pursuit of cold war strategies. This was partly because the French network was under federal jurisdiction and thus protected from financial pressure and overt political interference from Quebec City. Nevertheless, the new network was careful not to antagonize an avowedly hostile provincial government that was always looking out for pretexts to criticize, indeed condemn the new network. (52) In this unfriendly political context, the domain of public affairs television became extremely sensitive, since almost any subject within the purview of public affairs programming was likely to antagonize the Duplessis regime and its political allies. This tense situation necessarily put limits on what the public broadcaster considered to be appropriate or possible for discussion on the air, practicing as we shall see, a kind of self-censorship. Although much more research needs to be done in this area, we can hazard to observe that from all accounts, the early public affairs programmers at Radio-Canada television were very timid and politically conservative. Also, the Public Affairs department was still fragile and testing the waters so to speak. This conservatism or/and timidity was compounded by the fact that the Corporation's position on public affairs television took a long time to

formulate and even longer to implement. At Radio-Canada television this hesitation to risk controversy (which like the CBC, it did not manage to avoid anyhow), its timidity in regard to the political and moral status-quo resulted in the drawing up of a long list of topics which were off-limits to discussion on the airwaves. These taboo subjects which encompassed almost the entire scope of public life, made it very difficult for the producers to create interesting (never mind controversial) public affairs programs. (53) This rather rigid approach to public affairs programs on television seems to have changed in the mid-fifties with the entry of the people who produced *Radio College* to the television service. According to Fernand Séquin the approach to public affairs television became radicalized when the producers of *Radio College* assumed positions of leadership at the network. (54)

The first major public affairs series on Radio-Canada television was *Conférence de presse*, which went on air on February 1953. Inspired (largely) by the American program, "Meet the Press", it was broadcast weekly over both the radio and television networks. The format of the program was simple. A well-known personality from the business, artistic, academic or political world was invited to answer questions from three journalists chosen especially for their expertise in the subject under discussion. *Conférence de presse*, which treated one subject area per episode, closely followed the classic format of this type of (panel) program with the exception that the invited personalities reserved the right to reject questions which had been given to them several days in advance. The subjects discussed almost always pertained to Quebec, as did most public affairs programs that followed, thus setting off the first round of consternation from the Corporation Headquarters regarding Radio-Canada's lack of interest in the pan-Canadian scene. The producers of the program were successively Jean-Paul Fufère, Jacques Laundry and Jean Pellerin. Judith Jasmin was the host for the first year. She was succeed by René Lévésque who was in turn succeeded by Gérard Arthur. (55)

From all accounts this program series was relatively conservative and timid. It seems the same group of journalists were invited again and again to discuss relatively safe issues like

constitutional reform. This was partly because many journalists and potential guests from the Duplessis camp avoided appearing on Radio-Canada television, even though this situation changed as the network's stature grew. Still, Jacques Laundry, one of the producers of the program, admitted he would not invite anyone who might preach anything that may be construed as challenging or defying of public morality. Réne Lévésque, one of the early hosts of the program, had said publicly that it was not outspoken enough. Yet the political context in Quebec in the fifties exerted tremendous pressures against it. For example, Jacques Hébert caused a "stink" in Catholic circles when he reported on an episode of *Conférence de presse*, (December, 1955) that a visit to Poland had convinced him that there was considerable religious freedom in Eastern Europe. (56)

While we need further research in order to establish the extent of this program's composition, influence and popularity, it would be safe to assume that it was only moderately popular with the wider public. At the same time, it is unlikely that the program had the kind of influence that is usually attributed to it. (57) While this type of panel program proved to be more popular in Quebec than in English Canada, the basis of its popularity was probably related to issues other than program content. Audiences in Quebec loved watching "their" television personalities, journalists, and other public figures come together and discuss issues of general concern. It is unlikely that they heard anything on this television program that they could not hear on the radio or read in the papers. The interest was in the ritual of watching television rather than in the actual contents of the discussions. And yet, the regular appearance on this program of such respected and popular journalists like André Laurendeau and Gérard Pelletier (who clearly did not represent the political mainstream) must have had a cumulative impact on the audience's views about the possibilities of more open and democratic public discourse that went beyond the limitations of the program's format and content.

The public affairs program *Les idées en marche* which went on air in October 1954, was closely patterned after *Conférence de presse*. Previously, it had been broadcast on

radio since 1948 and continued to be simultaneously broadcast over the television and radio networks until June 1960. Four invited panelists, often drawn from Quebec's intellectual elite, discussed a particular subject suggested by the Association canadienne d'éducation des adultes which co-produced the program with Radio-Canada. During its six year run, *Les idées en marche*, hosted for many years by the veteran broadcast journalist Gérard Pelletier, explored a wide range of international and domestic topics, from foreign aid to the quality of education, to developments in the media, and so on. *Les idées en marche* was somewhat more adventurous in its choice of topics than *Conférence de presse*, was much less formal in style and the discussions were often animated. The discussions, which in the early years were held before a live audience were always organized around a specific question; "Is our French heritage an advantage or a handicap?, "Should Canada stay in the Commonwealth?" The producers of *Les idées en marche*, attempted to include at least one topic per month that was somewhat controversial although in the early years with Jacques Laundry at the helm, the controversial edge was sure to be rounded. Still, the lively discussions in the program, its avoidance of sterile polarization of issues, the more varied and sociological bias of many of its questions, as well as its production before a live audience, all contributed to bringing new life, and interest in this otherwise banal format. Also, its rather easy-going, informal and participatory style, made easier the treatment of some rather sensitive topics, like educational reform, unemployment and the like. (58)

Les idées en marche, was one of the last successful efforts on the part of Radio-Canada to collaborate with social groups and institutions outside its premises. The co-producer of the program, L'Association canadienne d'éducation des adultes, an umbrella organization representing a large variety of social and cultural groups, had an established history of social activism in general and in broadcasting in particular. As Radio-Canada grew and matured as an institution, these type of collaborative efforts, which had begun on the radio service with the educational program *Radio College*, came to an end. Radio-Canada's relationship with the civil society that had sustained its growth thus far became increasingly

formal and abstract. From here on, the professionalization of television broadcasting meant that the task of producing programming could only be accomplished by experts inside the institution. Outside collaboration was still sought, but only on a consultative basis. (59)

Carrefour was the first public affairs program on Radio-Canada designed specifically for television. *Carrefour* which was first introduced in November, 1955, was a daily newsmagazine broadcast early in the evening at 6:45 p.m. This program format, which had also been adopted by CBC's *Tabloid*, was considered an innovation for its time. These developments in public affairs television were not unique to CBC/Radio-Canada, however, but reflected the attempts of television executives and public affairs producers everywhere to develop programs that were more suitable to the medium of television as well as more appealing for the audience. This form of public affairs television, which presents a heterogeneous gathering of stories, interviews and reportages in a lively, visually stimulating manner typically presented by attractive hosts and journalists, was initially greeted with considerable hostility by public broadcasters, especially at the BBC, which considered it to be the beginning of the commercialization of one of public broadcasting's most sacrosanct territories. (60) The introduction of the newsmagazine format into the public affairs domain does not appear to have represented such a threat or challenge to CBC/Radio-Canada's philosophy of programming. This was partly because there was not a great public affairs tradition on television to protect. But what is very likely to have happened, however, is that these developments were initially resisted by the old guard at both networks, who were determined to protect this television genre from the encroachment of commercialism and showbiz values, but who eventually lost out to younger, more television-savy producers like Guy Parent and his colleagues. (61)

One of the most substantial innovations of *Carrefour* was its determination to move away from the studio. In its second season, fifty percent of its content consisted of filmed reports and interviews. The structure of the program consisted of a weather report, followed by three to six subjects, typically about Montreal and the regions of Quebec. The

program was described by the network's publicity as airy, light and breezy, and much was made of the program's attractive and charming team of journalists and hosts.(62) Quite evidently these were qualities that the broadcaster thought would assure the success of the new program, and the results indicated that it was right on the mark. *Carrefour*, which continued to be produced right into the early sixties, was an immediate critical and popular success. René Lévésque, who had the original idea for the program and supervised it during the first year of its existence, noted many years later that this program was extremely important in the development of public affairs programming at Radio-Canada television, for it allowed the young public affairs department to develop the production, journalistic and technical skills to create programs that people wanted to watch. (63)

The range of subjects treated by the *Carrefour* team was quite large. Arts, letters, history, journalism and social issues were part of the heady mix. What made many of these items safe was their tight, attractive packaging, the light touch of the journalists who presented them, and the avoidance of overly serious or truly controversial topics. One additional item contributed to the program's attraction. From 1957 on, every Monday evening for four consecutive weeks, a French-Canadian personality was interviewed by André Laurendeau. This section of the program was called, "les entretiens de *Carrefour*". Gilles Marcotte produced the program for its first season, (1955-56) and Jeanne Maurice Laporte produced it for the second. (1956-57) In addition to René Lévésque, Judith Jasmine, Jean Ducharme, Francine Montpetit, Wilfrid Lemone, Solange Chaput-Rolland were part of the original *Carrefour* team. Later, Adréanne Lefond, Renée Lavalée, and Marcel Bluin joined the program. (64)

As interesting and/or informative the existing public affairs programs might have been, (or were trying to become) none of them provided a real forum for the serious discussion of local, national and international political issues. The public broadcaster's continuing caution in this area, combined with the persistent climate of hostility cultivated by the Duplessis regime toward the network, served to create a strong reticence to the discussion

of politics on air. An opportunity to correct this situation was presented in 1955 when René Lévésque, in his capacity as head of the News Department at Radio-Canada, accompanied Prime Minister Lester Pearson on his trip of the Eastern Block countries and the Soviet Union. But upon his return to Quebec, the reaction from the Duplessis government and its allies was sufficiently hostile to prevent Lévésque's bosses from broadcasting anything about this trip. According to Pierre Godin, the only way the people of Quebec found out about the trip was from the CBC news service and the local press. (65) In fact, it took several months before Radio-Canada executives agreed to allow Lévésque to cut a radio program from the extensive material he had gathered during the trip. Still, Lévésque's participation in this diplomatic trip and the fact that he worked for Radio-Canada earned both the journalist and the institution the reputation for being communists or fellow travelers, a reputation deserved by neither and certainly not by Radio-Canada. One of the consequences of this trip and its aftermath was for Lévésque to resign from his permanent position at the news service and seek out employment with the broadcaster as a free-lance journalist. Lévésque was beginning to feel seriously constrained in his work as a journalist by the rules of conduct Radio-Canada imposed on its employees. (66) Another consequence was for Lévésque to start thinking about the most suitable way to present material on Radio-Canada television that was important, relevant and political but would not cause the entire Quebec establishment, and upper Radio-Canada management, to come down on his head. He concluded that the discussion of international affairs, of problems and issues that were taking place in other parts of the world but which were relevant or interesting to the Quebec audience was what the times called for. The continuing strength of conservative ideologies and power structures in Quebec had made the direct approach to domestic politics too difficult and volatile. The strategy of approaching international issues would not only provide a much needed opening into the larger world, but would slowly create a precedent for the discussion of domestic issues and problems. (67)

It was in this capacity as a freelancer, therefore, that René Lévésque proposed to the executives of the public affairs department the creation of a weekly public affairs program that would be dedicated to the analysis of (mostly) international issues. It took some time to convince reticent Radio-Canada executives that a program of this type would hold interest for a Quebec audience, and that it would not provoke the ire of the government in Quebec City. Eventually, the network did come through with the resources for a half-hour weekly program, hosted by René Lévésque and produced by Claude Sylvestre. The format of the program was ostensibly simple but which hid behind it enormous quantities of work by the production team and by Lévésque in particular. It basically consisted of Lévésque standing up in front of a blackboard and delivering a lecture to the audience using a map, blackboard and chalk. This clearly pedagogical role, which became Lévésque's trademark and which was very dear to his audience, was augmented by filmed reports and guests. (68)

The program which was to have the dramatic title, *Point de mire*, was originally shown on late Sunday evenings at 11:15 p.m. Radio-Canada executives continued to be nervous about the program, its subject matter as well as its host, and hoped that by placing the program in a late time slot on the schedule it might avoid unpleasant controversy. This strategy worked only partially, but the program slowly did begin to elicit the attention of both critics and the audience. The increasing popularity of the program finally forced the network programmers in 1958 to give it a more appropriate place on the schedule. The new time was Tuesday evenings, at 8:30 p.m., a much more favourable spot on the evening schedule. Unfortunately, the breaking of the Montreal producer's strike in December of the same year, did not allow much time for the newly scheduled *Point de mire* to test out the waters with critics and audience. Upon the resumption of regular broadcasting in the Spring of 1959, it was a foregone conclusion the program's days were numbered. Several of the new *Point de mire* episodes dealt with heavy-duty domestic issues such as the miners' strike in Labrador, the high levels of unemployment that were a result of the first serious economic downturn since the end of the war, and the like. Lévésque's actions

during the producer's strike (his very public role as a defender of the strikers and his severe criticisms of the Corporation's top executives, as well as the federal government) made him and his program dangerous entities for a seriously damaged, and vulnerable, public broadcaster. At the end of the Spring season, Radio-Canada television executives notified Lévésque that *Point de mire* would not be renewed. This short-lived public affairs program became one of the most celebrated of all of Radio-Canada's programs. Its legendary status, however, seems to have been acquired retrospectively. While it is clear that the program had gained a loyal following and was critically acclaimed during its brief existence, it is difficult to assess the real influence it may have had with the audience in general and in its role in the democratization of public discourse in particular. (69)

The years 1956-57 saw important developments in television drama at Radio-Canada television. Drama was an important feature of the public broadcaster's radio service and quite naturally the new television network wanted to develop this area of its programming as soon as possible. In 1953, Radio-Canada produced several plays from the international and local repertoire, including a new play by the Quebecois playwright Gratien Gélinas, and one by Aldus Huxley. (70) By 1954, Radio-Canada television was ready to introduce its first theatrical series, *Télé-Théatre* , which presented an interesting blend of modern and contemporary, local and international plays. For most of the decade *Télé-Théatre* remained the French network's most important showcase of theatrical drama, with increasing emphasis on local and Canadian plays. (71) One of the highlights of the 1954 season had been a new play by the talented young Québécois playwright, Marcel Dubé. The play, *Chambre à louer*, a realist drama about working-class life in a poor neighbourhood of Montreal, was a smash hit with critics and audience alike, soon becoming one of the classics of its generation. (72) To this first drama series were added, *Le Théatre populaire* and *En Première*, respectively introduced in 1956 and 1958. Both featured mixed repertoires of Québécois, Canadian and European plays. There seem to have been very few American plays, however, either from the contemporary or classical repertoire (73) There

was also a consistent attempt to balance contributions from young and upcoming playwrights, both local and international, with better known plays from the modern and classical European repertoire. The roster from these series included contributions as varied as Claudel, Ibsen, Shaw, Ledoux, Camus, Ledoux, Shakespeare and Molière.

Throughout the decade a consistent effort was made to promote talented local playwrights. The theatrical series *En Première* debuted with a new play by Robert Choquette, *Tu lis trop Anatole* . (74) Radio-Canada also cultivated a number of "house" playwrights. One of the most prolific and talented of these young playrights was Marcel Dubé. By 1957 Radio-Canada had produced four more of his plays, including the critically acclaimed, *Un simple soldat*. (75) Over the years, Radio-Canada television nurtured a large number of writers, and although its role in the cultivation of a new generation of authors has been more limited than is generally believed, the network did provide a hospitable environment to many writers with a variety of styles and approaches. Marcel Dubé, Francoise Loranger, Claude Jasmin, and Victor-Levy Beaulieu were among the first group of writers to flourish under the patronage of the public broadcaster. (76)

The production of so many plays in such a short period of time was an impressive achievement, especially when one considers the rather poor relations between Radio-Canada and the theater milieu. The latter, a well-established and prestigious member of the cultural and artistic life in Montreal, was slow to accept the new medium, which it considered to be rather pedestrian and artistically very primitive. (77) Contrary to many accounts of television's early years in Quebec, the new medium was not received with open arms by everyone in the artistic community. The distinctions between elite or "high" culture and popular cultural forms, although in the process of being eroded by the maturation of capitalist modernity, were still current both among the traditional elites and the artistic/cultural avant-garde. (78) It would take some time before television, whose own development was premised on a new synthesis of different cultural forms, was able to impose its distinct identity and hybrid forms within the larger artistic/cultural community.

Also, the view that Montreal was full of unemployed artists who jumped at the opportunity to work for Radio-Canada television (as has been argued by some historians) must be modified as well. (79) To be sure, many welcomed the opportunity for regular or contractual work at Radio-Canada. Many used these earnings to sustain or develop their careers outside television. Yet many others hesitated, in spite of the relative scarcity of employment in the cultural sector during the fifties. (80) In reality it took some time before many artists and writers could be persuaded to embark upon a working relationship with television. While it is true that Radio-Canada television made an important contribution to the sustenance and development of the artistic and cultural milieu in Quebec, and especially Montreal, it is important to remember that these communities pre-existed television and that they were flourishing when it arrived on the scene. Moreover, the argument could be made that, at least in the early years, television needed the talents and resources of the cultural and artistic communities, more than they needed it. In short, Radio-Canada did not create or give rise to Quebec's (especially Montreal's) lively and even then, cosmopolitan cultural scene. Rather, the latter pre-existed television and was a crucial element to the former's success. But over time a more reciprocal relationship was worked out, with Radio-Canada television contributing greatly to the further development of cultural modernity in Quebec.

As one early television producer has written, himself an aspiring theater actor before embarking upon his television career, Radio-Canada had a difficult time convincing the best and the brightest directors, writers and actors from the theater to participate in its theatrical productions. Producers had an especially difficult time with actors, who did not like to be directed by, what they considered, non-professionals. Similarly, many writers were hesitant to submit their work for production on television, fearing distortions or worse, the debasement of their original work. (81) At the same time, Radio-Canada personnel, even producers of the theatrical series, made little attempt to bridge the cultural gap by going to theater, or participating in other cultural events. This was partly because of the scarcity of

leisure time. The work schedule of Radio-Canada television staff was extremely demanding. But another, more enduring, reason was that Radio-Canada was unfolding in its own universe, its relationships with the "outside" world becoming increasingly mediated by the growing prominence of television, as a medium and as an institution.

These were also exceptional years for the development of another dramatic form on television. This new television genre originated within the realm of electronic communications and was an authentic product of the broadcast age. The téléroman, which had its origins in radio (where it had developed into a highly evolved cultural form) did not present the new network with any of the difficulties of its theatrical productions. The téléroman (a true child of modern popular culture)was almost immediately appropriated by the new medium. Within a brief span of time it became one of Radio-Canada's most unique contributions to television culture, and next to hockey, by far one of its most popular and emblematic television forms. (82)

There is a great deal that has been written on this remarkable and uniquely Québécois television cultural form and we do not have the space or expertise to contribute anything substantial or new here. (83) Suffice it to note that one of the distinctive characteristics of the téléroman (and which probably accounts for much of its continued popularity) is that through its various manifestations it has explored the heart and soul (the problems, fears, ambitions and joys) of the people of Quebec. While the radioroman had encouraged its listeners to imagine the exploits of their fellow Quebeckers, the téléroman allowed them for the first time to see each other, in the present but also in the past, in the countryside, the small town, the modern metropolis, in other words, across the time and space of Quebec's historical and sociological trajectory. The radioroman may have been the more accomplished, more sophisticated and artistically more developed of the two genres, (84) but the spectacular success of the téléroman from the very start, indicates that there was a strong connection between the image and the creation of identity, the image and symbolic ties of kinship. Almost without exception the subjects of the téléroman were explorations of

Quebec culture, historical or contemporary issues and problems. The téléroman created close links of identity and of kinship among the people of Quebec, links which span across the barriers of class and spaces of history. This television cultural form, in a similar but more sustained manner than the theatrical or public affairs programs, became a mirror of sorts by which the newly emerging Québécois identity was being reflected back to its admiring and appreciative national public. (85)

These symbolic ties of kinship and self-identification (thus the popularity of the téléroman) were further strengthened by its unique aesthetic. It would appear that the formal simplicity of the téléroman, its hyper-realist, almost banal exterior was the perfect carrier, or form, for this genre which, whatever its setting and specific subject matter, was ultimately concerned with, as Pierre Vérroneau has written, "les plus banales, les plus répetitives et les plus quotidiennes" details of human life. (86) This element of simplicity and exaggerated realism, both in the discourse and the form of the téléroman, this fulfillment of the desire for transparency in human relations, appears to have been one of the central attractions of the genre. As Jean-Pierre Desaulniers, who has studied the téléroman extensively observes, "... le contexte implicite qui trame la toile de fond de tout feuilleton vise à confirmer cette possibilité de comprendre gens et situations à travers de simple observations sur les comportments, sans avoir à recourir à une signification éloignée et abstraite." (87)

This tendency of the téléroman to almost make a fetish of realism, this naturalistic quality that makes the characters in the téléroman appear as if they really existed (that they are real people in real situations) has been the cause of considerable controversy. This mirror-like aspect of the genre which leads people to believe, or to want to believe, that they are watching authentically "real" situations and people and not representations of reality, has been criticized as politically regressive by some, while other have argued that the téléroman allowed the depiction of new ideas and lifestyles long before they became acceptable in the public sphere. The latter opinion was expressed by René Lévésque, a

veteran journalist at Radio-Canada radio and television, who had personal experience of the parameters of public discourse in post-war Quebec. (88) Fernard Séquin on the other hand, himself one of the most important personalities and producers of educational programs at Radio-Canada television in the fifties, believed that the overall effect of the téléroman was to provide an ideological cushion to the dominant classes. He has argued that the audience's critical capacities were not sharpened by the téléromans. On the contrary, the genre provided comfort and emotional indulgence, its pre-occupation with "fiction-as-history" and the details of everyday life, did not promote the questioning of established values, of a desire to change the status-quo. (89) Although we are not able to take a firm position on this controversy here (which is still unfolding on the small screens and editorial pages of newspapers across Quebec) we believe that Pierre Véronneau's observation, namely, that the history of the téléromans indicates a lack of willingness to take risks, and points to a tendency to reproduce the dominant values in society merits some consideration. For example, the téléroman has always privileged the traditional family as the cornerstone of society. Also, before 1970, women were generally represented in their traditional domestic role as mother and wife, in situations where the prevalent division of labour was predominant. Although the dominant representational scheme has changed recently, with single parent and gay families entering the world of the téléroman, and with women frequently holding down jobs or running careers outside the home, the traditional structure of the téléroman has not changed substantially. (90)

La famille Plouffe was the first of this most popular, durable and complex television genre. A very popular series on the radio, it became an immediate success when transferred to television in 1953, topping the ratings by far, except perhaps for *Hockey Night in Canada*. There is little that has not been written about *les Plouffes* , as this progenitor of the téléroman genre is familiarly known, so we will limit our comments to noting the deep humanity that inspired it, its excellent and representative cast of characters... and cast of actors. We must also mention the realistic (but not banal) portrayal of the travails of a large

working-class family in the midst of transition, very much like that of the larger Quebec society that inspired it. Until it went off the air in 1958, *La famille Plouffe* remained one of the most popular of the téléroman series, but in the meantime other, almost equally popular ones, were added to the schedule. (91)

The stunning success of *La famille Plouffe* inspired the creation of a large number of dramatic series that over the course of the decade established the téléroman genre as one of the classics of Québécois television as well as one of Radio-Canada's most original contributions to television culture. According to Jean-Pierre Desaulnier's calculations, the French network produced no less than twenty-one (21) téléromans during the first decade of its existence. (92) In the year following the first television broadcast of *La famille Plouffe* , Radio-Canada presented *five* new téléroman's on its evening schedule. Three of the most popular were *14, rue de Galais*, by André Giroux, *Le survenant 1*, by Germaine Guèvremont, and *Cap aux sorciers* by Guy Dufresnes. (93) The first téléroman, was set in the city of Montreal and revolved around the emotional travails of a middle class, nuclear family, one that probably resembles the urban nuclear family unit that was emerging in the post-war period. The other two were set in Quebec's not too distant historical past, evoking periods that belonged to another time, but which still were within the reach of the older generation's experiences or memories. *Le survenant* , set at the turn of the century, evoked a Quebec landscape still unspoiled by modernity's markings, a place or space that was still very much alive (and idealized) in the collective memory of many Québécois, but which by the 1950's, had already passed into the realm of mythologized history. (94)

The téléroman's care for the reproduction of empirical reality, contemporary and historical, and which was one of they key ingredients of its success, was present in all the series, their authors devoting considerable time and energy researching and verifying the factual or empirical elements of their narratives. (not unlike the work of historians!) The writer and producers and members of *Cap aux sorciers*, however, took the research dimension of their work to even greater lengths than most. The concern for authenticity

found the production team of *Cap aux sorciers* , spending the greater part of the summer of 1957 sailing up and down the Lower St. Lawrence (in whose small ports and towns the story was set) speaking with the people, getting to know their ways and traditions, in short getting close to the ground and soaking up the atmosphere which they hoped to reproduce in the series in the fall season. (95)

The following years saw the birth of many more téléromans, although few of them had the staying power of the original group, including the massively popular *Toi et Moi*, by Jean Lajeunesse and Janette Bertrand, which we did not mention above. Among the most memorable or popular téléromans that were produced in the second half of the decade were *La pension velder*, by Robert Choquette, *Les belles histoires des pays d'en haut* by Claude-Henri Grignon, *Les filles d'Eve*, by Louis Mirrisset and *Je vous ai tant aimé*, by Jovette Bernier and Guy Fournier. A second téléroman by Roger Lemelin, *En haut de la pente douce*, the creator of the fabled *La famille plouffe*, was not able to repeat the success of the first. By the second half of the fifties, the téléroman had become such a staple of not only the Radio-Canada schedule (in 1958 there were no less than six téléromans on the weekly schedule) but of the larger cultural scene in Quebec. In this context it is not surprising to see the name of the already well-known poet and chansonier, Félix Lécrerc, write his own téléroman, giving the poetic title, *Nérée Tousignant*. (96)

When it came to the téléroman, it would appear that the number and variety of stories flowing out of the pens of Quebec writers had no limits. It was as if the floodgates of Quebec's collective creativity, its experiences of itself (past and present) its sense of where it was going and where it wanted to go, had opened up and there was no end to the telling of stories about it all. This storytelling, this need to narrate in the form of the téléroman, and which is intimately related to the reshaping of a modern Québécois national identity, has continued unabated, as we have seen, to our days. It seems that few within Radio-Canada, even those who were intimately involved in the production of the téléroman, anticipated the extent of its success with the public. Even when it became evident that the

téléroman was rapidly becoming (apart from hockey) the most popular item on the television schedule, the French network continued to be puzzled by the extent of its success. Although Radio-Canada had actively contributed to the development of the genre (which included the encouragement and financial support of many of the writers, and of-course the production of the téléromans themselves) in an 1961 assessment of the network's achievements during the first decade of its existence, the public broadcaster was still searching for appropriate words to explain the continuing popularity, indeed fascination, with what it rightly called, "la principale fortune de notre television". (97)

CHAPTER VI:

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF RADIO-CANADA PERSONNEL.

Although the Radio-Canada television network has been a distinct entity, it has evolved within the framework of the structures of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In many ways it was inevitable that the instrumental logic of the larger, hierarchically-structured institution would eventually pull the new television network within its orbit. Also, television is an industrial, highly technological and centralizing medium, favouring a highly stratified division of labour. (1) In the context of a rapidly expanding, centrally controlled public institution, the inherent contradictions between the technical, administrative, ideological and artistic aspects of television came to the f ore fairly early. Within several years of its creation, the French television network was experiencing major difficulties in its relations with large numbers of its staff. Within the sixth year, it was riven by one of the biggest labour conflicts of the decade, as the networks's producers after repeated efforts to reach a negotiated settlement with management, went out on strike on December 3, 1958. Although the network was able to recover quickly and reasonably well after the three-monthlong strike, things were never the same again. The strike had deeply disillusioned an entire generation of television artisans as well as large sections of the population which had really believed that Radio-Canada was "their" television network. As we shall see, the Montreal producer's strike led to the political radicalization of thousands of people. This in turn proved to be a major step in the transition of French-Canadian national pride to a Québécois nationalist movement. (2)

In its formative years, however, Radio-Canada television was both more autonomous from the larger corporate body and a more hospitable and creative environment for its mostly young and idealistic staff. The relatively small number of about 100 directors,

executives, producers and technical personnel that operated CBFT and produced the first generation of television programs appear to have been a closely-knit group of people who were joined together by their fascination and passion for the new medium. The early Radio-Canada television managers, most of whom came from the radio service and who were led by the television expert and crusader Alphonse Ouimet, seem to have been totally converted to the cause of television and to be close to their producers and technical staff. (3)

In a way, this openness and co-operative spirit was essential to the success of the new endeavour. The production and broadcasting of television was a complex, highly technical and very demanding enterprise. The new medium had to be learned, mastered and put into innovative use, all at the same time. It was imperative that all members of the team approach this task in a spirit of close collaboration, even solidarity. And this, according to some of those early recruits, is exactly what happened. Gérard Pelletier, journalist and host of the popular public affairs program, *Les Ideés en March*, and Férnand Séquin, television personality, writer and producer of educational programs, have both recalled the tremendous sense of solidarity and excitement that characterized the work of this first television group. Pelletier in particular, remembers (not without glee) participating in the first trial television assignments, including the one that involved the televising of the first St. Jean Baptiste parade. (4) Guy Parent, one of the early producers at CBFT, recalls how he and his fellow producers considered it normal to practically live at the station, working up to 16 hour shifts or longer, constantly discussing each other's programs, ideas and plans for future programs, and in general being totally enthralled with the challenge of making the new medium of television work for them. (5)

The rapid growth of the French television network, (as indeed of the entire CBC/Radio-Canada television system) the rapidly increasing number of staff, (from about 103 in 1952 to 1,715 in 1961) and the exigencies of expanded television schedules, among other pressures, eventually led to the transformation of the initial, tightly-knit group of people into a well organized and efficient production machine. (6) These developments were

accompanied by a more stratified division of labour, a more complex and hierarchical chain of command as well as other administrative "refinements". Although these developments may have permitted the network to grow quickly and be more efficient, they also gave rise to a hierarchically structured institution where everyone and everything had its place. In this new context the relationships between the people who produced television programs came to be governed more by intermediate management structures, production imperatives and commercial pressures and less by a mutual devotion to shared ideals and objectives. Under the new circumstances, (which included the radicalization of the labour movement in Quebec) the appeal of unionization became increasingly attractive for large numbers of Radio-Canada employees, most of whom were organized by the middle of the decade. (7) When the turn of the producers came to be organized, however, the network management simply refused. The producers, as far as management was concerned, were colleagues, members of the institution's elite. Also, and this was equally if not more important, they had to be kept under strict control. Allowing them to unionize would have contravened the rules of running a large corporate structure. And running an efficient, well-organized corporate bureaucracy was something that the future Chairman of the corporation, Alphonse Ouimet, had become very fond in the latter half of the decade. (8)

One of the first places where the impact of the growing bureaucracy within the corporation was felt was between the producers and upper management. It had been CBC/Radio-Canada policy from the beginning to give its producers as much autonomy and creative freedom as possible. (9) This was both because of the corporation's commitment to developing a Canadian television culture that was distinct, and better, than its commercially driven American counterpart, and also, because it was a matter of necessity. Producers played a central role in the production of television programs. Not only were they responsible for the production of a particular program or series, they were also involved in a whole series of artistic, technical and even commercial decisions. Moreover, they functioned as key intermediaries between upper management and the production staff.

It was clear that if public television was to make a headway in Canada and in Quebec, considering the competition, the producers had to be given maximum freedom to create good and interesting programming. (10) Yet despite the centrality of producers in the creation of television programs, they were being (slowly but surely) deprived of one of their most basic assets. The instrumental logic that was increasingly guiding (the rapidly expanding) public broadcaster was much more attuned to the codification of rules, regulations and hierarchical chains of command (structures and discourses it could better control) than in the encouragement of ideal working conditions for its creative staff. (11)

Although there had been signs of discord between the executive corps and production staff from the early days, they had nevertheless managed to work out a modus vivendum, and on the whole enjoyed a close, if often argumentative, relationship. (12) In a certain sense eventual conflict between the executive and the production layers of the corporation was inevitable. The goals of television directors, programmers and producers may have a common basis, but each saw things from his (sic) own perspective. For example, producers, being much closer to the actual workings of the medium, attempted to spice up their programs, make them more attractive and translate a concept or idea for a television program into a good "show". Executives, on the other hand, being further removed from the production process, could entertain all kinds of idealistic, but not always feasible, notions of what constituted good public service programming. Naturally, arguments and disagreements ensued from this difference in perspectives. As Gerard Pelletier has written, it was typical for producers and directors of television to have long and heated arguments about corporate policy, program ideas or the evolution of a specific program. In the early days at least, this meant that eventually they were able to come to a consensus, or if that was not possible, to a tentative agreement. (13) Guy Parent, has also written how, even though producers were often exploited, were badly paid, and treated without the consideration they deserved, it was generally understood that they were important people in the network. Producers during the early years, writes Parent, could hold their own ground,

make important decisions and even contest an executive decision if they believed it was damaging to the program or series for which they were responsible. (14)

The rather amicable, if quarrelsome, relationship between the producers and network management was seriously disrupted when in 1955 the (by now) 80 or so producers at CBFT, who were housed on two floors of the Radio-Canada building, were split up and sent to different geographical locations according to the type of program they produced. The previous arrangement was very suitable to the producers for it permitted them ongoing access to one another and where, according to Guy Parent, a genuine esprit de corps had developed among them. (15) This disruption, the result of a bureaucratic reorganization of the network which included adding a whole new stratum of middle management, had very negative consequences for the network and the producers. (16) The producers were henceforth isolated from one another, had less direct access to upper management, and became more dependent on the new stratum of middle managers, supervisors and executive producers. It also meant they had much less autonomy than before; their artistic and other decisions having to be approved by the new section or department heads.

From here on the creative tension that had characterized the relationship between management and producers at Radio-Canada television gradually deteriorated into a sometimes overt, but more often covert, battle for control on the part of one group, and for the desire for more autonomy and creative input on the other. Producers were much more closely supervised than before, with some producers or journalists on a list of people to watch for infrastructure or other transgression of the rules. It would appear that this new situation strengthened the hand of the more conservative members of the management like Auréle Sequin, who insisted that people like Réné Lévesque should be kept on a tight leash. (17) In this context of increased bureaucratic and political control, the chasm between the two sides continued to grow, with many producers feeling that they had lost ground, that they were isolated and were insufficiently respected by management. A case in point is provided by Guy Parent who found from the morning paper that the program he

was producing, *C'est la Vie*, had been renewed for another year. When he inquired as to the news, he was told to his dismay that the decision had been taken three weeks earlier but that management had simply "forgotten" to notify him. (18)

Another major source of dissonance in the relationship between the executive core and the producers at Radio-Canada television were differences in background, social and political commitments, level of rank within the CBC/Radio-Canada corporation and degree of responsibility in respect to external ideological and political pressures. As we have seen, the majority of the producers at the French network belonged to a new generation of educated young people whose desire to open-up Quebec to the rest of the world was matched, if not surpassed, by their commitment to the modernization and reform of Quebec's social, political and cultural institutions. Although their political and ideological commitments were not on the whole particularly radical, most of them combined their strong commitment to the reform and modernization of Quebec society with elements of nationalist and socialist discourse. Many of them had traveled abroad (the first generation to do so in large numbers) and had been influenced by variants of Marxist and social democratic thought. Others had been members of student movements, youth groups, the co-operative movement and other socio-political groups, most of which had adopted some elements of socialist thinking or practice. (19) Also, during the war and the post-war period when the Communist Party of Canada still had a strong presence in Quebec, a good number of student leaders, intellectuals and artists had been attracted to its style of political organizing and revolutionary rhetoric. (20) Although little overt influence of the fling with Communist ideology remained by the early 50's, it had left some traces of radicalism on the consciousness of the young reformers and especially on the labour movement.

Many of the people who had found jobs at Radio-Canada's radio and later the television service were social reformers of one sort or another. Some of Radio-Canada's top journalists and collaborators, Judith Jasmin, André Laurendeau, René Lévésque, Gérard Pelletier, among others, had been influenced by some version of radical or socialist

thinking. The radicalism of certain sections of the radio service had been a cause of concern for Radio-Canada management for some time. To the radio radicals were soon added the young people who came to work for the television service. Although few of them openly professed their ideological leanings (most were in fact modernists and nationalists) management was clearly worried that the corporation may have been damaged by any relevations of radical leanings on the part of their staff. Keeping those members of the staff that were suspected of left-wing ideologies on a tight leash, and making sure that nothing went on air without the prior approval of upper management were just two of the tactics used to contain possible ideological leakages during these difficult Duplessis years. (20)

It should not be very surprising that under these circumstances there would be some political friction between management and a number of its producers. Although we do not possess sufficient information on the political beliefs or alliances of the Radio-Canada executive corps, we may safely assume that they were moderate supporters the reform movement and that they considered public broadcasting as a crucial instrument in the reform and modernization of Quebec society. These men were moderate or conservative modernists, members of the inter-war generation of reformers and institution builders who, with some exceptions, were not radical proponents of modernity but worked hard to create the institutions and structures that would be the carriers of modernity. (21) In this context, Radio-Canada in its status as a public broadcaster was a perfect institution to promote modernity and reform within the parameters of the existing socio-economic system. The argument regarding the moderate, even conservative orientation of most of the Radio-Canada television executives is supported by the careers and political leanings of Augustine Frigon, Auréle Séquin, Marcel Quimet and even Alphonse Ouimet. Although Augustine Frigon had fought hard for the autonomy of Radio-Canada from the early days, he was a political conservative. He also abandoned Radio-Canada's hard-fought autonomy during the conscription crisis when he turned the public radio network into an instrument of federal, pro-conscription propaganda. Auréle Séquin, the top executive at the television

network, was according to media historian Pierre Godin a conservative who wanted "his" network to reflect the christian values and moral rectitude of traditional Quebec. Apparently Séquin had hoped the new network would provide a refuge or at least remain free of the radicals and "hard-heads" that had, in his opinion, invaded the radio service in the post-war period. (22) Alphonse Ouimet (a modernist, fascinated with technology and technological solutions) was a much more tolerant figure, but as his speech to the Montreal Advertising Club in the early days of television revealed, also a "realist" who liked making deals and who, in later years, was instrumental in redesigning the corporation into a modernistic, highly stratified bureaucracy.

The (imputed) conservative liberalism on the part of the Montreal executive is supported by the cordial, even warm, relationship they cultivated with Ottawa. Their appointment to their executive positions indicates that they had close ties with the Liberal administration in Ottawa and enjoyed the patronage of Davidson Dunton, the liberal, (and Liberal) Chairman of the Corporation. These (possible) political affiliations did not prevent them from focusing the network's attention on Quebec as we have seen, but it did create dual affiliations or loyalties which at moments of crisis such as the the strike of 1958, or the election of a hostile government in Ottawa in the same year, would lead to confusion, inaction, even lack of leadership. It would seem the autonomy that Radio-Canada had sought from the early days of Augustine Frigon, (and which had been temporarily abandoned during the war and more recently had worked hard to gain back) was often sabotaged by the contradictions inherent in the relationship between the public broadcasting institution, its political masters and the conflicting perspectives of its executives and artisans.

Here it is important to keep in mind that the inherent conservatism of upper management at Radio-Canada television was further reinforced by the larger political context in which it found itself. As we have seen, public television was not welcomed by the Duplessis regime and the traditional elite which supported it, and the network evolved in a climate of political

hostility and conservatism. Typically, the network was charged with harboring socialists (or worse) among its staff and for propagating atheist and communist ideas. Moreover, it was the usual practice for Duplessis and his ministers to make direct interventions at Radio-Canada television if they disapproved of a particular program or a guest. Under these conditions the Montreal executive's cautious approach to public broadcasting was inevitably reinforced. As we have seen earlier, the entire CBC/Radio-Canada television system was to a certain extent a captive of the conservative political climate of the decade in general and of cold-war politics in particular. In this context the Montreal executives often succumbed to external pressure and modified or even canceled a scheduled program. At other times, however, it did take risks by broadcasting an "objectionable" program or approving of guests deemed inappropriate by the ruling power in Quebec City. (23) Under these difficult conditions, programming was a matter of taking a calculated risk between what was desirable and what was possible, especially with public affairs programs, where decisions were often made on the side of caution. Still, it is important to recognize that this generation of executives was, on the whole, a capable and talented group. They were excellent institution-builders, capable, even inspired programmers (even though they proved to be less capable as managers of the hugely talented group of people they hired to work for them) It was, after all, under the leadership of these men that Radio-Canada television evolved into a prestigious broadcasting institution whose programs were very popular with audiences at home and admired by English-Canadian, American and European critics. Finally, it would seem that the truly creative energy at Radio-Canada during these years of growth emanated from this creative tension between the executive core, their abilities, talents and limitations, and the producers and other creative personnel who were constantly pushing at the boundaries of the possible, and the acceptable. (24)

It is also important to keep in mind that the relationship between the Radio-Canada executives and the producers was, with the exception of the three months of the strike, never totally severed. Even during some of the most difficult moments of the French

network's early history, (the months leading up to the producers' strike in early December. 1958 and the early days of the resumption of production in the Spring of 1959) communication between the executive core and the producers was still going on; the generation of new program ideas and the production of successful programs, was still possible. Paradoxically, it was a number of executives from the middle stratum, the group that had been created by the expansion of the network and the bureaucratic reorganization, that took place in the middle of the decade, and which had disrupted the power and creative autonomy of the producers, men like Roger Rolland, Marc Thibault and Raymond David, who were able to play a positive role in the productive, but still tentative, reconciliation of the quarreling sides after the debacle of 1958.

The men and women who were recruited to work at Radio-Canada television were, for the most part, members of a new generation of French-Canadians (or as the decade advanced Québécois) which had recently graduated from Quebec's colleges, universities, art and technical schools. This generation of young people had come of age during the transformative years of the war and post-war period, and were in many ways decidedly different from the previous generation. They were, as René Lévésque observed in an interview, much more free from the grip of traditionalist ideologies and the moral codes of their elders than any generation before them. (25) Having come of age in a period of general prosperity and material abundance, this generation was less beholden to the damaging experiences of the Great Depression, Quebec's insular posture towards the rest of the world (especially Republican France and materialist America) and to sentiments of inferiority in regards to other cultures and nations. For the most part, it was a politicized, reformist and modernist generation, better educated and more confident about its abilities and talents than their parents, or even elder siblings. Many were impatient with the way things were in Quebec and were anxious to either flee from what they perceived to be an oppressive situation or to stay and change it. (26) In particular, they felt burdened with the

colonial heritage (of both Quebec's and Canada's), and were eager to embark upon a more equal and mutually beneficial relationship with Canada and the rest of the world. (27)

The encounter between Radio-Canada and the men and women who went to work for it may be considered as a kind of happy historical coincidence between the nascent television network and the rising generation of writers, artists, intellectuals and journalists. This situation of mutual reciprocity was beneficial to both sides. On the one hand, these graduates of Quebec's expanded educational system needed to find useful employment, a difficult proposition in Quebec's growing but still relatively restricted educational, cultural and artistic sectors. (28) On the other hand, the new television network needed a wide array of skills and talents, ranging from managers, clerical staff, producers, scripts, journalists, designers, and technical experts of all sorts. Radio-Canada television, especially in the mid-decade years of expansion, was hiring in large numbers and was able to provide interesting and fulfilling employment opportunities to many young and aspiring professionals, even though, as we have seen, it could not pay them very well. Radio-Canada television enabled a whole generation of young people to stay home and develop their skills and talents, to the benefit of both the television network and the larger culture. At the same time Radio-Canada was able to help support Quebec's growing cultural and artistic communities by offering regular contracts to a large number of writers, actors, musicians and artists. (29) This situation of mutual reciprocity, therefore, proved to be extremely beneficial to everyone involved. By acting as a hot-house environment for an entire generation of young talent, the French network was able to profit from a tremendous pool of cultural resources as well as to contribute to the artistic and cultural development of the community as a whole.

We have mentioned earlier that the new television network had thrown its net far and wide in order to come up with its first group of artistic and production staff. Not surprisingly, most of these early recruits came from radio, mostly from Radio-Canada's own service but also from private radio. Although there is some evidence to suggest that

upper CBC/Radio-Canada management had wanted to keep this cross-over to a minimum, both to prevent any damage to the radio-service and because it was believed that television needed fresh young talent (uncontaminated by experiences in broadcast or other media institutions) the French network did in fact recruit a considerable number of people from its own radio service. (30) This was particularly true with journalists, managers and technicians. We have already seen that the core of directors of the new television station all came from long careers at the radio service. Also, a good number of Radio-Canada television's most prominent journalists, Judith Jasmin, Wilfred Lemoine, Gérard Pelletier, René Lévésque, among others, came from the radio service. On the whole, most of the radio people made the transition to television quite successfully, something which according to one media historian was a cause of serious concern to many radio people, including Réne Lévésque. (31) This transition had sometimes to be made with the aid of some modification of personal appearance, especially for women. (Judith Jasmin made her transition from the radio to television by dying her brown hair blond) The general concern with the physical attributes of on-camera personalities did keep some talented people away. Even René Lévésque, a veteran radio and print journalist who was passionate about the new medium, was kept away for some time because of management's fears that he was not sufficiently telegenic. (32)

In addition to radio, a number of other media organizations provided quite a few of television's early recruits. Several people came from print journalism, like producer Gérard Renault, a former news sports editor, André Laurendeau, editor of the Montreal daily *Le Devoir* and several newspaper and magazine journalists from around the province. Others, like the producer Jean-Yves Bingras came from a varied media background, while others still came from the film industry, with the NFB/ONF providing the bulk of people with experience in the cinema. (33) A few people came from the theater and fine arts milieu. But as we have seen, these contributions were sparse in the early years because people in the theater (an especially a well-developed and flourishing milieu in the post-war

period) was slow to accept the new medium. Contrary to the prevalent view, the new medium was not immediately and enthusiastically received by everyone in the artistic and cultural communities in Quebec, nor was it seen as a saviour from chronic underemployment, cultural marginalization and economic hardship. Although the relationship with the theater and other élite artistic and cultural milieus did improve over the years, for example some of Quebec's best writers like Gratien Gélinas, Ann Hébert and Gabrielle Roy contributed to Radio-Canada's many theatrical series, (34) and many of Quebec's best-known performers and musicians participated in Radio-Canada's prestigious series like *L'Heure du Concert* and *Music Hall*, there was a lingering sentiment on the part of the latter that the relationship with Radio-Canada was one-sided, that the network was not genuinely interested in the work of these writers, artists and performers but was merely exploiting them in the interests of a good television program. (35)

But the large majority of Radio-Canada's staff, especially those who were hired during the network's first expansion phase, had little or no experience in the media or the performing arts, much less with television. We have seen that Radio-Canada did not, unlike the CBC, worry about this lack of experience, and chose instead to emphasize the potential and talents of its young recruits. This general impression is supported by Gérard Pelletier who remembers that the lack of experience did not cause much concern at Radio-Canada television. What is more, it was considered an advantage not to have had any previous experience in television or the other media. Radio-Canada management, he writes, was intent on developing a distinct television culture and thought it appropriate to hire people whose cultural references were not influenced by extraneous cultural forms, especially American ones. (36) Pelletier also argues that the natural talents of the young recruits combined with their open-minded attitude towards television and the relative high degree of tolerance and creative freedom that prevailed at the network in the early days to produce interesting, unique and popular television programs. This combination of elements produced television programming that was an uninhibited blend of different cultural forms,

high and popular, traditional and modern ones. In this context of creative freedom and absence of close referencing to other television cultures, the young producers at Radio-Canada felt free to tackle Shakespeare or Molière, Diderot and Bernard Shaw, serious and light topics, with few worries about meeting acceptable standards. What was important for executives and producers alike was that programs in all the different program categories, be that light variety, educational, public-affairs, classical music, were produced for everyone. There was one program schedule to be shared by everyone, even though within it a great deal of allowance was made for a large diversity of publics and tastes. (37)

In his book, *The Years of Impatience*, (1983) Pelletier presents a reasonably accurate, if somewhat idealistic, portrait of the people and the programs that were produced in the early days of Radio-Canada television's existence. A quick glance at Radio-Canada's weekly program schedule for the first few years does confirm the tendency that Pelletier describes to try all kinds of program ideas, mix up the genres and innovate with the medium. As we have already seen, this rather naive but creative approach to television making, received the approval of many audiences and critics. What Pelletier has left out of his account, however, are some of the least attractive aspects (as well as the more absurd situations) of what it actually meant to produce television in the early days of Radio-Canada, and the tremendous personal cost to the young producers and their staff. The case of Guy Parent is typical of this first generation of young producers. Parent, a young law school graduate with thespian ambitions, had decided to take a year off before starting his law practice in order to try his luck at the theater. Parent was traveling around Quebec in pursuit of his goal when he was intercepted several times by Radio-Canada television executives with offers of work at the year-old television station. After several refusals, Parent finally agreed to an interview where he was promptly hired. (his only requirement was to write a short essay on a topic of his choice). Without further adieu, or formal training of any kind, he was put to work as producer of the travelogue hosted by André Laurendeau, *Pays en Merveille.*, which in spite of its genial host had difficulty keeping its

producers. Parent's robust personality, the simple format of the program, (typically Laurendeau would briefly present the country to be "visited", an appropriate guest would be interviewed and "bits" of film shown in the interval) took him through the ordeal but not without permanent damage, as he reminds us) to his mental equilibrium. According to Parent the operative word among novice producers at Radio-Canada television studios was, "se démerder", that is to shift for oneself, to make do, to muddle through. This sink-or-swim policy (or more precisely prevailing atmosphere) meant that new recruits managed as well as they could, learned from each other as quickly as they could, crossed their fingers and hoped for the best. Most importantly they tried to appease the technical staff in the studios, especially the cameramen, who were the real bosses of the "joint" and who kept new producers in a permanent state of apprehension. Producing a program without the co-operation of these early masters of television technology was out of the question and everything was done to please and befriend them, or at the very least keep them from sabotaging one's program, something that was, according to Parent, was indulged in with some regularity. (38) As Parent remembers it, producing at Radio-Canada television in the early years meant much more than enthusiasm and love for the medium. It also meant using one's connections, stamina, talents and wits to the maximum. Often that was not enough, and disastrous situations, like the times when cameramen would decide to "misundersand" the producer's directions, the wrong props would be delivered or props brought in by guests damaged and compensation sought, performers canceling at the last moment, or worst of all, the program would be a flop. (39) Under these conditions, producing a live show, which was the norm in the early days, more often than not meant using all of one's resources to "put something together" that more or less worked. This did not mean that these early programs, however simple in their conception or format, were devoid of interest of artistry. In a short time the producers became more able and confident and their programs, (or "shows" as Parent prefers to call them) much more polished and sophisticated. This accomplishment meant working around the clock, with little time for

rest or a personal life. It also meant going into debt and coming to the brink of physical and nervous exhaustion. But the commitment to the new medium and the challenge of producing television programs that made a difference kept most producers going. Within a year of his entry at Radio-Canada, Parent was producing one of television network's most popular programs, *C'est la loi*, which used an innovative blend of acted sketches and interviews to illustrate various aspects of the law and people's relationship with it. (40) Producing in the early days meant that innovation and experimentation, learning to use the medium to obtain the desired effects, constantly thinking of ways to improve existing shows or coming up with ideas for new programs was part of the daily daily life of a producer. It was also a necessary condition of survival at Radio-Canada television. (41)

In addition to producers, Radio-Canada had hired, as we have seen, a large number of people to work as production, auxiliary and support staff, a wide range of occupations, from studio technicians and cameramen, to make-up artists and wardrobe masters, to scripts and design specialists. But we know very little of their life at Radio-Canada, their conditions of work or their relationship with various levels of management. We do know, however, that most non-managerial personnel were organized by the mid-fifties and from this one can deduce that they had some control over their conditions of work and salaries. (42) While all indications are that they bore feelings of strong loyalty to the broadcasting organization, they were equally motivated by sentiments of loyalty and solidarity to their CO-workers and, particularly to producers. When the latter decided to go on strike in early December 1958, the 3,000 people working in the Radio-Canada building refused to cross the picket lines, thus bringing production to a halt. (43)

Apart from moments of crisis or more routine problems emanating from employee-employer relationships, it would appear that Radio-Canada was a reasonably enlightened employer, albeit one bearing the strong traces of paternalism. Radio-Canada was able to offer thousands of young people the opportunity to work at fairly skilled and interesting jobs. These jobs were for the most part extremely demanding and badly paid but also

among the most prestigious and attractive to be had in Quebec during the fifties. This group of young professionals were part of an exciting cultural and social adventure and it is very unlikely that they did not know and were proud of it. Radio-Canada publicity photos show individuals or small groups of good looking and well dressed young professionals, seriously intent upon their labours, and from all appearances quite thrilled with what they were doing. Although publicity photographs have to be read extremely carefully, we do not have any serious reasons to think that these representations were not reasonably accurate depictions of the actual situation. Radio-Canada television, in spite of its expanding bureaucracy and increasingly hierarchical division of labour, was one of the more progressive and prestigious employers in Quebec in the fifties. (It was also one of the few organizations of its size that was, in spite of its federal connections, staffed and managed by French-Canadian/Quebecois professionals) One example of the reasonably high status of the auxiliary personnel in the network and the respect they enjoyed therein was a series of articles in *Semaine à Radio-Canada*, the public broadcaster's weekly broadsheet, featuring a large number of many-paged photo-essays explaining the nature and importance of the work of the people who worked behind the television screen.(44) In this effort by the television network's publicity department to pay tribute to the people behind the beloved stars, brilliant careers, and successful programs it liked so much to feature in its pages, it pulled off a double publicity coup. While celebrating the support staff's indispensable contribution to the production of television programs, it turns them, if only for a moment, into television stars in their own right. By claiming them as its own bright and attractive corporate children, it derives the full publicity benefits of their newly-found sex-appeal. At the same time, it deconstructs television programs for its audience, shows them that the image on the screen is a constructed product involving considerable human, material, technical resources and collaborative effort. This highly sophisticated effort to educate the public about television production, to celebrate the existence and talents of its attractive army of young professionals, while using all of this to create more publicity about itself

and its programs, is indicative of Radio-Canada's mastery of the cultural modernity that had given it birth and to whose further advancement it was actively contributing.

Although Radio-Canada television was reasonably hospitable to women, Gérard Pelletier's assertion that it threw its doors wide open must be qualified somewhat. (45) The situation that obtained between Radio-Canada television and its female employees was in many ways similar to that between it and its male employees. Women like men, benefited from the creation of the new broadcasting organization and its need for large numbers of educated employees. Like their male counterparts, young women graduates from the province's educational institutions were in search of appropriate employment opportunities and Radio-Canada television offered hundreds, and as the decade advanced thousands, of them relatively interesting and in many cases, challenging jobs. Radio-Canada opened its doors to women primarily because it needed their labour, skills and talents. There is very little to indicate that Radio-Canada challenged the boundaries of existing social and gender relations. There is some evidence, however, that it allowed those boundaries to be stretched, for women to be given certain opportunities that may have been denied them elsewhere. As we have seen, the French television network was run by cautious modernizers who may have held relatively enlightened views on social issues, but who in the context of Quebec in the fifties, were not likely to openly question existing social mores and gender relations.

At the same time the new television network was able to offer women a wide range of employment opportunities that were not available to them generally during this period. The cultural industries and other media institutions were either resolutely male bastions, like the film and newspaper industries, or employed small numbers of people. (46)
It is also important to keep in mind that television came to Quebec at a time when the phenomenon of the "Feminine Mystique" was at its peak, something with both negative and positive consequences as far as women's position in the new broadcasting institution was concerned. The ideological trope of the "Feminine Mystique", was an American-

inspired, class bound (essentially middle-class) construct of the post-war period with many ties to the Cold-War ideological and strategic pursuits of its country of origin. (47) More specifically in terms of women, it sought to modernize gender relations while leaving their traditional social and economic bases intact. Having been generalized throughout North America by the fifties, it had found strong resonances in a modernizing Quebec that was struggling to free itself from the hegemony of traditional ideologies. (48)

In an ideological environment which idealized women's place in the private sphere (albeit a modern renovated private sphere) it would be very surprising if Radio-Canada television would break any gender, or other rules. As it was, the new television network, itself representing the new social and economic order of post-capitalist modernity, it was very comfortable with the ideological strictures of the "The Feminine Mystique". Although Radio-Canada was probably one of the more progressive employers of women in Quebec during the fifties its hiring policies were typical of the times. Most of the educated young women who were hired by the new television networked worked in traditional female occupations such as make-up, wardrobe, clerical, production assistants and so on. Although there were a few exceptions to the rule (a few journalists, one or possibly two producers, a few hosts of programs) the division of labour at Radio-Canada was strictly along traditional gender lines. One job category, that of script assistant, which was reserved exclusively for women, bordered on both sides of the traditional division of labour. While it was essentially a supportive job, ("scripts" as they were called, were assistants to the producers with many responsibilities but few decision-making powers) it gave many women the opportunity to learn most facets of the production of television programs. These impressive sets of skills did not necessarily translate into promotions, (like most "feminine" jobs these too were for life) but a few did make the jump to the rank of producer. Still the number of women who were allowed to produce in the fifties was very small. For all intents and purposes a producer's job remained until the mid sixties and early seventies, an exclusively male territory. (49)

This situation prevailed throughout the decade, even though the public broadcaster's weekly, *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, in a two-page "centerfold" celebrating the contribution of script assistants to the development of television in Quebec, acknowledged that these bright, well-educated and extremely hard-working women were "les veritables sous ministres de la production". The article went on to emphasize the point that although the working life of script "girls" was extremely hard, with long grueling schedules and relatively low wages for the kind of job they performed, there were few resignations or leaves-of-absence unless it was, of-course, to get married.(!) (50) Still, in spite of their proven abilities (in the production of television programs) there were only two women known to us who were given the opportunity to produce during the fifties. One was Lizette Leroyer, who produced the mixed genre, public-affairs and quiz, program, *le point d'interrogation*, in the early fifties, (1954) but we know little else of her trajectory at the network. (51) The other was Madeleine Marois, who after stints as script assistant in several television programs, notably in the téléroman, *La famille Plouffe* and several theatrical series, became the producer of the women's afternoon program, *Place aus dames*, in 1956. (52) Although there may have been other women producers at Radio-Canada television in the fifties, they remain unknown to us. If so, their numbers were very small. The job of the producer remained throughout the decade a male stronghold, and we can guess that the publicity given to the appointment of Marois as producer of *Place aux dames*, had a lot to do with its exceptional nature.

The place that women at Radio-Canada television occupied on-screen, other than talent in the programs, although quite small was rather a prominent one, with a number of women journalists and hosts becoming major television personalities or stars. Also, unlike the trajectory of the script assistants, there was overall improvement both in the number and in the status of women who occupied these more public roles. In the fifties there were several women hosts of television programs, notably, the afternoon women's programs, although as we have seen earlier the very first host of this program genre was a man. Other

women hosts were Lizette Gervais and Nicole Germaine who hosted *le point d'interrogation*, at various times, Judith Jasmin who hosted the panel public affairs program, *Conférence de presse*, in the early fifties, Michelle Tysseyre, the glamourous host of the very prestigious and popular variety program, *Music Hall.*, the same program that beat *The Ed Sullivan Show* in the ratings in Quebec. Later in the decade Radio-Canada made room for a number of women newsreaders, Janine Paquette and Yolande Champoux among them. (53)

The one place at Radio-Canada television that allowed women the greatest opportunity to develop professionally was in the new field of television journalism. But even here the network did not break any new ground. For the most part women journalists were relatively few in number and until the later half of the decade (when they begun to appear in greater numbers and be assigned to a variety of projects) they were treated something like the exceptions that they were. Most of the early women journalists worked on the daily newsmagazine, *Carefour* , where they were evidently used for their feminine charm and were typically given the more light or "human interest" items. The one single exception to this general portrait was that of Judith Jasmin, who, having come to television as a reputed "serious" journalist, was given equal treatment with the male journalists, even though she too, had to submit to the imperative of the "Feminine Mystique" by having the colour of her hair changed from their natural brown to blond. (54)

In spite of these limitations, the television network did provide a number of women the opportunity to engage in the "serious" business of the public sphere, an activity that was still the exception to the rule during this period. Here, the concrete and symbolic significance of women engaging in a sphere typically reserved for male intervention was of considerable importance.. Among the most visible or prominent women journalists were Judith Jasmin, Jeanne Sauvé, Solange Chaput Rolland, Andréanne Lafond and Lizette Gervais. Most of these women journalists appear to have come directly to television, with the exception, of course, of Judith Jasmin who had a successful career at the radio service

of Radio-Canada. The history of women journalists at Radio-Canada television remains to be explored and there are many aspects of their careers and their trajectory there that are still unknown. Most of the names of the women journalists were harvested from a the larger literature on early television. The only important exception to this rule was, as we mentioned earlier, Judith Jasmin who contributed to many public affairs programs on television and continued to make regular contributions to radio.

Judith's career at Radio-Canada is instructive in a number of ways. First, it tells us that there was a place for women journalists of exceptional talents at the network. It also tells us that they could subvert the rules up to a point and create new precedents. In addition, the fact that she had a large degree of freedom in her choice of subject, location of work, (she traveled a great deal and appears to have enjoyed management's indulgence, much more than René Lévésque for example) and that she was allowed to express her feminist and socialist ideas, albeit in a discreet manner, is a possible indication of the network's commitment to cultivating strong female personalities, or at least not blocking their development. Yet the exceptional status of Judith Jasmin to an extent confirms the network's relative conservatism regarding the status of its women journalists. In making Jasmin into a prominent television personality, indeed a star of the first order. (55) Radio-Canada indirectly emphasized the fact that she was exceptional, that she was not like the other women journalists, or that she was a female of such extraordinary talents that few other (more ordinary) women could hope to emulate. It also shows us that the public broadcaster, always keeping a close eye to the ratings, actively tried to derive maximum advantage from its most popular personalities. (56)

Judith Jasmin's career at Radio-Canada television embodied in many ways the contradictions in women's position within the network and in the larger society during the fifties in Quebec. On the one hand, she exemplifies the emerging modern woman; well educated, with professional ambitions, who does not reproduce traditional stereotypes of womanhood, and who confidently intervenes in the public sphere. At the same time these

qualities, which have yet to be generalized in society, render her into an exceptional figure, a woman unlike others, thus permitting her to contravene some of the norms. Yet her enormous popularity with the audience is an indication that large numbers of people in Quebec in the fifties were willing to accept women like Judith Jasmin, that she was seen as an exceptional woman, but not an aberration of the norm. In some ways, therefore, the public, or more precisely the Radio-Canada audience, was ideologically ahead of the public broadcaster. In a certain sense, Radio-Canada television exemplified the contradictions of the larger social order. On the one hand, it challenged the prevailing ideological construct of the "Feminine Mystique" in that it permitted, even encouraged the development of new female prototypes (and role models for the younger generation) that explicitly or implicitly challenged traditional or the "new traditional" representations of womanhood. On the other, by cultivating the image of Judith Jasmin as an exceptional or superlative figure, by elevating her to a status that was beyond that reserved for its other star personalities (including René Lévesque) she was rendered into a cult figure, fetishized, and thus deprived of her integrity as a real and complete human being, a female human being that could be emulated by other, mortal and/or talented fellow women.

CHAPTER VII:

CONCLUSION.

Radio-Canada Television Then and Now.

The Radio-Canada television network will celebrate its fiftieth birthday in a few years. Like all landmarks in the flow of historical time, it will signal a turning point of sorts, a time for assessing the past record and for the setting of future goals. Like all junctures or markings of the passage of time, this too, will be an occasion for celebration as well as for sadness. This is especially true in the case of Radio-Canada television. This is because while the public broadcaster continues to play a role in the cultural, social and political life of modern-day Quebec, it is steadily losing ground in most areas where it once enjoyed prominence. Times have been hard for public broadcasters everywhere and Radio-Canada television has had its share of them. Confronted by a number of budgetary cutbacks and mounting pressure to do more with less in an increasingly competitive television marketplace on the one side, frequent critiques from a variety of constituencies and injunctions from the public regulator to raise its ratings on the other, the public broadcaster is under tremendous pressure to rethink its mission and redesign itself, if it is to survive (and remain relevant) into the next century. At the same time, Radio-Canada television is being overtaken by the massive social, economic and technological changes that have been changing the face of the communications and media landscape during the past decade or so. Under these circumstances, the future shape of the public broadcaster is very difficult to discern, and all the more so given the political, economic and organizational uncertainties it is experiencing. At this crucial juncture of the network's trajectory, therefore, there is reason to believe that its greatest contribution to broadcasting and to popular culture has already been accomplished.

We mentioned at the beginning of this thesis that it was not intended as a celebration of Radio-Canada's past achievements but rather, as a critical study of its early developments. Similarly, we do not view this project as a tribute to the public broadcaster or as an indulgence in nostalgia. Yet, it is difficult not to be impressed by its earlier grandeur, or not to feel some regret for its passing. The truth is that as we approach the complicated matter of assessing the French network's record of performance, we have to admit that its greatest achievements may belong not to its present, but to its past. At the same time we have to acknowledge that the network has bequeathed us a tremendous cultural legacy. This legacy has been (and in many ways continues to be) very important to the development of national identity and political democracy in Quebec, to the education of the population, to the evolution of television broadcasting, to the enrichment of popular culture, to communications scholarship, in short, to the entire society. Still, this legacy, like all legacies for that matter, is not a smooth record of unbroken achievement. Like all legacies, this one too, is not pristine and unblemished but bears the markings of the many difficulties, errors in judgment, unresolved problems and external pressures that have accompanied the public broadcaster along its historical trajectory.

Almost from the very start, Radio-Canada television was confronted by a large number of political, ideological and organizational problems. To begin with, the new television network entered a political environment that was at best ambivalent towards it. Although this new venture in broadcasting enjoyed the support of the general population and large sections of organized civil society, there was also opposition, even hostility, from many sides. On the one hand, the media establishment and the traditional elites were evidently hostile to a newcomer they could not directly control. Even the reform intelligentsia, which on the whole supported the entry of public television as a boost to the forces of modernity, had initial doubts about the broadcaster's social and political allegiances. On the other, the reigning Duplessis government in Quebec City was a declared opponent, both of the principle of public broadcasting and, more directly, of its relationship to the federal

government. This latter fact meant, among other things, that while Radio-Canada could enjoy a measure of protection from the Conservative regime in Quebec, its links with Ottawa and the Canadian Broadcasting Organization prevented it from becoming a truly independent, Québécois national institution. On the level of economics as well, the public broadcaster was constantly forced to make choices that threatened to compromise its public service mission. Radio-Canada, like the CBC, never received the funding it needed in order to properly fulfill its mandate, and was thus forced to exploit its own employees, cut corners, and maintain the kind of close relationship with advertisers and sponsors that may have undermined its integrity and independence. Moreover, the rapidly expanding infrastructure of Radio-Canada television, the ambitious character of its programming, the massive growth in the numbers of employees, and the (relatively) early bureaucratization of its decision-making process, encouraged institutional developments and administrative choices that created more obstacles and difficulties for the network as the decade advanced.

Possibly one of the most difficult and enduring problems of this legacy has been the public broadcaster's origins as a federal broadcasting institution. As we have seen, public broadcasting did not evolve naturally from Quebec's cultural or media environment, but was brought in (or as some have argued, imposed) from the outside. This outsider status or character of Radio-Canada persisted through most of the radio-years, even though its management strove to defend the cultural and political autonomy of the broadcasting organization and to inject something of the local culture in its programming. But, in spite of these efforts, the real limits of Radio-Canada's political and cultural autonomy became apparent on a number of levels. One of the first signs of these limits (which was also a limit of public broadcasting in general) was the radio network's penchant for "high-minded" and elitist programming, which was inspired primarily by the European bourgeois classical tradition. Clearly, this type of programming was not intended for a large audience, but for the cultivated, the middle classes and those sections of the population that were amenable to the "educative" and "uplifting" ambitions of public-service broadcasting. These elitist

dispositions were also reflected in the distant, even patronizing, mode of address privileged by the public broadcaster, and by its apparent contempt of the flourishing popular culture that surrounded it. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the majority of the listening audiences in Quebec turned to the private stations (which were much more entrenched in the local culture) instead. The real limits of the public broadcaster's cultural and political autonomy were, however, revealed in a much more brutal manner during the Second World War. For the duration of the war, Radio-Canada was appropriated by the federal government and deployed as a (censoring) instrument in its war effort. This latter development, which deprived the public broadcaster of any semblance of independence, and which went so strongly against the anti-conscriptionist sentiments prevalent in Quebec, could have sealed the fate of public broadcasting once and for all. Yet, quite unexpectedly, Radio-Canada managed to emerge from this devastating experience not only relatively intact, but quite energized as well.

The post-war years saw the development of programming that was more pertinent to the demographic and cultural realities of Quebec. While it may be true that Radio-Canada managed to accomplish this transformation by heavy borrowings from private radio, this was also seen as a real opportunity to produce programming that was more representative of the local culture and more relevant to the lives of the people. This opening up to new program contents, formats and constituencies had, paradoxically, begun during the war when the public broadcaster operated under conditions of war-time censorship. The true extent of the new approach to Quebec's cultural and demographic realities became evident when television was added to the public broadcaster's existing facilities. From the start, there was little doubt that Radio-Canada television was to be a Quebec-based institution. It was also understood that the input from the Corporation's Head office would be kept at a minimum, and that Ottawa's contribution to the new network would be limited to regulatory and financial issues. The significance of this arrangement was that the television network's character and programming objectives would be worked out primarily by Radio-

Canada management in Quebec. All of the people involved in the creation of the television network were veterans of the post-war restructuring and were quite determined that the new operation would remain under their control. Moreover, the public or publics that the new network would serve was not an abstract or idealized notion of an all-inclusive Canadian public, but the concrete, collective public of the people of Quebec. Another consequence of the new-found autonomy was the development of television programs that reflected (and respected) the traditions, the idioms and the emerging currents of the local culture. Public television, without closing itself off from the rest of the world, would reflect and further contribute to the development of the cultural vitality of the Quebec (national) community.

We should note here that Radio-Canada television was able to maintain its focus on Quebec culture and society throughout the fifties, even though the broadcaster's upper management was burdened with a divided identity. Appointed by Ottawa to create a television network committed to the promotion of a bi-cultural but united *Canadian* national culture and identity, it focused on its own (nationalist) programming objectives and tried to ignore that Radio-Canada was the other half, or twin, of the English Network, that is, part of a larger broadcasting organization. This assumption of independence on the whole worked out to the French network's advantage. For all intents and purposes the early development of television in Quebec was relatively independent of outside (cultural and political) influence. Still, this ambivalence or ambiguity regarding its legal or political status was to have long-term consequences for the new network, because although its autonomy was not seriously questioned, Radio-Canada was not a totally independent broadcasting organization. This fact was given an opportunity to resurface in a rather rude wake-up call to everyone involved with television towards the end of the decade.

The rather fine balance between the Canadian and the Quebec loyalties of Radio-Canada's management was possible to maintain only under the relatively enlightened leadership of the Corporation's President, Davidson Dunton, and a (relatively) tolerant Liberal administration in Ottawa. As soon as the balance between these elements was

disturbed, however, the contradictions inherent in the public broadcaster's double loyalty surfaced in an extremely jolting manner. This opportunity was provided by the Montreal producer's strike of 1958. This strike could have been avoided, but for the problems inherent in the public broadcaster's complex relationship with its partners in English Canada on the one hand, and the lack of resolve (and ultimately true independence) of the Montreal management on the other. As we have seen, the producers at Radio-Canada television had been experiencing serious difficulties in their relations with management, and their status within the network was becoming increasingly uncertain. While management had initially refused to hear the producer's petition for permission to form a bargaining unit (arguing that the latter were not employees but cadres, and as such did not have the right to unionize) the possibility of such an eventuality had not been foreclosed. What finally brought the two sides at loggerheads was the changed circumstances in Ottawa and at the head of the Corporation. The Liberal regime in Ottawa (the same regime that had overseen the creation of public television) was replaced by the Diefenbaker Conservatives, well-known foes of public broadcasting. Furthermore, the departure of Dunton from the leadership of the Corporation and the negative sentiments of English-Canada toward the "upstart" producers in Quebec did not encourage a favourable resolution of the conflict. The extent of the massive cultural and ideological distance separating the two sides (of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) became abundantly clear when even the producers at the English network refused to support their striking colleagues in Quebec.

As it turned out, the Montreal producers strike, called in November of 1958 for, what everyone believed, a few days, lasted more than three months, closed down the French network and became a cause celébre for the labour, reform and nationalist movements in Quebec. Although Radio-Canada television was able to resume operations fairly soon after the conclusion of the strike in the Spring of 1959, it was not able to return to its pre-strike status as the de-facto national broadcaster in Quebec. Moreover, its complex relationship with its partners in English Canada have continued to expose the network to all kinds of

difficulties, ranging from political attacks to internal problems. It seems paradoxical that the public broadcaster, now that its earlier prominence has faded, has begun to enjoy some real independence from Corporate and political interference. This may be a sign that the political de-centralization that is taking place across the country will benefit cultural institutions like Radio-Canada. But will the broadcaster achieve its true independence at the same time as the original motivations and/or inspirations that brought it into existence stop to matter?

The uneven character of Radio-Canada' s legacy may be observed on the level of programming as well. The television network has produced an extraordinary quantity of original programming over the years, much of it of exceptional quality. Today, the public broadcaster continues to produce a large variety of good, and at times even excellent, programs, but the accent is no longer on the original (although that does happen occasionally) but on the familiar and the commercially successful. Radio-Canada may be a public broadcaster with a mandate to fulfill, but now, even more than in the early days, economic considerations and ratings play an increasingly important role in its programming decisions. It may be of some interest to note here that the Radio-Canada was able to realize its greatest moments not, as it may be supposed, during times of the greatest availability of funds, experience and other resources, but in the early days, when everything was new and had to be learned from scratch. At the risk of sounding nostalgic, it must be admitted that for the first decade of its existence, Radio-Canada television (much more than the CBC) came very close to playing the role of a (ideal) national broadcaster. The French network produced a rich and varied program schedule that was composed primarily of locally produced programs which reached the majority of the population. Watching Radio-Canada television was very much like participating in a daily ritual where the various constituent parts of the national collectivity come together in mutual (self) recognition.

The parameters of this evolving national collectivity were, however, narrowly defined and structured in dominance. As we have observed above, not all the actual constituencies of Quebec found representation in the programming of Radio-Canada. Native people,

immigrants, racial and sexual minorities, among others, were silenced or simply not acknowledged. The programs produced by the television network reflected on the whole, the class and national aspirations of the emerging intelligentsia. Their reform-minded modernizing and secularizing social project did not extend to collectivities or identities that were outside the white, French-speaking and (culturally) Catholic majority. In this sense, the (national) popular culture that was produced by Radio-Canada television, was also a hegemonic culture, one that aimed to centralize the disparate forces in society to the benefit of an emerging modern and secular national culture. Still, it can be argued that those limits were historically justified, or even necessary, for the larger social and national project to succeed. What is not justified, however, is that this, let us say, "historically necessary" cultural strategy has endured long after its usefulness was exhausted. Radio-Canada television seems to be fixated on the requirements of another time as it continues to produce representations of a national culture that has to be encouraged and protected. In its steadfast loyalty to an earlier reality, the network has remained insensitive to the identities, voices and contributions of the many constituencies who, while permitted to practice the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, continue to be excluded from the prevalent definitions (and practices) of national culture and identity. It is unfortunate that Radio-Canada's achievements have been distorted by its historic inability, or more precisely, its refusal to stray away from dominant representations of social and collective existence.

In spite of its many achievements, the first decade of Radio-Canada television was one of the most difficult periods ever. The great sense of enthusiasm and dedication that was experienced by most of those who were associated with the new network were balanced by the tremendous obstacles that had to be overcome in the production of even the simplest television program. Not only was television technology new and had to be learned (and mastered) on the studio floor, but many of the institutional supports, cultural and human resources essential to television production were either non-existent or were still in the planning stages. It should not be surprising, therefore, that not all of the programs

produced by Radio-Canada television in the early days were excellent, or even very good. Most probably, as a number of its critics have charged, many were rather pretentious, the production values were poor, formats were very plain, and program concepts were simple, even immature. Certainly, they could not compete with the quality of radio programming, which, by the time television arrived, had developed into a highly evolved, technically sophisticated and artistically mature cultural form. In fact, as we have seen, many of the early television programs were (simple) radio programs with pictures. It took several years of extremely hard work, persistent learning, innovation and many mistakes before the first generation of television artisans produced programming that fully exploited the possibilities of the medium. Still, in spite of all the obstacles and the difficulties, this was an extremely productive period for the new television network and its (rapidly expanding) staff. Within a few short years of its creation, the network was producing a large variety of programs which won it critical acclaim at home and abroad, and whose quantity exceeded by far the levels produced by the CBC, or for that matter, the national broadcaster of France.

More importantly still, the programs produced by Radio-Canada television were, by all accounts, popular with the audience. This popularity may be explained in part by the network's monopoly in television broadcasting during this decade. Also, it may have been a component of the larger phenomenon of the public's enthusiasm for the new medium. But above all, there seems to have existed a historic synergy between the people who produced the television programs, the programs themselves, and their audience. These programs appear to have struck a collective cord in a population that was avid for new experiences on the one hand, and culturally well-prepared to receive television on the other. Moreover, there is good evidence to suggest that this was an active audience, keenly interested both in the programming and the institutional development of television. Still, these observations remain provisional because there is still a great deal we do not know about the character and behavior of the television audience in Quebec the fifties. In our thinking and future research on this question, however, we must be careful not to

underestimate the intelligence of this audience or to abstract it from the real conditions of its existence. For example, people in the fifties were not drawn to television as much as they were because they were deprived of choice in their leisure activities. They most likely chose to watch television because it was interesting to them. To be sure, television was new and fashionable. It was natural that people would gravitate to this new leisure activity at the expense of others, like going to the cinema or listening to the radio. But the interest in (Radio-Canada) television would have waned if the network did not produce programs that people wanted to watch. As we have seen, the public in the fifties was actively interested in many aspects of television programming, employing a number of different means of communicating this interest to the broadcaster. This was not a passive audience, grateful for whatever program "handouts" came its way. As the many letters sent to the public broadcaster and the print media clearly indicate, the Quebec television audience, at least a good section of it, had developed a keen sense of judgment in regards to television programs, a judgment that was probably nourished by the high quality of the radio culture.

As with the audience, a conclusive assessment regarding the quality of the early television programs and their (real) popularity with the public awaits further research. We know enough, however, to assert that many programs, especially drama and variety, but also educational and public-affairs, were very popular with the audience. Public expressions of this popularity, like turning up by the thousands to greet that stars of a favourite dramatic series or téléroman, or even a journalistic personality like Judith Jasmin, were common. The tremendous support that was shown to the striking producers in 1958 (the strike closed down the network) by the entire population of Quebec, was another concrete sign of the bond that had developed between the people, the broadcaster and the programs. The question of the quality of the programs is a secondary, if problematic issue. As we have argued above, many of the early television programs were of uneven quality, probably somewhat elitist and possibly excessively serious. But quality, like taste, is a difficult thing to evaluate at any time, and especially so from our historical perspective. In

the end, the quality of programs is best measured by contemporary audiences, not by today's critics, using today's standards. This does not mean we cannot form a critical opinion on the programs that Radio-Canada television produced in the fifties, but that we must take the programs themselves as well as contemporary accounts of their reception as our starting point. One way to do this, is to undertake research projects (and oral history methodologies should prove to be very useful here) that will eventually replace educated speculations about these, and related, questions by historical detail and documentation.

Whatever the final assessment of the quality and popularity of the early Radio-Canada television programs, what cannot be denied is the tremendous bond that existed between the public and the public broadcaster, at least until the first major rupture in the relationship during the Montreal producers strike in 1958. It would appear that a common purpose, an idea (or ideal) of television and the role that it plays (or should play) in the life of a community, was shared by the first generation of television artisans and a large part of the Quebec public/audience. There are many examples of a strong interest in civil society, ranging from letter-writing, to organized representations to public hearings, to individual and group petitions to the network, to participate in the development of television as a cultural, as an educational, and as a social medium. These public expressions of interest came from many different constituencies, ranging from academic and intellectuals, labour and women's groups, adult education and nationalist organizations. Although we cannot generalize from these groups to the entire society without some caution, there is a strong case for the argument that during the fifties, there was a general consensus in society that television should not be used as an entertainment medium only, but that it should be used to address the society's cultural and social needs as well. As we have seen, there was a reformist, modernizing dynamic driving society forward during this period, and the interest in television's cultural and social utility was an expression of this larger movement. There seems to be little doubt that the modernizing and democratic impulses of the times were shared by the first generation of television artisans and large sections of the population. It

was natural, therefore, that this shared sentiment about the necessity for social change in Quebec at this time focused on public service television as one of the main instruments for its realization. This was one of those "happy" moments in the history of a culture when the objectives of public service broadcasting, and the desire in society for social change, meet to create a productive partnership. It was at this moment too, that public broadcasting in Quebec lost its "foreign" or imposed character and was appropriated by the society as an indigenous cultural and social institution.

It has been argued elsewhere that the (fabled) relationship between Radio-Canada and the public was nothing more than the first flush of a passing infatuation, and that it came apart as soon as a new interest entered the scene. As we have indicated above, we believe that there was much more to this relationship than the excitement of novelty, or the dependence of a captive audience on a single (monopolistic) broadcaster. Still, the way this same (until now very loyal) public/audience turned away from the public broadcaster and towards the program fare offered by the TVA network (the private broadcaster was introduced in 1962) necessarily makes us pause for a moment. How strong or valued was the relationship between Radio-Canada television and the public? If the program schedule offered by Radio-Canada was, as we have argued, generally of good quality, not strongly elitist and popular, why did the programming offered by TVA prove to be so irresistible to the audience? And what were the inherent, or unresolved problems within Radio-Canada television that the appearance of a competitor would have such a devastating impact on its relationship with the audience, its programming, indeed, on its identity?

As the public broadcaster has admitted, the sixties were an extremely difficult time. Its formerly loyal audience was no longer there and the network's identity and program philosophy had to be rebuilt from the ground up. The public broadcaster's self-esteem also began to suffer as one effort after another to create new programs crashed against TVA's mounting popularity. As it turned out, much of the initial enthusiasm for TVA's American-style entertainment programming was a simple interest in the new and the fashionable. Nor

did it constitute the whole-scale abandonment of the public broadcaster. It was a strong indication, however, that times had changed and that Radio-Canada could not fulfill all the expectations (or needs) that people had of television. A large section of the Quebec audience had grown up with Radio-Canada television, and it was natural that they wanted something different, even something that contrasted strongly with the programming of the public broadcaster. Also, by the early sixties, the contours of the popular culture had changed once again. The culture of the sixties was more commercial, more audacious, more... American. It also meant that Quebec had fully entered capitalist modernity, and its location in North-America unavoidably pulled it within the force fields of the "American Empire". The attraction of TVA's light entertainment program fare did not necessarily mean that Radio-Canada's programming was outdated or terribly elitist but rather, that the culture had gone through more changes still, that the composition of the audience and its tastes had changed and fragmented. It was also a strong signal to the public broadcaster that a second wind needed to blow through the, by now venerable, institution. Still, Radio-Canada television found it very difficult to recover from this first (major) experience with failure. Although by the seventies, the broadcaster was back on track, it never recaptured its earlier status either as a cultural institution or in the hearts of the Quebec public.

Today, within breathing space from the turn of the century, the future course of Radio-Canada television remains difficult to discern. One of the problems confronting the French network is that television's earlier prominence is on the decline, and this, in an environment where the technology of television production and broadcasting is extremely sophisticated and where the multiplicity of choice (of stations and programs) abounds. Whereas a short time ago television easily dominated the domestic sphere and private leisure, today it is one of many technologies available to individuals in the home and the workplace. When television first entered the Quebec cultural and media landscape in the early fifties, its novelty, technological sophistication, the attractive manner by which it represented modernity and change assured it a place of prominence, even prestige, in

peoples' homes and in society at large. The possession of a television set represented for most people in Quebec their arrival into the modern era, where material abundance, prosperity and upward mobility had entered the vocabulary of realistic expectations. Moreover, the possession of television and the ritual of watching it created new, and in some instances, much needed channels of communication and sociability. This was especially true in the case of the suburbs and the growing urban centers, where recent arrivals from the Quebec countryside and from far-flung places came to depend on television to help them re-establish a sense of community and create new networks of sociability.

The experience of watching television, and the communicative possibilities that it entailed (or foreclosed) had been foreshadowed by radio. This medium, as we have noted above, had developed to a high degree of cultural and artistic sophistication, and clearly dominated the popular culture of Quebec during the immediate post-war years. People congregated around radio to listen to their favourite programs and to hear their favourite stars, actors and musicians. But, it would appear that "seeing is believing" and the new medium of television easily succeeded in displacing radio from the center of domestic leisure and of popular culture, and this, in spite of its uncomely early countenance, simple program fare and unmastered technology. As we have argued above, contrary to prevalent notions on this subject, television did not enter a poorly developed or severely censored media landscape, but a modern, highly differentiated and relatively free one. While radio was the most advanced and popular of the media, there was a plethora of other media forms (films, several mass-circulation dailies, newspapers and magazines for selected publics, specialty periodicals, journals and magazines of all sorts) that competed for the public's attention. The arrival of television did not displace these other media, or their varied functions, and in the early days there was considerable overlap between the new medium and other media outlets. In many ways, traditional media like periodicals and newspapers continued to enjoy a place of prominence as information and educational media. Perhaps the greatest

victim of television was its closest relative (radio) which, experienced a lengthy period of morosity until it was able to reinvent itself in the sixties and early seventies. The overall impact of television, however, was to reorganize the entire media environment, with itself at the center of things. In some instances this was at the expense of other media like radio, Quebec's (nascent) film industry, and popular theater. In other instances, and here the print media, especially newspapers, are a good example, television had the effect of rejuvenating and democratizing institutions and practices that had stagnated under the paternalistic benevolence of the Duplessis regime.

Television's eventual hegemony over the media and popular culture spheres in many respects took place at the expense of existing media and cultural forms. Television came to dominate these other spheres by its sheer novelty and bravado, its ability to mimic or to borrow from other media and cultural forms, its personalized modes of address and its ability to offer attractive new representations of identity and social existence. While television matured slowly as an information medium and its representational style took some years to develop, it managed to steadily gain ground so by the second half of the fifties, it had clearly come to dominate the rest of the media scene, popular culture and leisure time. Why did television succeed in establishing itself in areas where other media had demonstrated a clear superiority? Perhaps it was its ability to combine in itself many of the forms and functions of the other media. Or was it a question of accessibility, namely its ability to reach a large number of people at the same time, to create a sense of community and belonging? The medium of radio did all this, and did so quite well. Here we should remember that one of the most enduring and popular television genres, the téléroman, had been originated by radio. The most popular of these, *La famille Plouff*, had begun its long and celebrated career as a radio program. Similarly, most of the early public-affairs, chat and variety programs on television were hosted by radio personalities. In the areas of informational programming too, the print media and its influence, was very much present. The title of one of the earliest of these programs was appropriately enough, *Conférence de*

presse. There is probably no single or series of factors that can adequately explain television's popularity and (eventual) dominance over the media and popular culture scenes. Rather, we must identify a host of different factors or variables and see how they connected to create this dynamic cultural and social phenomenon. Nor can we consider television's technological supremacy, or in Joyce Nelson's words, its "technological sweetness", as the causal factor of its success. (1987) Certainly this was an important factor, but it does not in itself explain the success of Radio-Canada television as a social institution and as a cultural phenomenon. As we have argued in several places in this thesis, technology most always assumes the forms that are made available to it by the host society, even as that society is inexorably changed by the presence of the new (communication) technology. Still, in the context of North American post-war modernity, the "technologically sweet" aspect of television was probably quite palpable. Television is after all, as Nelson has argued, a child of the atomic age, and came to widespread use during a time when technological prowess, progress, individual and collective happiness were closely linked in the popular mind. The technology of television itself did not assure it a place of dominance in Quebec's media and popular culture. But this technology, in the context of North America's post-war infatuation with technological might, and in relation to Quebec's search for new, modern representations of its culture and identity, was superbly positioned to exercise its magnetic pull over the rest of society.

Today's media environment is infinitely more complex than what prevailed in the early fifties. Moreover, in the present media environment, the technological "sweetness" that was associated with television in the post-war period, has gained tremendous momentum. Today, media and communications technologies are at the center of the phenomenon of globalization that is restructuring economic, political and social existence on the planet. In comparison, the media scene of the fifties was characterized by its low-tech, almost artisan nature, even though its cultural practices were quite developed. Even television, the most complex of the media, had something of a craft quality to it. Moreover, however powerful

a presence television came to be, it still left large areas of culture and human experience outside its purview. For example, even though television exemplified modernity's tendency to commodify culture and replace face-to-face communication by mediated messages, it functioned best when these messages were received and "decoded", to use Stuart Hall's concept, by the audience in unmediated social settings. In fact, at least in the Quebec of the fifties, television's mediated messages tended to encourage live social interaction. It was typical for friends, family and neighbours to arrange get-togethers around a favourite television program, as it was for co-workers and colleagues to discuss the latest episode of a téléroman or the scores from last night's televised hockey game. Today, we are living in an environment in which communication technologies occupy the center of our public and private existence. While, these developments have in many cases multiplied the possibilities for human communication, we have also become dependent on expensive technologies we cannot always control in order to keep them going. It also means that social relations have become increasingly mediated and dependent on media and communication technologies. These developments have further reinforced the movement in capitalist modernity to commodify social existence and isolate human beings while at the same time making available to them a panoply of (commodified) communication technologies. Raymond Williams called this phenomenon "mobile privatization", and it is an apt description of the trends we watched develop in Quebec in the post-war period, and which have reached unprecedented levels during the last decade or so.

In the fifties, television acquired its identity, and reputation, by its singular ability to bring together in one cultural product different aspects of a number of media and cultural forms. It, like the suburban household, appeared to exist in its own separate universe. The place of choice it occupied in the family room or the living room further reinforced the element of uniqueness. Today, the old television "set" is no more. Television today is much more explicitly technological; it is cabled and hooked up to satellites, is typically accompanied by a VCR, often by a CDR, a personal computer, electronic mail, and so on.

In the near future, television may no longer exist as a piece of discrete technology, but will be a component part of a larger convergence apparatus. Under these circumstances, the identity of television as it has evolved to date, will surely be transformed. As will be the idea and practice of public broadcasting.

Public broadcasting harkens back to a period of modernity's history where it was believed that the adequate practice of citizenship required the development of cultural and discursive spaces that were independent of state influence on the one hand, and the hold of the marketplace on the other. In reality, not all of the goals of public broadcasting were motivated by altruism and the marketplace was never far from its door. Nevertheless, it offered the society that sponsored it an opportunity to create a television culture that was not entirely dependent on ratings and the selling of commodities. Also, it could aspire to a more complex relationship with its audience than those governed by economic considerations alone. In today's economic and technological environment, however, where the globalization of economic activity has become the norm and the commodification of spaces that have been left out (or have so far resisted commodification) is gaining momentum, the continuing survival of public broadcasting remains, to say the least, an open question

ENDNOTES:

Chapter 1. Introduction.

1. The mythology of Radio-Canada's extraordinary powers in bringing about the massive changes that Quebec society and culture experienced in the fifties has been generalized in the academy and in the public mind. Yet as we shall see, this is a dubious heritage, because among other things, it has encouraged distorted notions of the relationship between media and historical change among historians and communication scholars as well as an imperfect or partial understanding of Quebec's recent history among the general population.

2. One of the earliest critiques of the concepts and practices of traditional media history was made by Michael Schudson back in 1991. Schuson's critique and suggestions for new research directions for media history had a considerable impact at the time of their publication and continue to be pertinent today. Michael Schudson, "Historical Approaches to Communication Studies", *Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies For Mass Communication Research*, K. B. Jensen and N.W. Jankowski, (eds.), (London, 1991), pp. 174-259.

3. For an interesting collection of articles on new approaches to media history see "Forum" on media history in *Communication Theory*, Vol. 3,, No. 2, (1993), pp. 130-159. Also see Hans Frederic Dahl, "The Pursuit of Media History", in *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 16, (1994), pp. 551-563.

4. Sue Currey Jensen, "The Future is not it used to be: Gender, History and Communication Studies", *Communication Theory*, op. cit., pp. 136-147.

5. Fernand Dumont, "Une revolution culturelle?" , *Idéologies au Canada Français 1940-1976*, Fernand Dumond et al, (dir.), (Québec, Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1981, pp. 5-35.

6. Possibly the most striking example of this kind of analysis to emerge from the academy is Jean-Pierre Desaulniers, "Television and Nationalism: From Culture to Communications", *Television in Transition*, Phillip Drumond and Richard Patterson, (eds.), (London, BFI, 1986), pp. 112-122.

7. Two particularly interesting examples of this work are Martin Allor, "Cultural Metissage: National Formations and Productive Discourses in Quebec Cinema and Television", *Screen*, Vol. 33, No. 4, (1993) and Yves Rousseau, "La télévision à l'aube de l'an 2000", *24 Images*, Nos. 78-79, (1995).

8. For a very thoughtful and informative review of the published literature on this topic see, André Coutoure, "The Emerging Literature in Broadcast News in Quebec: An Historical Approach", *Beyond The Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast News Heritage*, Richard Lochead, (ed.), (Kingston, Quarry Press, 1991).

9. This ambivalence on the part of the intellectual and artistic milieu toward Radio-Canada has become a site in which various discursive relationships are performed in contemporary Quebec. For example, several years ago, Michel Tremblay published a modern-day Manifesto charging the public broadcaster of every failing imaginable including elitism and favouritism, bureaucratic management, the irrelevance of much of its programming, absence of independence from Ottawa and much else. We do not want to discuss the (substantial) merits of these charges here, most of which could have been leveled against any other major cultural institution as well, but to note that they found a resonance among the academic, intellectual and artistic milieu and, to a certain extend, the general population, making the Manifesto a cause celébre for a time. Not long after this interesting cultural episode, the same Michel Tremblay was the host of a charming autobiographic piece at Radio-Canada television. He gave the distinct impression of being very much at home.

10. Marc Raboy provides a good discussion of several such attempts in his *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 1990).

11. For a particularly strong example of this discourse see, Guy Fournier's Introduction, "Régardez, c'est notre culture", in Jean-Yves Croteau, *Repertoire des series des feuilletons et téléromans Québécois de 1952-1992*, (Québec, Québec, 1993).

12. Pierre Godin, *René Lévesque: Une enfant de siécle*, (Montréal, Boréal, 1994).

13: Desaulniers, op. cit.

14. Desaulniers, with Phillip Sohet, *Mine de Rien*, (Montreal, 1992).

15. For two classic texts written by veterans of Radio-Canada television see, Guy Parent, *Sous la règne des bruiteurs*, (Montréal, Editions des Lys, 1963) and Gérard Pelletier, *Years of Impatience*, (Toronto, Methuen, 1983).

16. Susan Troffimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation*, (Toronto, McMillan, 1982).

17. For two interesting, and very different, examples of research on the relationship between gender, the private sphere and television see Liesbet van Zoonen and Jan Wieten, "It wasn't exactly a miracle: The arrival of Television in Dutch family life", *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 16, (1994), pp. 641-659), and Lynn Spiegel, "The Domestic Economy of Television Viewing in Postwar America", *Critical Perspectives On Mass Media and Society*, Robert Avery and David Eason, (eds.), (New York, Guilford Press, 1991), pp. 387-405.

18. Fernand Dumond, (dir.) *La Societé Québecoise Aprés Trente Ans de Changements*, (Québec, Les presse de l'Université Laval, 1990).

19. Florian Sauvageau, "Quatre décennies de la television: de la culture aux industries culturelles", Ibid., pp. 143-152.

20. Paul André Linteau, René Durocher et Jean-Claude Robert, *Le Québec dépuis 1930*, (Montréal, Boréal, 1986). This volume has been translated in English as *Quebec Since 1930*, by Robert Chodos and Ellen Garmaise, (Toronto, James Lorimer, 1991). The references on television are to be found in pp. 287-288.

21. Edward Soja, "History, Geography, Modernity", *The Cultural Studies Reader*, Simon During, (ed.), (London, Routledge, 1993), James Carey, "Technology and

Ideology: The Case of the Telegraph", *Communication as Culture*, (Boston, Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 201-230.

22. Frank Peers, *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1952-1968*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979).

23. Marc Raboy, op. cit.

24. For a passionate expression of this sentiment see, Vincent Massey, *On Being Canadian*, (Toronto, JM Dent & Sons, 1948).

25. Maurice Charland, "Technological Nationalism", *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, Vol x, No. 12, (1986), pp. 196-220, and Marc Raboy, op. cit.

26. Marc Thibault, "L'identité national et Radio-Canada", pp. 253-256, and Neil Morrison, "Canadian Broadcasting et "Les Deux Nations", pp. 239-245, in *Beyond The Printed Word*, op. cit.

27. Personal memoirs, interviews and other similar oral history sources have been criticized for being too subjective to be considered valid historical documents. Although it is true that oral history sources cannot be used unproblematically, it is important to keep in mind that the scripted historical archive is itself subjectively ordered.

28. Paul Rutherford, *When Television Was Young: Prime-Time Canada 1952-1967*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990).

29. Richard Collins, *Culture, Communication and National Identity*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990).

30. Charland, op. cit.

31. Desaulniers, op. cit.

32. For a small but comprehensive bibliography of the téléroman in Quebec see, Croteau, op. cit.

33. Gérard Laurence, "Les débuts des affairs publics à la television québécoise", *Revue de l'histoire de l'Amerique française*, Vol. 36. No. 2, (1982), pp. 213-239.

34. Phillip Schlesinger, "On National Identity (II): Collective Identity in Social Theory", Chapter r 8, in his *Media, State and Nation*, (London, Sage, 1991).

35. See E, J. Hobsbawn and T, Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, Cambridge Press, 1983). For a good sum-up of this topic, see Hobsbawn's "Introduction: Inventing Tradition", in the same volume.

36. We do not want here to argue that national identity is the exclusive terrain of national elites or that it is easily amenable to elite manipulation. National identity is, of course, a much greater force or entity than any of the social groups that express or aspire to it. There is, nevertheless, a strong historical connection between national elites, or elites that want to acquire a nation, and the course and shape of national identity. Elites, among other things, are placed in a privileged position in regards to the educational, cultural and symbolic resources of the national collectivity. Often, they use this position to advance narrow group or class interests. At other times and places, the national elite or a component of it, and here

Quebec in the post-war period serves as an excellent example, expresses and works towards the realization of goals and objectives that are shared by the population at large.

37. For an interesting discussion of the work of Karl Deutsch, Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson on this topic see See Schlesinger, op. cit., pp. 155-156 and p, 158. See also, Bennedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London, Verson, 1983).

38. Raymond Williams hinted at the relationship between television and national formation in his book *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, (New York, Schocken Books, 1975), but did not develop it to any great extent. Williams was also a television critic for the press and many of his most interesting observations on this relationship were in these articles and reviews. His observations between television drama and national identity were particularly noteworthy. Alan O'Connor has edited a representative collection of these articles in a volume entitled *Raymond Williams on Television; Selected Writings*, (London,

39. Claus-Dieter Rath, "The Invisible Network: Television as an Institution in Everyday Life', in Drummond and Patterson, op. cit.., pp. 199-204.

40. Shaun Moores, "Television, Geography and "Mobile Privatization", *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 8, (1993) pp. 364-279.

41. Paddy Scannell has written extensively on the relationship between television and the national. His article, "Public Service Broadcasting and Modern Public Life", *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol., 11, (1989), pp. 135-166, is especially relevant to our thesis.

42. For a good review of the debate see John Thompson, "Social Theory, Mass Communication and Public Life", *The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory*", (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 24-37. See also his monograph, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, (London, Polity Press, 1990). For a somewhat different approach to the same discussion see Douglas Kellner, *Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity*., (Baltimore, John Hopkins, 1989). Also see, Armand Mattelart, *Mapping World Communications*, (London/Mineapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1994), for a critical assessment of communicationship scholarship and the role of media in modern societies.

43. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

44. For an example of the attempt to use the concept originated by Habermas see to conceptualize modern media see, James Curran, "Rethinking the Media as a Public Sphere", *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere in the New Media Age*, (London, Routledge, 1991), pp. 27-57. Feminist scholarship has been especially critical of the concept of the public sphere as developed by Habermas on a number of points, but especially of its exclusion of women in its discussion of the public sphere. Also, for its neglect or refusal to acknowledge the private sphere, where women's lives have been historically dominant, as an important part of civil society, and thus, a component of the public sphere. For a feminist critique of the concept of the public sphere see Nancy Frazer, *Unruly Practices: Power, Disourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory*, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1989). For an excellent critical discussion of the concept of the public sphere and the debate that has accompanied it see John Peters, "Mistrust of Representation: Habermas on the Public Sphere", *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol 15, (1993), pp. 541-571,

45. The published research on the relationship between television an the public sphere is growing steadily. Three of the most interesting and comprehensive examples are, Peter Dalgren, *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media*, (London, Sage, 1995) , Sonia Livingstone and Peter Lunt, *Talk on Television: Audience Participation and Public Debate*, (London, Routledge, 1996), and John Corner, *Television Form and Public Address*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1995).

46. Scannell, op. cit., is a good case point.

47. Williams, op. cit.

48. Graham Murdock, "Communications and the Constitution of Modernity", *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 15, (1993), pp. 521-539.

49. Ibid. pp. 286-287.

50. Elzéar Lavoie, "La constitution d'une modernité culturelle populaire dans les medias au Québec, (1900-1950), *L'Avenement de la Modernité Culturelle au Québec*, Yvan Lamonde et Esther Trepanier, (dir.), (Québec, Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1986), pp. 253-309.

51. Ibid. pp. 286-287.

52. See especially his article, "Technology and Ideology: The Case of the Telegraph", *Communications as Culture*, op. cit., pp. 201-230, where a very refined type of technonological determinism can be observed in the author's otherwise exquisite history of the electric telegraph in the United States. Here the author's argument, however nuanced and finely textured, is carried by the notion that a specific technology has the power to restructure the economic, social, ideological, even the aesthetic, spheres according to a dynamic inherent in the technology. Carey is a master story teller and exceptional scholar, and in his work, the argument for technological determinism is judiciously contained. In less capable hands, however, this tendency has led to inferior versions of media history. As we have seen, this has been unfortunately the dominant tendency of many, if not most, of the extant accounts of the history of Radio-Canada television in Quebec.

53. Raymond Williams, *Toward 2000*, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1983).

Chapter 2: The Many Faces of Modernity.

1. Marcel Fournier, *L'Entré dans la Modernité*, (Montréal, St.Martin, 1986). Although Fournier situates his account of modernity's trajectory in Quebec in the interwar period, I believe the core of his analysis is valid for the post-war period as well.

2. Ibid. See Chapter 6, "Borduas et les paradoxes de l'art vivant", for an excellent analysis of the Manifesto as well as the socio-political and cultural context in which it took place, pp. 199-234. For the Manifesto itself, see, Paul-Emile Borduas, *Refus Global*, in *Le Québec en Textes*, Gérard Boismenu, Laurent Mailhot and Jacques Rouillard, (dir.) (Montréal, Boréal Express, 1986), pp. 122-128. For a good general discussion of the state

of cultural and artistic modernity in the post-war period, see Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Quebec Since 1930*, (Toronto, James Lorimer, 1991), Chapter, 29, "The Triumph of Modernity", pp. 294-306.

3. Ibid. See Chapter 4, "Le Père Lévesque, les sciences sociales et la Révolution tranquille", pp. 115-174, for the ideas that motivated the work of Lévesque and the crucial role he played in the introduction of the social sciences in Quebec in general and the creation of la Faculté des sciences sociales at the University of Laval. For a brief but concise account of the social and political role of the faculty and its difficult relationship with the Duplessis regime, see McRoberts, op. cit., pp. 90-94.

4. Issues relating to wage labour and the working-class had not been a serious concern for traditional intellectuals. This became an increasingly important issue for the new generation of intellectuals that were maturing in the post-war period. The Asbestos Strike of 1948 became a watershed in the evolution of the labour movement as well as relations between it and the modernizing, reformist intelligentsia. For what is considered by now a classic text in relation to the above developments, see Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *La grève de l'amiante*, in Boismenu et al, op. cit, pp. 162-166. Leon Dion, op. cit., pp. 150-152, acknowledges the existence of a " fertile relationship" between the labour movement and modernizing intellectuals during this period, but he adds that the new intelligentsia was rather opportunistic in its relations with labour. Moreover, he argues, that, with the exception of la Faculté des sciences sociales, the new generation of intellectuals did not contribute any substantial studies of the working class and its role in modernizing Quebec.

5. For the ideas and contributions of a major intellectual of the post-war period, one closely associated with the work of Père Lévesque and the establishment of the social sciences in Quebec, see Chapter 5 of Fournier, op. cit., "Jean-Charles Falardeau, un intellectuel à la rencontre de deux mondes", pp. 175-198.

6. For an excellent discussion of the major intellectual trends and personalities of the post-war period see Lion Dion, *Les intellectuelles et les tempts du Duplessis*, (Québec, Université Laval, 1993). Also see Marcel Fournier, "Intellectuelles de la modernité et specialistes de la modernité", *L'Avenèment de la modernité culturelle au Qu*ebec", in Yvan Lamonde et Esther Trepanier, (dir.), (Qüébec, Institut Québécois de Recherch sur la Culture, 1986), pp. 231-247.

7. For the original group of texts which provided the foundations of what was to become a major theme in revisionist historiographies of the nation, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (eds.) (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983). For an example of a revisionist history of Quebec as well as for more information of the evolution of le Départment de l'histoire de l'Univisité de Montréal, Fournier, "Intellectuelles de la modernit ..." op. cit. and Gilles Bourge et al, *la Société liberale Duplessiste 1944-1960*, (Montréal, Les presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1994).

8. Léon Dion, op. cit., pp. 336-339, for a discussion of how traditional intellectuals like Lionel Groulx negotiated with modernizing trends by slowly abandoning earlier, more rigid positions and adapting ideologically to the new realities. These changes were reflected in one of the main public expressions of traditional nationalist intellectuals, *L'Action National*. For a fuller discussion on how traditional and modern intellectuals influenced each other's discourses and practices, see Fournier, op. cit.

9. For an excellent and thorough analysis of the background and Report of the Tremblay Commission, see Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*, (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), pp. 89-93. Also see René Durocher and

Michele Jean, "Duplessis et la Commission Royale d'enquete sur les problèmes constitutionels 1953-1956", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amerique français*", Vol. 25, pp. 337-364.

10. Critiques of modernity and its consequences during this time were not restricted to Quebec. A small but growing body of literature, in Canada and internationally, was questioning the validity of capitalist modernity's claim to be (in a modern (sic) rendition of Voltaire's old motto) the best of all possible worlds. For an interesting analysis which attempts to bring together the insights of the Frankfurt School's critique of the commodification process inherent in capitalist modernity and those put forward by Harold A. Innis and Marshall McLuhan, see, Judith Stamps, *Unthinking Modernity: Innis, McLuhan and the Frankfurt School*, (Montreal/Kingston McGill-Queen's, 1995).

11. See Jean-Louis Roy, *La Marche des Québecois*, (Montréal, Lémeac, 1976), for an early and somewhat idealized, but still relevant account of the major trends in society and culture in post-war Quebec. For three more important texts in analyzing key themes and movements in the post-war period see, Linteau, op. cit., Part II., "The Duplessis Era 1945-1960", pp. 145-306, Léon Dion, op. cit., Fernand Dumont, Jean Hamelin et Jean-Paul Montminy, (dir.), *Idéologies au Canada Français 1940-1976, Tome I*, (Québec, Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1981).

12. Marcel Rioux, "L'ideologie de rattrapage", in Boismenu et al. op. cit., pp. 111-117. Also see the author's classic work, *La Societé canadienne-françcais*, (Montréal, HMH, 1971), in which he more fully develops the argument that the movement for reform and change in the fifties was expressed in the "ideologie de "rattrapage", or the catching up with the rest of the developed, capitalist world.

13. The dominant historiographic current of the sixties and seventies, and which was closely associated with the builders of the modern Quebec state, has interpreted the changes and movements that accompanied the advent of mature modernity in Quebec as a process of "catching-up" with the rest of the developed capitalist world. Implicit in this conceptualization of Quebec's contemporary history is the idea that Quebec was an underdeveloped, even backward, part of modern, North American capitalism. Another key feature is the position that tradition and modernity are separate, indeed antagonistic categories, and that more specifically, the fifties was a period where Quebec made the transition from tradition to modernity. The works of Rioux are a classic example of this historiographic current.

14. Joselyn Létourneau, ""Le Québec Moderne", Un chapitre du grand récit collectif des Québécois", *Discourse social/Social Discourse*, Vol. 4, Nos., 1-2, (1992), pp. 63-87, for a trenchant critique of the central concepts that have guided the dominant current of the historiography of modern Quebec. The concept that modernity came to Quebec after the election of the reformist Lesage government in 1961 has been contested by growing body of literature in the social sciences. Some of the key texts are, Fournier, op. cit., Bourque et al., op. cit., Létourneau, Ibid., Pierre Lanthier et Guildo Rousseau, (dir.), *La Culture Inventée; les strategies culturelles*, (Québec, Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1992), Yvan Lamonde et Esther Trepanier, (dir.), *L'Avenement de la modernité culturelle au Québec*, (Québec, Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1986).

15. For a good general discussion of the major ideological currents that traversed the decade, see Linteau et al., op. cit., Chapter, 25, pp. 250-262. Also Leon Dion, op. cit.

16. Edward Soja, "History, Geography, Modernity", in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, Simon During, (ed.), (London, Routledge, 1993), pp. 136-150.

17. For one of the earliest collection of articles that critiqued the discourse of "rattrapage" and many of the then current discourses of "development" and "underdevelopment", see, En Collaboration, *La Modernization politique du Québec*, (Montreal, Boréal, 1976), especially the contribution by G, Bernier, "Le cas québécois et les theories du development politique et de la dépendance", pp. 29-56.

18. Fernand Dumont, "Une revolution culturelle?", in Dumont et al., op cit., pp. 5-33.

19. See note 1.

20. Jean Hamelin et Jean-Paul Montminy, "La mutation de la société Québécois, 1939-1976. Temps, ruptures, continuités", in Dumont et al., op. cit., p. 34, Roland Parenteau, "L'industrialization du Québec et ses consequences", in Boisneau, op. cit., pp. 46-63.

21. Linteau et al., op. cit., Chapters, 15-16, pp. 162-175.

22. Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990), pp. 3-5.

23. Charles Taylor, *The Malaise of Modernity*, (Toronto, Anansi, 1991). See pp. 1-12, for an excellent discussion of the historical origins and operative modes of instrumental reason. Also, the author offers interesting observations on the work of Hannah Arendt and Bellah et al.

24. Giddens, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

25. The work of James Carey is especially relevant in this context. See especially his superbly rendered, "Technology and Ideology: The Case of the Telegraph", in *Communication as Culture*, op., cit., pp. 201-230.

26. John B.Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990), especially Chapter 4, pp. 163-215, in which he discusses the mediazation of modern culture and the sundering of time and space.

27. Jean-Pierre Desaulniers, "Television and Nationalism: From Culture to Communication", in *Television in Transition*, Phillip Drummond and Richard Paterson, (eds.), (London, FBI, 1986), pp. 112-122.

28. Kenneth McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1993, Third ed.), pp. 90-101.

29. Ibid., Hamelin and Montminy, op, cit., pp. 34-46.

30. McRoberts, op, cit., p. 65, Linteau et al., op. cit., p. 177.

31. There is a close association of female and immigrant labour in late 19th and 20th century modernity. For women and immigrants of both sexes, labour intensive and relatively unskilled jobs in the manufacturing and service sectors were the stepping stones to the next generation's move to entrepreneurial and professional status. For an excellent collection of articles that touches on these and related topics, albeit often in an indirect manner, see, Betty B Caroli, Robert F. Harney and Lydio F. Tomasi, (eds.), *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*, (Toronto, The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978). For an interesting article on the theme of women and modernity which

does not address the connection to immigrant labour but which would profit from such an opening of perspectives is Andreas Huyssen, "Mass Culture as Modernity's "other", in *Studies in Entertainment; Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*, Tania Modleski, (ed.), (Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 188-209.

32. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation*, (Toronto, McMillan , 1982), pp. 167-169, Hamelin and Montiminy, op. cit., p. 36, Francine Barry, *Le travail de la femme au Québec: L'évolution de 1940 à 1970*, (Montréal, Les presses de l'Université du Québec, 1980).

33. McRoberts, op. cit., pp. 76-78, Linteau et al, p. 137.

34. This argument would find support in Dion, op, cit., and Fournier, op. cit.

35. This point is well documented in the literature. See Hélène David, "L'état des rapports de classe au Québec de 1945 à 1967", *Le Nouvement Ouvrier au Québec*", Fernand Harvey (dir.), (Montréal, Boréal, 1980), pp. 231-232. Hamelin and Montminy, op, cit., estimate thr figures of $2, 395 billion American in 1953 and $4,320 billion in 1961), p. 47.

36. McRoberts, op. cit., p. 108, refers to Conrad Black's book on Duplessis where he notes that the longtime Premier of Quebec maintained excellent relations with both American and English Canadian capital. For example, Duplessis regularly dined with the publishers of the *Montreal Star and The Montreal Gazette*. McRoberts goes on to observe that there was a lot of respect between Duplessis and Anglo-American interests, and that this was based on the mutual recognition of each other's separate spheres of influence.

37. The CBC television public affairs program, *Newsweek*, attempted to deal with this problematic in 1961. The results were more telling of English Canada's and the English Network's construction of a "French-Fact" within the context of a folklorized, slowly modernizing traditional culture.

38. See McRoberts, op. cit., pp. 70-71, for a brief but succinct statement on this topic. Also Linteau et al, op. cit., pp. 211-214.

39. McRoberts, Ibid., p. 71.

40. Elzéar Lavoi, "La constitution d'une modernité culturelle populaire dans les médias au Québec", *L'Avenement de la modernité culturelle au Québec*, op. cit., pp. 253-309.

41. Handler, op. cit., pp. 81-85, Trofimenkoff, op. cit., 274-275.

42. See David, op. cit., Hamelin and Montminy, op. cit.

43. Dion, op. ci., pp. 326-327, Pelletier, op. cit., pp. 25-35.

44. For an excellent collection of articles on the history of the labor movement in Quebec see, Harvey, op. cit.

45. Dion, op. cit., p. 250.

46. McRoberts, op. cit., pp.101-104, where he notes that Quebec actively competed with Ontario for foreign, that is primarily American, investments. Keeping labour costs down for the foreign investors was a key element in the Duplessis regime's economic strategy.

47. This is a key argument in a large number of revisionist histories of the Duplessis period. For a representative text see, Jacques Beauchemin, Gilles Bourque et Jules Duchastel, "Les traditions de la province de Québec sont immuables mais elles ne sont pas immobiles": tradition et modernité dans les discours constitutionnels, 1940-1960", in Lanthier et Rousseau, op. cit., pp. 99-132.

48. Meaghan Morris, "Things to do with Shopping Centres", in During, op. cit., pp. 295-319.

49. For an interesting, and very readable, attempt to theorize the subjective experience of the modern city, see Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City", in Ibid., pp. 151-160.

50. For a classic text on the rise of the modern city see, Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*, (New York, Harcourt, 1961).

51. Linteau et al., op. cit., pp. 198-208.

52. Ibid., p. 288.

53. Louis Trottier, "Charactères de l'organization urbaine", in Boismenu et al., op. cit., pp. 77-78. The article originally appeared in *Revue de géographie de Montréal*, Vol. 18, No. 2, (1964), and is considered one of the earliest, and more successful studies, on the phenomenon of urbanization in post-war Quebec.

54. Linteau, op. cit., p. 215.

55. Fernand Martin, "Montréal; les forces économiques en jeu", in Boismenu, op. cit., pp. 298-305. The author argues that Montreal's development and decline must be seen in the North American context of economic development in the post-war period, which favoured the movement of economic power away from the traditional centres like Montreal.

56. Linteau et al. op. cit., pp. 157-161, for a good thumb-nail sketch of changes in pre and post-war immigration to Quebec. On p.158 the authors make the interesting point that the fall of immigration during the Depression and most of the war years aggravated latent xenophobic tendencies.

57. Micheline Labelle, G. Turcotte, M Kempeneers and D. Meintel, *Histoires d'immigrées*, (Montréal, Boréal Express, 1987). The authors make the interesting observation that the great majority of immigrants to Quebec in the fifties were single women. Although these women, and the men they later sponsored, were not culturally alien from the French-speaking majority, the lack of common language, and in the case of the Greeks, religion, was sufficient to erect barriers between the new arrivals and the local population. See "Introduction", pp. 9-27, for some very interesting statistics and observations.

58. Linteau et al., op. cit., p. 160.

59. Ibid., p. 159. The authors validate estimates given by Labelle et al., op. cit. They note that 403,934 new immigrants came to Quebec between 1946 and 1960, mostly from the Mediterranean. In the pre-war period, at least 40% were of British origin. This change on immigration patterns partly explains the relative openess of the English community toward the new arrivals. This became an important reinforcement to their numbers.

60. Tina Ioannou, *La Communauté Greque du Québéc*, (Québéc, Institut Québécois de recherche sur la Culture, 1983), especially pp. 47-59.

61. Linteau et al. op. cit., p. 160.

62. See Marco Micone, "La parole immigrée", in Boismenu et al., op. cit., pp. 550-556, and Jean-Denis Gendron, also in Boismenu et al., pp. 539-549, for some interesting observations regarding the subject of immigrant life in Quebec, from the perspective of two different sides of the immirant divide, so to speak.

63. Linteau et al., op. cit., pp. 159.

64. See Ioannou, op. cit., Micone, op. cit. and Merrily Weisbord, *The Strangest Dream*, (Toronto, Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1983), for more information on the life of these three important cultural (ethnic) communities in Montreal. Weisbord is especially good on developments in the post-war period.

65. Stephanos Constantinides, *Les Grecs du Québec*, (Montreal, Le Métèque, 1983), pp. 130-131. This may be a good place to note that the "immigrant question" was not seriously tackled on an official, policy level until the Parti Québécois government developed its position on this matter in the late seventies. This position was summed up in its policy document, *Autant de Façons d'etre Québécois*, (1981). Unfortunately most of its more enlighting recommendations remain unfulfilled. For a brief discussion of the document see M. Allor and M. Gagnon, *L'état de culture*, (Montréal, GRECC, 1994).

66. Constandinides, Ibid., p. 123, reports that although Greek immigrants had access to the local French and English media, they were particularly attracted to the American media, especially television.

67. For two interesting discussions on the construction of "ethnic" identity, see, W. Sollors, "Who is an ethnic?", *The Post-Colonial Reader*, B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H Tiffin, (eds.), (New York, Routledge, 1995), pp. 219-22, and S.Hall "New Ethnicities", in the same volume, pp. 222-227.

68. The earliest reference to a program dealing with immigrants in Quebec that this researcher was able to locate in Radio-Canada's weekly publication, *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, was in the April 23, 1961 issue.

69. See Fernand Dansereau, "La fascination du peau rouge", *Lumières*, No. 32, (1992), pp. 54-57, for an insightful discussion of how the media of film and television have participated in the construction of the First Nations people as an exotic "other". This entire issue of the magazine is devoted to this theme.

70. Linteau et al., op. cit., pp. 154-155. The authors note that the baby boom phenomenon was not a return to the earlier large families, but rather a spurt to catch up with the lost war years. The phenomenon, nevertheless, was woven into the post-war, "Feminine Mystique" identity of women which idealized the return of women in the private sphere of the home where they would play a central role in the construction of a child-centered universe. For a more extensive discussion of this phenomenon in the American context see Elaine Tyler-May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War*, (New York, Basic Books, 1988).

71. This is a very contentious point and one which has been debated extensively in the feminist and political economy literature. In this instance, the argument is not that women's

work in the home was/is not productive, but simply that its non-waged form has kept it from entering the sphere of market defined relations of production.

72. See Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory*, (Minneapolis, 1989), for a feminist critique of prevalent representations of the public sphere. The author argues convincingly that these do not sufficiently recognize the gendered nature of the private and the public spheres nor the close relationship between them.

73. For an elaboration of this theme see Shaun Moores, "Television, Geography and Mobile Privatization', *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 8, (1993), pp. 365-379.

74. See Nicola Abercrombie, *Television and Society*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1966), pp. 167-173, for an interesting discussion of the mediated nature of television's discourses.

75. Giddens, op. cit.., Fournier, op. cit.

76. For a key text on this problematic see Graham Murdock, "Communications and the Constitution of Modernity", *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol 15, (1993), pp. 521-539.

77. See Elzéar Lavoie, op. cit., for a controversial but very interesting argument about the relationship between modernity and communication technologies and media in Quebec.

78. Moores, op. cit., pp. 365-369, elaborates upon the concept that was originally invented but not fully developed by Raymond Williams in his classic work, *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*, (New York, Schocken Books, 1975).

79. Fournier, "Intellectuels de la modernité...." op. cit. pp. 231-233, for a good summary of these developments as they manifested themselves in Quebec in the post-war period.

80. Murdock, op. cit., pp. 528-529.

81. Doug Owran, *The Government Generation; Intellectuals and the State in Canada*, (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1986), Linteau et al, p. 260.

82. Douglas Kellner, *Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity*, (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1989). See pp. 191-195 where he discusses the material and ideological basis of the capitalist state, and pp. 196-199, for an interesting discussion of J. Hübermas and C. Offe's analysis of the reasons for the crisis of the welfare state since the mid 70's.

83. Ibid.

84. John Keane, *The Media and Democracy*, (London, Polity Press, 1991), p. 114.

85. See note 82.

86. John Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990), pp. 248-262.

87. Douglas Kellner, "Critical Theory and the Consumer Society", *The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2994). See pp. 73-79 for an interesting discussion of Thorstein Veblen's classic work, *Theory of the Leisure Class* as well as Theodor Adorno's critique of its more puritanical elements.

88. Thompson, op. cit., pp.225-233.

89. See Toby Miller, *The Well-Tempered Self: Citizenship, Culture and the post-modern Self*, (London, John Hopkins Press, 1993), for an excellent and very original exposition on the subject of the construction of modern subjectivities in relation to the powerful administrative technologies of the welfare state on the one hand and the ever-expanding presence of the media in the other.

90. For an elaboration of these points see Murdock, op. cit. and Thompson, op. cit.

91. Jean-Pierre Charland, "System Technique et bonheur domestique: remuneration, consommation et pauvreté au Québec 1920-1960", (Québec, Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1991), p. 155.

92. Ibid., p 156.

93. This is an educated guess on the part of this researcher. We have very few works on the culture of the working class in Quebec. Charland's pioneering study awaits further research on the evolution of working class culture in the fifties and sixties. For a host of different reasons the new social history, and its attention to working-class culture that developed in English Canada, does not have a research counterpart in Quebec.

94. This is a good illustration of the concept of "mobile privatization" applied to the socio-cultural context of post-war Quebec.

95. The question of the commodification of human time under conditions of capitalist modernity has been debated extensively in the social science literature. Two classic studies, that begin from the same Marxist premise but unfold in very different direction are, Dallas W. Smythe, "The audience commodity and its work", Chapter 2, in his *Dependency Road: Communication, Capitalism, Consciousness and Canada*, (Norwood, NJ, Ablex, 1981), pp. 22-51, and Nicholas Garnham, "Contribution to a Political Economy of Mass Communication" which includes a sympathetic critique of the major tenets of Smythe's analysis and a superlative, "Postscript: The Economy of Time", in R. Collins et al., (eds.), *Media, Culture and Society: A critical Reader*, (London, Sage, 1986), pp. 9-32.

96. Kellner, op. cit., (1994), p. 77.

97. Raymond Williams, "Advertising: The Magic System", *The Cultural Studies Reader*, Simon During, (ed.), op. cit., pp. 320-336.

98. Mattelart, op. cit., offers a very interesting reading of the history of modern media and communication technologies as instruments of war and conquest.

99. Murdock, op. cit., pp. 522-523.

100. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 218-220.

101. Anderson, op. cit.

102. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 176-181.

103. Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late 19th Century Canada*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982).

104. Lavoie, op. cit.

105. Ibid. p. 260.

106. Ibid., pp. 265-268.

107. Linteau et al, op. cit., p. 291.

108. See section, "La presse et la litterature", in Dumont et al., op. cit., for a good review of the state of the print media in post-war Quebec. Also see Wisebord, op. cit., for a more detailed examination of the left-wing press during this time.

109. Linteau et al., op. cit., p. 292.

110. Lavoie, op. cit., p. 275.

111. Ibid., p. 277.

112. Austin E. Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada*, (Toronto, McLelland and Stewart, 1965), Charland, op. cit., Raboy, op. cit.

113. Lavoie, op. cit., p. 277.

114. Linteau et al., pp. 123-124. The authors note that the provincial government sponsored *L'Heure provinciale*, a twice-weekly educational radio program on Radio-Canada.

115. Ibid., p. 124, Lavoie, op, cit., pp. 277-278.

116. Linteau et al., p. 124

117. Three examples of this trend are Lavoie, op. cit., Desaulniers, op. cit. and Roger de la Garde, "Dare we Compare?", *Small Nations/Big Neigbour*, Roger de la Garde et al., (eds.), (London/New York, John Libbey, 1993), p. 25-64.

Chapter 3. Creating a Unique and Popular Television Culture.

1. Raymond Williams, *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*, (Schocken Books, New York. 1975), John Corner, *Television Form and Public Address*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1995), Richard Dienst, *Still Life in Real Time; Theory After Television*, (Durham, Duke University Press, 1994).

2. Stuart Hall, Ian Connel and Linda Curti, "The Unity of Public Affairs Television", in *Cultural Studies*, (No. 8, University of Birmingham, 1979), D.C. Hallin, *We Keep America on the Top of the World*, (London, Routledge, 1994), Peter Dalhgren, *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media*, (London, Sage, 1995).

3. John Corner, *Popular Television in Britain: Studies in Cultural History*, (London, BFI, 1991).

4. Martin Allor, "Cultural Métissage: National Formations and Productive Discourse in Québec Cinema and Television", *Screen*, Vol. 34, No. 1, (1993), Jean-Pierre Desaulniers, "Television and Nationalism: From Culture to Communication", *Television in Transition*, Phillip Drummond and Richard Paterson (eds.), (London, BFI, 1986), Fernand Sauvageau, "Quatre décennies de télévision: de la culture aux industries culturelles", *La Société Québécois après trente ans de changements*, (Québec, Institut Québecois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1990).

5. Williams, op. cit., Elzéar Lavoie, "La constitution d'une modernité culturelle populaire dans les medias au Québec, 1900-1950", *L'Avenement de la Modernité Culturelle au Québec*, (Québec, Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1986).

6. Nicolas Abercrombie, *Television and Society*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996).

7. Corner, op cit.

8. John Hartley, *Teleology: Studies in Television*, (New York, Routledge, 1992), John Thornton Caldwell, *Televisuality: Style, Crisis and Authority in American Television*, (New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1995), Marshall McLuhan, "Television: The Timid Giant", pp. 268-293, in his *Understanding Media*, (New York, Signet, 1964).

9. Bill Schwarz, "Popular Culture: The Long March", *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 3, No.2, (1989).

10. John Frow, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Value*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995).Also see Corner, op. cit., Dalgren, op. cit.

11. Williams, op. cit. pp. 178-118. Williams invented the concept of "flow" to describe and then analyze the specificity of television viewing across the daily and weekly schedule, and also across television channels. The television schedule, argued William's may have appeared to be composed of separate television programs, but the experience of watching television was that of small electronic segments that merged or "flowed" into one another. For two very thoughtful critical discussions of the concept, see Deist, op. cit. pp. 27-33 and John Elise *Visible Fictions*, (London, Routledge, 1982), pp. 116-126.

12. Marcel Fournier, *L'Entrée dans la Modernité*, (Montréal, St. Martin, 1986). Fernand Dumont, "Une revolution culturelle?", *Idéologies au Canada Français 1940-1976*, F. Dumont et al., (dir.), (Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981).

13. For an excellent critical analysis of the concept of the "popular" see Frow, op. cit., pp. 72-85. The author seeks a middle ground between the celebratory, uncritical interpretations of popular culture and those which view it primarily as the commodified expression of capitalist social relations. Frow, correctly in the view of this writer, argues that the field of popular culture should be seen (or read) as a complex, highly contradictory field where the various currents in the social formation compete for recognition or representation. Popular culture, therefore, is seen not as the polar opposite of "high" culture or the unmitigated expression of commodity capitalism, but as contested terrain in which a variety of cultural currents, social forces and political ideologies struggle for ascendency. For yet another very interesting work on the subject of the popular, see Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular", in R. Samuelson, *People's History, Social Theory*, (London, Routledge, 1981.

14. The reasons why English Canada and the CBC did not produce a popular television culture similar to that in Quebec are many and complex. Suffice to note here that Quebec was (and remains, even though that is starting to change too) a much more homogeneous social formation with, unlike English Canada a well-developed, indeed flourishing, media-based popular culture. Also, as we have argued in this thesis, television arrived in Quebec at a crucial moment in its development when civil society was mobilizing for major cultural, political and social changes. All of these forces, which existed in English-Canada in a still undeveloped form, combined in Quebec with a new generation of reformers, intellectuals and cultural workers who saw in the new medium an opportunity to articulate the spirit of cultural modernity that was seeking new forms of representation in the period. Another, more mundane reason why a truly popular television culture did not develop in English Canada was its linguistic and cultural proximity to the United States.

15. To the extent that this was possible within the historical limitations and possibilities of the times. As we have seen in an earlier part of this thesis, many of Quebec's hidden realties, immigrants, racial and sexual minorities, native people, were not included or were blocked from representation in the new popular (television) culture that was being constructed in post-war Quebec.

16. Marc Raboy, *Missed Opportunities; The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*, (Montreal, McGill Queen's University Press, 1990).

17. Frank Peers, *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1952-1968*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979), Austin Weir, *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada*, (Toronto, McLelland and Stewart, 1965).

18. Raboy, op. cit., Chapter 3, "The Private Appropriation of the Private Sphere", pp. 931-136.

19. Ibid., Chapter, 2, "Administrative Broadcasting", 48-92. Also see, Elzéar Lavoie, op. cit., pp. 293-305.

20. Peers, op. cit. 134.

21. Raboy, op. cit., Chapter, 3.

22. Ibid.

23. "Broadcasting", *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences*, Chapter 18, (May 1951), in *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting*, Roger Bird. (ed.), (Ottawa, Carleton University Press, 1988), pp. 210-239.

24. Ibid.

25. R. H. Blackburn, "Radio Broadcasting in Canada", *Food For Thought*, (March, 1950), Special Issue, "Looking At Our Information Industries", pp. 13-26.

26. See Doug Owram, *The Governmennt Generation: Intellectuals and the State in Canada*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1986), for an informative account of the mid-war origins and development of the ideas guiding state intervention in the social realm in Canada.

27. Toby Miller, *The Well-Tempered Self; Citizenship, Culture and the Post Modern Self*, (London, John Hopkins Press, 1993), for a very interesting, post-structuralist analysis of the relationship between media, the state and capitalism in the construction of modern, post-war subjectivities.

28. Paul-André Linteau et al., *Quebec Since 1936*, (Toronto, James Lorimer and Company, 1991), Chapter 27, pp. 276- 285, for an informative discussion of the post-war expansionary strategies of the federal government.

29. Canada's active membership in the "Group of Seven" of developed, capitalist nations is one very visible result of the "fruits" of Ottawa's post-war strategies.

30. Louis St, Laurent, "Cultural Progress in Canada", *Food For Thought*, (April 1957), pp. 317-325. The article was a reprint of an original address given by the then Prime Minister of Canada to the *National Conference for Higher Education*, (Ottawa, Nov. 13, 1956).

31. *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences*, op. cit.

32. Ibid., pp. 232.

33. Ibid., pp. 214.

34. Ibid., pp. 238.

35. Ibid., p. 237.

36. Ibid., p. 236.

37. C.D., Rouillard, "Ici Radio-Canada", *Food For Thought*", (March, 1958), pp. 292-295.

38. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting*, Vol 1, (March 15, 1967), reprinted in Bird, op. cit., pp. 251-267.

39. J. J. Mc Cann, Minister of National Revenue, "Television, extension of service, application for licences by private stations", *Debates*, (Dec. 8, 1952, 409-410), in Bird, op. cit., pp 240-241.

40. "Broadcasting in Canada", *Canada Year Book 1956*, pp. 887-889, reprinted in Bird, op. cit., pp. 242-247.

41. Speech to the National Advertisers Club, *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 1952).

42. Ibid.

43. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 1954).

44. Mollie Yorke, "Television Today and Tomorrow", *Food for Thought*, (Dec. 1953), pp. 11-15.

45. Bernard Trotter, "Educational Television", *Food for Thought*, (April 1960), pp. 305-308.

46. Stewart, op. cit., Rutherford, op. cit.

47. Interestingly enough, it was Radio-Canada management, much more than the producers and other television personnel who were extremely cautious about what elements of foreign, and in this case it meant primarily American, television culture to import. For instance, both Parent, op. cit., and Lévésque, op. cit, were quite interested in adapting several different modes of address into the programs they were associated with, but were blocked by management's reticence in this matter.

48. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Sept., 14, 1952).

49. Ibid., (Oct. 21, 1952).

50. Information distilled from *La Semaine à Radio-Canada*, for the years 1951-1952, and from CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Reports, for the years 1950-1952.

51. La Sémaine à Radio-Canada, (Sept. 14., 1952).

52. Ibid., (August, 29, 1952).

53. Indeed, as contemporary development in the area of modern communications technologies and related fields, like information technologies and multi-media, have amply demonstrated, Quebec culture is very accepting of new communication technologies but quickly and creatively adapts them to the local idiom(s) on the one hand, and produces work that not only competes with the best of its kind internationally, but has brought many distinctions and awards to the individuals and organizations that are involved in its production.

Chapter 4. Emergence of Radio-Canada Television: Years of Growth and Maturity.

1. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (May 6, 1951).

2. Television programs during most of the fifties were stored in specially designed "kinescopes". This was done by filming the program as it was projected by the television screen. This meant, among other things, that the quality of the programs when they were actually broadcasted was very poor. Another consequence is that because of the easily degraded quality of the kinescopes, many of the early television programs still extant is very small, and among those, the quality is very poor indeed.

3. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Sept. 14, 1952), Rutherford, op. cit., p. 43.

4. *CBC/Annual Report*, (1951).

5. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (May 27, 1951 and June, 2, 1951).

6. Ibid., (May 6, 1951).

7. Ibid., (July 27, 1952).

8. Ibid., (Sept. 7, 1952), CBC/Radio-Canada Annual *Report*, (1952).

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Peers, op. cit., pp. 34-36, *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1953).

12. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Sept. 7, 1952).

13. These developments were covered by *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, over a three year period, 1952, 1953 and 1954.

14. Ibid., (1952-1953). We shall discuss developments in the téléroman and in television news and public affairs more extensively further on in this chapter.

15. There has been very little research on the characteristics of the early television audience in Quebec, either of a quantitative or a qualitative nature. Most assertions about the Radio-Canada television audience at this time are based on assumptions about what the early television public was like, its tastes, attitudes towards the programs, the network and so on. Although enough anecdotal information can be gleaned from a variety of secondary and primary sources as to allow us to have trace the outlines of this audience or public, we need to do much more sustained research before we can make any pronouncements with confidence. The absence of such research has allowed us to perpetrate many misconceptions or/and distorted images about the Quebec television public/audience, including an exaggerated image of it as happy-go-lucky and uncritically grateful of whatever programs came its way. As we shall see, the few primary documents we have been able to peruse have indicated the contrary; that is an audience that was very much and critically interested in many aspects of television programming from the very beginning So far, Ross Eaman's study, op. cit.:, of operative definitions of the Canadian television public, especially as it relates to the Canadian State on the one hand and the public broadcaster on the other, is one of the very few studies of its kind in this country. I am not aware of any similar studies for the Quebec audience, except those conducted by the broadcaster's Audience Research Department. Two models, but not the only ones, of such studies would be Ien Ang, *Desperately Seeking the Audience*, (London, Routledge, 1991), and David Morley, *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*, (London, Routledge, 1992). Yet another interesting research avenue, one that is oral testimonies of the viewing culture(s) of the historical period and which pays particular attention to the conditions of reception of television is demonstrated by Tim O'Sullivan, "Television Memories and Cultures of Viewing 1950-1965", in Corner, op. cit., (1991).

16. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Nov. 2, 1952).

17. The claim that the audience in Quebec, and particularly in Montreal, was a "captive" one, that is captive of the public broadcaster and the regulation that it had primary or sole right to broadcast in a large urban area, was made and sustained by the private broadcasting lobby, which even after its ostensible defeat following Ottawa's decision to opt for a basically non-commercial television system, continued, with eventual success, to lobby for an opening of the "market". The early television audience was captive to the public broadcaster only in so far that it did not have success to many American programs, which is what private television broadcasting in Canada has been built on. They were not captive, in that they could always exercise their free will. For example they could always turn off their television set, or better yet, engage in discussion, even debate, as they often did, with

the public broadcaster regarding their program options and the general course of the television network's evolution.

18. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 1959).

19. Ibid., (Dec. 3, 1953), *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual, Report*, (1954).

20. *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1953).

21. Yorke, op. cit., p. 11.

22. *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1952-1953).

23. See J.J. McCann, Op. cit., for debates within government circles regarding the appropriation of funds for the creation of the public television system . For an excellent article on the larger questions regarding the financing of the new system, the prevailing public opinion, a federal government's position(s) and pertinent legislation, all which resulted according to the author in a "cautious" public broadcaster, see Mary Vipond, "Financing Canadian Public Broadcasting: license fees and the "culture of caution", *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (1995), pp. 285-300.

24. *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1955- 1956). Also see Rutherford, op. cit., Chapter 2, for some interesting additional information regarding this subject.

25. *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1955).

26. Parent., op. cit., p. 63.

27. *CBC/ Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1953).

28. See Maurice Charland, "Technological Nationalism", *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, Vol.10, No. 12, (1986)* , for an interesting article, and by now a classic in Canadian media studies, on the role of public broadcasting in the Canadian federal state's nation-building efforts. The author puts forward an Innisian interpretation of the historical difficulties of the Canadian federal state to successfully employ broadcasting in its nation-building ambitions. Charland argues that state-sponsored broadcasting, in this case the CBC, was more successful in reinforcing the north-south ties of commerce that have historically bound Canada to the American empire, than in forging a robust and unitarian Canadian national identity, as its originators had hoped it would. Although Charland's argument is on the whole quite attractive, it fails to convince that public broadcasting in Canada has so resoundingly failed at one of its major tasks. To be sure, the nation-building role of the Corporation has been greatly mitigated, especially in English Canada, by all kinds of forces and realities, but it had not been a total failure, far from it. Interestingly enough, Charland leaves Quebec and Radio-Canada, even though public television broadcasting did play an important nation-building role, totally out of his account. This is unfortunate because, far from proving to undo his analysis, it would have added another, more complex layer to it.

29. Rutherford op. cit., p. 153. The author also tells us about how the Corporation, in an effort to make a cultural exchange more attractive to the audiences of each of its respective language networks, asked André Laurendeau, one of Quebec's and Radio-Canada's more interesting personalities to write and host a series of documentaries, which would help to acquaint one part of the country with the other. At the end of the exercise, however, Laurendeau was dispirited because he came to believe that the two cultures had indeed very

little in common. For a publicity shot lauding Laurendeau's talents and "Gallic" charm, see *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1957).

30. *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1952), Stewart, op. cit., 86.

31. See Stewart, op. cit., Chapter 12, "Public Affairs", pp.119-143, for a number of examples of how the Toronto producers were repeatedly drawn to the American showbiz idiom, their successes and failures with these efforts and management's ambivalent response. Also Rutherford, op. cit., pp. 154-157.

32. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct, 5, 1958).

33. Parent, op. cit., as we have seen, discusses this at various places in his book. Also see Séguin, op. cit., another well-known contributor to educational and public affairs programming, tells us that the "selling" the educational and public affairs programs to the public often constituted an act of seduction. The early television audiences, he tells us, had to be "seduced" into accepting the new ideas and approaches to life that were proposed to them through the programs. One of the most striking, and very successful seduction strategies was, he tells us, the phenomenon of "vedetisme". The latter permitted the identification of the audiences with such television personalities as André Laurendeau, Judith Jasmin, Fernard Séguin and René Lévésque among many others, and thus made them much more receptive to the new or different ides they were being presented. p.10.

34. Séguin, op. cit., pp.8-10. The program *Point de mire* especially, was approached with a great deal of gravity and decorum. Although its host and writer, René Lévésque, had worked as a journalist in the United States and was known to admire many aspects of the flair or showbiz idiom of American television, he was for example constantly trying to "perk-up" the other programs on television he worked on. In the case of *Point de mire*, the journalist and his producer, Claude Sylvestre, opted for an extremely simple style, sombre decor and, of course, the inimitable delivery of Lévésque. *Point de mire*, was an important and a hard program to develop and to broadcast and it is clear that all those who were involved in its production did not want any extraneous elements to interfere with the message. See Lévésque, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

35. Morrison, op. cit., p. 241.

36. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct., 1952), reported on Radio-Canada's determination to develop its own television style and programming. Interestingly enough, variety programs were cited by this edition of *La Sémaine*, as the core of the new network's unique television culture. This may seem somewhat odd given the tremendous success of the téléroman and other popular genres. One possible explanation was that management knew that if they succeeded in developing popular local variety shows, they would not only attract large audiences and spotlight the talents of local artists, but could possibly compete with the big American variety shows. If any of these justifications entered the reasoning of Radio-Canada's decision to place so many of its resources on the production of popular variety programs, they were vindicated. Within a few years of the network's opening, the variety show, *Music Hall*, had become so popular at home as to have the honour of being the program that beat the *EdSullivan Show* at the ratings.

37. Morrison, op. cit., pp. 241-243.

38. Dion, op. cit., pp. 324, Pelletier, op. cit., 143.

39. See *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Report*, (1955-1956).

40. *La Sémaine `a Radio-Canada*, (Nov.1954).

41. Ibid., (Nov. 1954).

42. Ibid., (August, 1954).

43. Ibid.

44. *Report* of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

45. Ibid. For a more developed analysis of this situation, see Raboy, op. cit., Chapter 3.

46. Rouillard, op. cit, pp. 294-295.

47. Through the years 1958 and 1959, *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada* featured a large number of articles and publicity shots regarding local television productions.

48. *La Sémaine* à Radio-Canada, especially during the years 1956, 1957 and 1958, featured substantial articles on the productions of these two stations, which next to Montreal and Toronto, produced the largest, greatest variety and most sophisticated programs on the two language networks.

49. Morrison, op. cit., p. 241.

50. Laurence, op. cit., (1986), p. 254.

51. See Lévésque, interview, op. cit., Thibault, op. cit., Godin., op. cit., Raboy, op. cit.

52. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 1961).

53. Pelletier, op. cit., Parent, op. cit.

54. Parent, Ibid., tells a very good, if not complementary to the broadcaster, story about how he had to pay many expenses directly associated with the programs he was producing out of his own pocket, and about the terrible time he had in finally being reimbursed by an already bureaucratized and tight-fisted network. See especially pp. 26-30. Also see *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Nov, 1958), for an interesting interview with one of the network's most prestigious theatrical producers, Louis Georges La Carrier, where he discuses the high toll on his health and personal life of his work at Radio-Canada television.

55. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (March, 1954).

56. We shall have an opportunity to discuss the evolution of Radio-Canada's programming, including the development of schedule and genre, in a later chapter of this thesis.

57. *La Semaine à Radio-Canada*, (June, 1952).

58. Ibid, (Nov 8, 1958).

59. See Eaman, op. cit., pp. 64-69, and Rutherford, op. cit., pp. 81, for a discussion of the overall situation at the public broadcaster. For a closer look at how these issues were treated at Radio-Canada television, see Parent, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

60. Parent, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

61. Ibid., pp. 34-35.

62. Ibid., p. 146.

63. Ibid., p. 131.

64. Ibid., pp. 34-35.

65. Séguin, interview, op. cit., p. 10.

66. Mutrie, op. cit., Trotter, op. cit., Rutherford, op. cit. p. 81, Trotter, op. cit.

67. Parent, op. cit., p. 179, Pelletier, pp. 178-180.

68. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (April, 1959).

69. Rutherford, op. cit., p. 93.

70. Eaman, op. cit., *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Feb. 29, 1958).

71. See *CBC/Radio-Canada Annual Reports*, (1955 -1956).

72. Parent, op. cit. pp. 59-62.

73. See *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Feb. 28, 1959), for details.

74. Parent, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

75. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Feb. 28, 1958),

76. Ibid., (Nov. 8, 1958).

77. See note 17.

78. See *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 28, 1961) for an article celebrating Radio-Canada's remarkable success with the téléroman, which it observes was as popular in 1961 as it was in the early fifties. The article also noted the audience's appreciation of television programs with which it identified culturally. This preference for locally produced television programs continued with the francophone audiences long after American programs were made available to them by the private networks. Hélèn Cantin, in "les défis de la télévision qébécoise", *Les pratiques Culturelles des Québecois*, Jean-Paul Baillargeon (dir.), (Québec, Institut Québébecois de Recherch sur la Culture, 1989), pp. 279-280, notes that this preference (which was further encouraged by the networks' production of large numbers of entertainment programs) was still quite strong in Quebec in the mid-eighties. She noted nevertheless, that this historical preference was beginning to weaken and that a trend away from francophone television, with more and more audiences tuning-in to CTV, especially in the Montreal region, had already been established.

Chapter 5. Program Evolution: Development of Schedule and Genre.

1. Nicolas Abercrombie, *Television and Society*. (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996), Chapter 3.

2. John Corner, (ed.) *Popular Television in Britain, Studies in Cultural History*, (London, British Film Institute, 1991), "General Introduction", pp. 1-21.

3. Ibid., p. 6.

4. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York, General Press, 1959). Also see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War*, (New York, Basic Books, 1988).

5. Paul Rutherford, *When Television was Young*, (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1990). p. 77.

6. CBC/Radio-Canada, *Annual Report*, (1952-1958).

7. *La Semaine à Radio-Canada*, (Sept. 1954).

8. quoted in Rutherford, op. cit., p. 77.

9. Ross Eaman, "Putting the "Public" into Public Broadcasting", in *Seeing ourselves: Media Power and Policy in Canada*, Helen Holmes and Davis Taras, (eds.), (Toronto, Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch Canada Inc., 1992), offers interesting discussion on how historically the CBC management as well as public bodies like the Massey and Fowler (Royal) Commissions, turned away from the idea, often strongly put forward, of instituting advisory councils for the public broadcaster.

10. The word "Reithian" derives from the close association of public broadcasting and the first Chairman of the BBC, Sir Arnold Reith, who is generally supposed to have embodied the principles of high-minded (and paternalistic) public-service broadcasting.

11. Neil Morrison, "Canadian Broadcasting and "Les Deux Nations", in *Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast News Heritage*", Richard Lockheed, (ed.) Kingston, Quarry Press, 1991), argues that the Audience Research Department was established to forge closer ties between the public broadcaster and the public. This may have been so, but as Ross Eaman, op. cit., has convincingly argued, the Department's main impact was on the Corporation's relations with advertisers. At Radio-Canada, the Department's birth was announced with much fanfare by *La Semaine à Radio-Canada*, (Nov,1959).

12. Rutherford, op. cit., pp. 63-64. Also see Eaman, op. cit., pp. 63-64 for an informative discussion of Kate Aitken, a well-known broadcaster in the forties and fifties, and her many unsuccessful attempts (especially in the mid- 50's) to convince the public broadcaster and various regulatory/advisory bodies to institute audience panels.

13. For an interesting discussion of the theoretical and historical connections between broadcasting, the family and the nation, (as they relate especially to the situation in Australia) see Jon Stratton and Ien Ang, "Sylvania Waters and the Spectacular Exploding Family", in *Screen*, 35: 1 (Spring 1994) pp. 1-35.

14 Paddy Scannell, "Public Service Broadcasting and Modern Public Life", in *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 11, (1989), p. 137.

15. Ibid., pp. 139-140.

16. Paul André Linteau et al., *Histoire du Québec Contemporaire; tome II*, (Montréal, Boréal, 1986), p. 288.

17. The connection between Radio-Canada and the formulation of a new, more modern and secular form of nationalism in Quebec is strongly articulated by Jean Pierre Desaulniers in his article "Television and Nationalism: From Culture to Communication", op. cit.

18. Stratton and Ing, op. cit.

19. Linteau et al., op. cit., p. 288.

20. Marc Thibault, "L'identité nationale et Radio-Canada", in Lochead, op. cit., pp. 253-260.

21. Scannell, op. cit., pp. 138-139.

22. This problematic remains to be fully explored in the case of Quebec. Possibly because nation-building has been such a strong theme in the historiography of post-war developments. Nevertheless, Linteau et al, op. cit., make a small but credible effort to include the "other" in their account of Quebec's recent history and culture. For an interesting perspective from the "other" on this problematic and its trajectory in contemporary Quebec history, see Heinz Weinman, "Dépendence et indépendence comme stratégie culturelle du Québec de demain", in *La Culture inventée*, Pierre Lanthier et Guildo Rousseau, (dir.), (Québec, Institut Québecois sur la Culture, 1992), pp. 353-360. For a very interesting and thought-provoking collection of essays on and around the theme of the nation and its various constructions, see *Nation and Narration*, Homi K. Bhabha, (ed.), (London, Routledge, 1990).

23. In respect tot this topic I am thinking especially of two excellent collections. The first is Pierre Lanthier et Guildo Rousseau, (dir,) *La Culture Inventée*, op. cit. The other is by Yvan Lamonde et Esther Treepanier, *L'Avenement de la modernitee culturelle au Québec*, op. cit. The second collection contains a contribution by Elzéar Lavoie, "La constitution d'une modernité culturelle populaire dans les medias au Québec, 1900-1950", pp. 253-309 (the only essay devoted to an examination of the relationship between media and modernity in Québec in both volumes) in which the author argues that Radio-Canada, both the radio and television services, but especially the latter, contributed very little to the development of cultural modernity in Quebec, appropriating instead, and perverting, the flourishing popular culture that the privately owned media had helped to develop.

24. Fernand Sauvageu, "Quatre décennies de télévision de la culture aux industries culturelles", in Fernand Dumond, (dir.) *La Societé Québecoise aprés trente ans de changements*, (Québec, Institut Queebecois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1990), p. 146.

25. Ibid., pp. 149-151.

26. Here I am thinking especially of the contributions of Pelletier, op. cit., Trofimenkoff, op. cit., Guy Fournier, "Regardez, C'est notre culture", in *Repertoire de series Feuilletons, et Télérmans Québécois de 1952-1992)*, Jean Yves Croteau, (dir.), (Québec, Gouvernement du Québec, 1993).

27. CBC/Radio-Canada *Annual Report*, (1956).

28. Rutherford, op. cit., tells us that the English network imported up to one half of its programs for most of the fifties.

29. Frank Peers, *The Public Eye: Television and the Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1952-1968*, (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1979).

30. Séguin, interview, op. cit.

31. Pelletier, op. cit.

32. *La Sémaine à Radio Canada*, (May, 23, 1958).

33. The critical literature on this television genre is quite extensive. For one of the more salient, and influential, readings is by Stuart Hall, Ian Connell and Linda Curti, "The Unity of Current Affairs television", in *Cultural Studies*, No. 8, University of Birmingham, 1979, pp. 51-93. For a more recent, and slightly "off-the -beaten-track" contribution see John Hartley, *Tele-ology; Studies in Television*, (New York, Rutledge, 1992), especially parts II and III.

34. This point has been also made by Marc Thibault, op. cit., a veteran producer and executive at the public affairs department at Radio-Canada television.

35. Hartley, Ibid., pp. 45-75.

36. John Corner, "Documentary Voices", in *Popular Television in Britain*, John Corner (ed.), (London, BIF, 1991), p. 27.

37. Abercrombie, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

38. Hartley, op. cit., 45-55.

39. Don Macdonald, "The Evolution of CBC Television News and Current Affairs", in *Beyond the Printed Word*, Richard Lochead, (ed.) (Kingston, Quarry Press, 1991).

40. Gérard Laurence, "Naissance et débuts du Téléjournal à Radio-Canada, 1952-1957", in Lochead, op. cit., p. 212. Also by the same author, "Les débuts des affairs publiques à la télévision québecois 1952-1957", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amerique francaise*, Vol. 36, No. 2, (Septembre 1982), pp. 213-239.

41. Macdonald, op. cti., p. 220.

42. Laurence, "Naissance....", op. cit., p. 212.

43. Sandy Stewart, *Here's Looking at Us*, (Toronto, CBC enterprises, 1986), p. 39.

44. Neil Morrison, op.cit., p.241.

45. See Marc Raboy, op. cit., Chapter, 2, pp. 65-75, in which he discusses internal struggles within the upper management levels the CBC, regarding the politically sensitive nature of *Citizen's Forum*. Raboy writes that getting programs like this on air was very difficult for those who sponsored them. There were many among the CBC brass who feared the political repercussions of this kind of programming, as they were, according to Raboy by the extent and high level of the public's participation.

46. Morrison, op. cit., p. 241.

47. Pelletier, op. cit.

48. Séguin, interview, op. cit., Lévésque, interview, op. cit.

49. CBC/Radio-Canada *Annual Report*, (1956).

50. Sandy Stewart, op. cit. offers an anecdotal, but also very informative, discussion on the early development of public affairs programs, pp. 119-145. Also see pp. 127-128, for some interesting information on *Tabloid*, and its maverick producer, Ross McLean.

51. Len Scher, op. cit.

52. Godin, op. cit.

53. Laurence, "Les débuts des affairs publics....", op. cit.

54. Séguin, interview, op. cit.

55. Laurence, "Les débuts...", op. cit.

56. Ibid.

57. Both Raboy and Peers op. cit., tend to exaggerate the influence of these programs while remaining rather vague about the details.

58. Polletier, op, cit., Laurence, op. cit., Rutherford, op. cit.

59. This becomes evident from a perusal of the Corporation's *Annual Report* on the links between the program and the social groups that had supported it.

60. John Corner, "Documentary Voices", op. cit. Also see, Dai Vaughan, *Television Documentary Usage*, (London, British Film Institute, 1976).

61. Parent, op. cit., p. 123

62. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (April, 1955).

63. Lévésque, interview, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

64. Laurence, "Les débuts....", op. cit., discusses the importance of this program in regards to encouraging the development of a modern, Québécois, national identity.

65. Godin, op. cit., p. 382.

66. Ibid.

67. Lévésque, interview, op. cit., p. 11.

68. Ibid. Also Laurence, "Les débuts...", op. cit.

69. Ibid. Also Rutherford, op. cit.

70. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (November, 1, 1953).

71. Ibid., (Oct., 25, 1958).

72. Ibid., (July 18, 1954).

73. We cannot be certain, and it is unlikely, that no American plays were produced at Radio-Canada television. Still it is interesting to note their complete absence from any mention by *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, for the entire 1952-1961 period.

74. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 28, 1958).

75. Ibid., (Oct. 26, 1957).

76. Pierre Veronneau, "Introduction; la vie est un téléroman", dans *Répertoire des series Feuilletons et Téléroman Québécois de 1952-1992*", Jean Yves Croteau, (dir.), (Québec, Gouvernement du Québéc", 1993).

77. Parent, op. cit., pp. 35-37.

78. Marcel Fournier, *L'Entrée dans la modernité*, (Montréal, St. Martin, 1986), especially Chapter 6, "Borduas et les paradoxes de l'art vivant", pp. 199- 234.

79. Troffimenkoff, op. cit., p. 83.

80. Fournier, op., cit., in Chapter 6, as well as in his "Introduction", pp. 7-12, discusses the difficulties regarding employment in the cultural and artistic milieu in post-war Montreal.

81. Parent., op. cit., pp. 29-31.

82. Véronneau, op. cit.

83. In addition to Ibid., Jean-Pierre Desaulniers, *La Télévision en vrac*, (Montréal, Fides) 1989) and his *Liste des Principaux Téléromans produits et Diffusés au Québec*, (presented at *Input*, (Montreal, May, 1994). Also by the same author, *De la famille Pluffe à la petite vie: les Québecois et leurs téléromans*, (Québec, Musée de la Civilization, 1996).

84. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct., 28, 1961).

85. Caroline Martel, *Québec Télédramatiques: National Genres?*, Paper presented to Martin Allor, Communication Studies Department, Concordia University, (Montréal, Québec, Dec., 1994).

86. Véronneau, op. cit.

87. Desaulniers, *Télévision en vrac*, op. cit., p. 130.

88. René Lévésque, interview, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

89. Séguin, interview, op. cit., p. 7.

90. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Dec, 6 1961), published a long article in which it discussed the responses of five of the most popular writers of téléromans to the question regarding the political and moral role of their work. The consensus was that the téléroman played or should play a key role as mirror and/or guide to Quebec society.

91. See *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Nov, 3.1954), for an interesting little article describing the reception of the cast of les *Plouffes*, by huge adoring crowds in Quebec city.

92. Jean-Pierre Desaulniers, *L'Incroyable histoire des téléromans au Québec*, talk presented to the INPUT conference, (Montreal, May, 1994).

93. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 1954).

94. Ibid.

Chapter 6:. Institutional Structures and Social Background of Radio-Canada Personnel.

1. John Ellis,*Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video*, (London, Routledge, 1982). The author presents a detailed and systematically argued position on the specificities of television as contrasted to other media. He does an especially good job at discussing the industrial, highly technological and labour-intensive aspects of the medium. See especially Part II, pp. 109-160. For one of the more interesting, if somewhat roughly sketched but very influential, discussion of the centralizing propensities of television as technology and social and cultural institution, see Raymond Williams' classic work, *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*, (New York, Schocken Books, 1975).

2. The 1958 Radio-Canada television producers' strike has been fairly well documented. For two interesting and thorough discussions of the strike that complement each other well, see Marc Raboy, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*, (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) and Pierre Godin, *René Lévésque: Un Enfant du Siècle 1922-1960*, (Montréal, Boréal Express, 1994).

3. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, published quite a few articles, many accompanied by photos, which emphasized the team spirit and solidarity between the early managers and production staff. It should be noted, however, that in the early days, with the singular exception of Alphonse Quimet, management was extremely dependent on its technical and production staff.

4. Gérard Pelletier, *Years of Impatience, 1950-60*, (Toronto, Methuen, 1983), pp. Férnand Séguin, interview, "La television, instrument d'une révolution culturelle explosive" in *Forces*, Vol. 25, No. 4, (1973), pp. 6-12.

5. Guy Parent, *Sous la règne des bruiteurs*, (Montréal, Éditions du Lys, 1963), p.30.

6. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 3, 1961), Parent, Ibid.

7. Godin, op. cit., pp. 332, Paul Rutherford, *When Television was Young: Prime -Time Canada 1952-1967*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 52-55.

8. Rutherford, Ibid, pp. 52-53.

9. Ibid. p. 97. *Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct. 1953, April 1959).

10. The recognition that the creation of a distinctly Canadian television culture would require not only considerable human talent and resources, but that these had to be exercised under conditions of maximum artistic freedom (something that did not happen consistently or long enough) was one of the most salient points made by the *Report*, of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1941-1951, (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1951).

11. To mention briefly that the instrumental logic that begun to guide the decisions of the public broadcaster at this time continued to develop and mature until the present era, when the Corporation, even at a time of great financial and political difficulties, continues to behave with little accountability to its personnel and the public that pays the bills. For an interesting discussion of instrumental reason in the construction of modern public life see, Charles Taylor, *The Malaise of Modernity*, (Toronto, Anansi, 1991).

12. Pelletier, op. cit.

13. Ibid., p. 182. Pelletier cites the example of a producer who wanted to do an item on the relations between the French Army and the FLN, in the context of the Algerian war of independence. Management felt that it was too sensitive a topic for Radio-Canada television, for the "authorities" may have taken it as an expression of the public broadcaster's sympathies for the FLN. The result was that the piece was not produced, but a commitment was made to examine the topic at a more appropriate time. Indeed, René Lévésque, in his public-affairs program, *Point de mire*, examined the unfolding of the Algerian situation in several programs.

14. Parent, op. cit., p.56. Parent tells us that among his responsabilities as producer of the educational program, *C'est la Vie* , was to negotiate with the sponsors of the program, often "giving away" things like the promise of high ratings, even when he knew this would displease his bosses at Radio-Canada.

15. Ibid., pp.78-80.

16. ibid., p. 127, Godin, op. cit., p. 236.

17. Godin, op. cit., p. 368.

18. Parent, op. cit., p. 127.

19. Pelletier, op. cit., p. 138, Léon Dion, *Les Intellectuelles et le temps de Duplessis*, (Québec, Presse de l'Université Laval, 1993), p. 225-27, Merrily Wisebord, *The Strangest Dream*, (Toronto, Lester and Orpen Dennis, 1983), p.184, Paul-André Linteau et al., *Histoire du Québec contemporaire*, (Montréal, Boréal, 1986), p.136.

20. Séguin, op. cit., René Lévésque, interview, "La télévision: le plus gros facteur révolutionnaire dans le domaine de la perception des gens, les uns par rapport aux autres", in *Forces*, Vol. 25, No.4, (1973).

21. Marcel Fournier, *L'Entreé dans la modernité: Science, Culture et Societé au Québec*, op. cit.

22. Godin, op. cit., p. 248.

23. Ibid., p. 286 and p. 288.

24. Godin, op. cit., gives a good example of this "creative tension" between management and producers in his discussion of the making of the public affairs program, *Point de mire*, produced by the very talented, and politically courageous, Claude Sylvestre pp. 292-293.

25. Lévésque, interview, op. cit.

26. Dion, op. cit., pp. 317-318, talks about the desire of the young intellectuals of his generation to flee from what they felt was a tradition-ridden, moribund Quebec of the immediate post-war period. In his case, it was the progressive intellectual and political reformer, André Laurendeau, who convinced him to stay and make a career in Quebec.

27. For two perceptive discussions of this topic from two somewhat different perspectives see Pelletier, op. cit., chapter, 5, and Leon Dion, op. cit., chapter 5.

28. Dion, op. cit., 335.

29. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation*, (Toronto, Mc Millan of Canada, 1982) pp. 226. *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, reported on its July 1954 issue, that the new network had (already) hired about 1,000 employees.

30. Rutherford, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

31. Godin, op. cit., pp. 248.

32. cited by Godin, op. cit., 185.

33. Len Sher in his book, *The Uncanadians*, (Toronto, McMillan, 1992), discusses the numerous dismissals of left-wing employees from many of Canada's cultural institutions such as the National Film Board, the CBC and the Arts Council. We can assume that quite a few of those fired from the NFB eventually found themselves working for the public broadcaster. For another discussion on the background of the early recruits, see Rutherford, op. cit., pp. 235-245.

34. Information obtained from the large number of articles and/or publicity announcements that appeared in *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, especially for the years 1957, 1958 and 1959.

35. For an interesting and thoughtful discussion from someone who experienced this problem first-hand, see Parent, op. cit., pp. 143-134. The absence of sufficient interest and knowledge of developments in the larger cultural milieu was also noted by a number of contributors to the special issue of *Cité Libre* (August, 1956) on broadcasting in Quebec.

36. Pelletier, op. cit., pp. 177-178. Regarding the same on the English network, see Rutherford, op. cit., p. 90.

37. Rutherford., op. cit., p. 87, Pelletier, op. cit., p. 96. My observations about Radio-Canada's television schedule have been also informed by close scrutiny of the publication of its daily and weekly schedule as it has appeared on *La Sémaine à Radio Canada*, for the years 1951-1961.

38. Parent, op. cit., pp. 34-35. Also see *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada* , (Feb. 1959) for the network's very generous public tribute to its technical staff.

39. Parent, Ibid., p. 79.

40. Parent. Ibid., pp. 33-35.

41. Over the years *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, published a large number of articles and publicity pieces, including photographs, of television producers and their work for the network. La *Sémaine* published quite a few of these for the decade spanning the years 1951-1961.

42. Godin, op. cit., p. 331, Rutherford, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

43. Godin, Ibid.

44. Information gathered from the examination of *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada* for the years 1953-1959.

45. Pelletier, op. cit., p. 179.

46. Collette Beauchamp, *Judith Jasmin, de feu et de flame*, (Montréal, Boréal, 1992).

47. Le collectif Clio, *L'Histoire des femmes au Québec*, (Montréal, Quinze, 1982).

48. Ibid., Mann-Trofimenkoff, op. cit.

49. No mention of women producers has been made in Parent, op. cit., or *La Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, two of the most important sources we have on producers and their work at the network during the first decade of its existence.

50. *Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (April, 1959).

51. Godin, op. cit., pp. 262-63.

52. *Sémaine à Radio-Canada*, (Oct, 1956).

53. Ibid., (July, 1959).

54. Ibid., for the years 1956-1961.

55. *La Sémaine* devoted many photographs and articles to this "favourite daughter" over the decade.

56. For example, *La Sémaine* devoted many articles to such glamorous stars as Michelle Tisseyre, the host of the very popular *Music Hall*, as well as to more serious journalistic

stars as Judith Jasmin and André Laurendeau. Interestingly enough, there were few articles on the popular but "unglamorous" René Lévésque.

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