The accommodation of language diversity in Canadian broadcasting

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THE ACCOMMODATION OF LANGUAGE DIVERSITY IN CANADIAN BROADCASTING

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Foreword

The Department of Communications sponsors university research for essentially two purposes: to obtain independent information and analysis and to nurture centres of excellence on Canadian communications issues. A university research project to examine the emergence of multilingual broadcasting in Canada was devised and administered by David Gillick of the Broadcasting and Social Policy Branch. The research was conducted by Sharron Hanna, J.R. Weston and Clare Bolger of Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario during the period from April 1, 1980 to March 31, 1981. Administrative assistance for the research group was provided by Elsie Clement. This is a report of the findings and conclusions of the research team.

Based on the 1971 and 1976 census, one Canadian in four traced their origins to a country where the language spoken is neither English nor French and one Canadian in nine claimed a mother tongue other than those languages. The term "language diversity", as adopted by the researchers, refers to broadcast programming in languages other than English, French and those of Canada's native peoples. This report of the research describes the extent of language diversity in the programming offered by the Canadian broadcasting system as well as the manner in which it has been accommodated. It also compares the Canadian experience with those of the United States and Australia. Field information was obtained from Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and other areas of the country. The researchers gratefully acknowledge the hours of insight and interest so generously extended by individual broadcasters and representatives of public and private agencies contacted during the course of the field work.

As of January 1981, language diversity was available from 102 broadcasting licensees. Of the 46 AM radio stations providing such programming, five are licensed to carry up to 40% of their weekly schedules in other language formats. For FM radio, 20 stations provide

language diversity in their programming and 2 provide up to 40%. For television, 11 stations schedule some multilingual material and 1 station carries up to 60%. Some 25 cable systems provide some of this programming on their community cable channels and on closed-circuit audio channels provided as part of cable FM radio services. The total weekly amount of language diversity in the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system was 881 hours. The researchers found that almost all multilingual programming was provided by private broadcasters and most of it was produced locally.

A central conclusion of the researchers is that, generally speaking, the Canadian broadcasting system has accommodated language diversity in its programming reluctantly. The reasons for this reluctance are complex and touch upon fundamental broadcasting policy considerations such as the statutory and regulatory framework, the role and financing of the CBC, the modus operandi of private broadcasting, the development of satellite television services, the growing trend toward specialized programming, and the emergence of new forms of local programming. The reluctance to produce and schedule multilingual programming in Canada was not found to be appreciably different in the United States or Australian systems as indicated by comparable percentage ratios of total broadcast hours in proportion to the potential audiences to be served.

The observations and conclusions contained in this report are those of the research team and are not those of the Department of Communications.

Broadcasting and Social Policy Branch
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Table of Contents

Chapter Six (cont'd)

CHAPTER ONE

SITUATING THE STUDY PARAMETERS

The Accommodation of Language Diversity in Canadian Broadcasting

Brief Study Description

This report deals with results of a research project carried out from September, 1980, through March, 1981.

The definition of "language diversity" adopted by the study and used in this report is synonymous with the terms "other language," "third language," "language-specific," and "multilingual." Operationally defined, these terms refer to broadcast formats in Canada aired wholly, or partially, in languages other than those of the Inuit or Canadian Indian and in other than English or French.

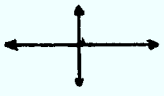
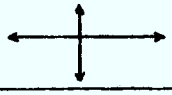
The main tasks defined by the study were:

- to describe what is presently in place with respect to language diversity in Canadian broadcasting;
- to analyse how language diversity has been accommodated in Canadian broadcasting; and
- to determine to what extent the Canadian model of that accommodation is comparable to models in the United States and Australia.

The fieldwork encompassed three specific assignments and method notes on these may be found in Appendix A.

With the metropolitan areas of Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal already having more than one type of broadcast medium offering such programming, the study naturally concentrated on these centres. Exploration was not confined solely to these centres, however, since the intent was to furnish as complete a picture as possible of the Canadian reality within the time and resource limits of the study.

The overall study concern was to focus the constituent elements impinging upon, and upon which, multilingual broadcasting impinges. Six critical components and the agenda of concerns resulting from their convergence were identified by posing questions which would adequately describe the phenomenon, its developmental features and significance for Canadian society: What is it? How Come? So what?

COMPONENTS	BROADCAST INDUSTRY ELEMENTS	PUBLIC POLICY ELEMENTS
STRUCTURAL FEATURES		
TRADITIONS, NORMS, VALUES		
TRANSLATION OF THESE INTO PRODUCT		

The Critical Extremities: Babel or Borealis?

In the socio-cultural array of values, one extremity would ban multilingual broadcasting for the balkanization it bodes or the bigotry it breeds. The other extreme offers a vision of language diversity played on Canadian airwaves in a captivating brilliance usually reserved for the Northern Lights. Proponents of the inextricable link between language and culture regard multilingual broadcasting as a natural expression and extension of that linkage.[1]

In between, while admitting a delimited role for it, there are those who place greater critical emphasis on rectifying the apparent failure of Canadian broadcasting to more adequately and positively reflect the ethnic, if not the linguistic, diversity of Canadians. The accents in English or French, whether regional or cultural, whether instrumental or expressive, are missing from the product.[2]

Along that critical continuum, with its range of uncertainties, two certainties emerge:

- even if telecommunications technology could summon infinite capability to satisfy the critical extremities and all points between, it carries no inherent guarantee of celebration or harmonious social cohesion;
- at the start of the 1980 decade, spectrum availability and costs, both economic and social, tend to entrench the critical positions already staked out on multilingual broadcasting.

The Contextual Backdrop

"Harmony amid diversity" and "unity in diversity" may well top the lexicon of polished Canadian phrases. When it comes down to practical ramifications, the Canadian case has -- more often than not -- offered a tarnished version of their sterling sentiment. The accommodation of language diversity in Canadian broadcasting is one such case.

To review elements of that accommodation is to trace a theme of reluctance played out on shifting climates of opinion. To come to terms with that reluctance which dates back thirty-six years to the end of the Second World War, though rooted much earlier, requires a perspective on the climate of the times in which multilingual broadcast developments and related policy features have been forged.

The label designating the regulatory accommodation of other languages hints strongly at the shifting climates and brands of reluctance they have harboured toward language diversity.

"Foreign-Language" is still the regulatory classification noted on radio licenses. It is a legacy from the Canadian wartime measures which included a ban on foreign language broadcasting.[3] While that

term was used for official purposes, industry parlance, borrowing from the print medium, dubbed it "ethnic" broadcasting.

By the early 1970s, the "ethnic" label gave way to multilingual as the preferred designation in official and industry circles. It is the licensing term for commercial television outlets. Multicultural programming is the general category employed in community cable and augmented channel service.

"Foreign-Language," though a neutral if arid term for regulatory purposes, does seem out of tune with the times to the extent that "multiculturalism" can be said to inform the current climate of opinion.[4] Depending on who you are talking to in industry and public policy circles, the terms tend to get used interchangeably. Foreign to whom is always the question.

Certainly at the onset of the 1950s foreign for the ethnic majorities meant "different" at best, and alien at worst, given the tenor of those times with their massive immigration influx. Without putting too fine a point on things, "anglo conformity" was the order of the day. Probably no one was more attuned to that mentality than the people arriving from points abroad to take up new lives in Canada.

While scholars and various task forces some years later would start adding definitional clarity to such terms as assimilation, integration, adaptation, acculturation, and alienation, the 1950s can be said to have included a certain strain of volitional assimilation given sensibilities toward that anglo conformity.[5] The strain of paternalism inhering in that anglo-conformist mentality was to get a rude awakening after the euphoria of Canada's centennial celebrations had melted away.

The pervasive and mounting fervour that Quebec's strengthening sense of self-hood aroused, brought a contextual spillover that persists to this day. The dimension of reluctance characterizing accommodation of language diversity in broadcasting must figure in that contextual reading.

Developmental Implications: Fringe or Forefront?

The statutory equivalent of "unity in diversity" in broadcasting is the notion enshrined in the various versions of the Broadcasting Act that broadcast outlets "constitute a single system comprising public and private elements" (Section 3 ss (a)). However, as has so often been the case in the evolution of Canadian broadcasting, many of its landmark features predated any policy declarations or systematic configuration.

The pioneer position of private interests in the realm of radio in advance of the public sector is one example. The advent of private cable interests in the realm of television is another. Multilingual broadcasting also predated any direct policy attention. Apart from removal of the wartime ban on foreign language broadcasting in 1945, the development of multilingual broadcasting was left pretty much to its own devices in radio and cable, receiving no direct policy deliberations beyond that which applied to broadcast outlets generally.

In broadcast circles multilingual or ethnic broadcasting was generally considered -- when considered at all -- as a minimal or fringe phenomenon. By virtue of present-day technology with its augmented cable channel capacity and satellite delivery capability, multilingual formats can be described as forefront phenomena.

The Slate of Concerns: Situating a Multi-Horned Dilemma

Fairly early in the investigation it became apparent that the agenda of institutional concerns would be primarily related to broadcast policy inconsistencies and inequities in practice deriving from them. Economic implications are a sub-set of this agenda.

The agenda of social concerns touches a range of political sensitivities. To the extent that the power of the media can be inadvertently or deliberately used or abused, this range of political sensitivity hovers on

the potential schisms that could be accentuated within and across groups and the potential celebration and societal cohesion that could also be forthcoming. This agenda then, is continually weighing and questioning the perceived social benefits and drawbacks that may or may not inhere in language-specific broadcasting.

The overlapping items on the institutional and social agendas speak to such things as the percentage restrictions on other language broadcasting or Canadian content regulations that apply to off-air broadcast outlets without similar application to cable-based program services. Expressed as questions: does language-specific programming on closed circuit cable radio, for example, give rise to a class of ghettoized, non-integrated citizens? Does language-specific programming, by definition, preclude inter-group sharing? What purpose is served by the percentage restrictions on the amount of weekly multilingual programming? Are such restrictions meant to placate the numerically dominant English-only or French-only populace? Would removal of the restrictions represent an unwanted encroachment on these dominant language preserves?

Attempts to answer these and other questions have more often than not been emotional rather than clearly argued with documented evidence This has, no doubt, contributed to a blurred vision and a general reluctance to adjust the situation.

Whether dealing with production arrangements or exacting formulas to ensure equitable program service provision based on some combination of need, numbers and resources, the resulting issues are part of a basic operating dilemma. This dilemma is rooted in the hybrid nature of the broadcasting set-up in Canada with its public and private components and the complementary, non-competitive role assigned to cable. Principles enshrined in the Broadcasting Act must figure in an examination of these concerns. Subsequent chapters of the report describe what is presently in place, trace policy and developmental features, focus the present production concerns, and examine some alternative models of accommodating language diversity.

Chapter One End Notes

1. Rudnyckyj, Jareslav, "Towards a Multicultural Canada," in Language and Society. Commissioner of Official Languages -- Minister of Supply and Services Canada, No. 3, Autumn 1980, pps. 11-14.
2. See, for example, proceedings of Alberta Cultural Heritage Council, November 14-16, 1980 Conference on "Cultural Minorities and Television."
3. Cioni, Dr. M.L., "Multicultural Programming and Multilingual Broadcasting: An Historical Perspective." CRTC Internal Documentation Centre, August 1977, on page 2 refers to Debates of the House of Commons (12 May 1944, p. 2873).
4. "Multiculturalism is supported in a philosophical sense but less so when it gets down to the nitty gritty..." is the finding of a poll of ethnocultural groups conducted by Decima Research for the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State. As cited in Cultures Canada, CCCM Newsletter, November-December, 1980, Volume I, Number 11, page 4. See also, Berry, John W., Kalin, Rudolf, Taylor, Donald M., Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada. Minister of Supply and Services Canada, October 1976.
5. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Volume 4, "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups," Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970 [hereinafter cited as the B & B Vol.4], pps. 5 and 6. Cultures Canada, CCCM Newsletter, May 5, 1980, Volume I, Number 5, notes at page 6 that the Cultural Review Committee of the CCCM has been asked to examine and define such frequently used terms as "ethnic," "ethnocultural," "New Canadian," "Third Force," "minority groups," "English Canada," "folk arts," and others, with a view to avoiding confusion and hopefully eliminating those found to have harmful connotations.

CHAPTER TWO

FOCUSING THE QUANTITATIVE PICTURE

As indicated, broadcasting in Canada comprises both public and private sector elements. Examples of the former include the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and provincially-based educational broadcast services such as Alberta Access, TV Ontario and Radio-Québec. With the exception of CBC television, the public sector components of Canadian broadcasting, such as Radio Canada, operate on a non-commercial basis at arms-length from the respective governmental bodies which fund them. The private sector operates predominantly on a commercial basis deriving a major portion of its operational funds from the sale of air time for advertising. The private sector also includes non-commercial broadcast outlets that derive operating funds from public agency grants, private donations, membership subscriptions, and assorted sponsorship arrangements.

For reasons that will be examined in greater depth later in the report's analysis, multilingual broadcasting situates almost exclusively in the private sector and predominantly in the commercial realm of that sector; at present, 90 per cent of all multilingual broadcasting is aired on private commercial outlets. The remaining 10 per cent is aired on non-commercial outlets which include a half dozen university or community co-op radio outlets, Alberta Access radio programs, and Radio-Québec's 1980-81 weekly series aired in alternating language-specific formats with French language sub-titles.

Also included as non-commercial outlets are the community cable program segments and programming carried on special program channels in language-specific formats. In the private commercial sector there are conventional off-air AM and FM radio outlets, television stations, and closed circuit cable radio operations. Some FM commercial radio operations provide air time free of charge to language and ethnic groups in their listening area.

Before presenting the quantitative breakdown of multilanguage broadcasting, it will be useful to provide some explanation of policy and regulatory features as background.

Logging Procedures for Programs and Commercials

All conventional off-air broadcast outlets -- commercial or non-commercial -- are required to comply with logging arrangements pertaining specifically to other language formats. These procedures were first set out in 1961 by the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), predecessor to the present broadcast regulatory agency, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC).

All such programs are to be accurately and completely logged by language, time, duration, program category, origin, and identity of speaker. Scripts or tapes of language-specific talks or interviews must be approved by a station official before broadcast, and French or English translations of such programs must be made available as required.

Commercials aired on conventional off-air outlets in other language formats must be logged by duration and sponsor, with English or French translations kept as required. Such commercials must also have clearance from the Food and Drug Directorate (Sections 11 AM, 13 FM, 19 TV) and comply with the appropriate AM, FM or television regulations regarding the number of clock hours that can be devoted to commercial messages (Sections 7 AM, 8 FM, 11 TV). Scheduling arrangements must also comply with regulations pertaining to Canadian content (Section 8 TV).

Similar program logging arrangements also apply to non-commercial conventional off-air outlets. Cable regulations require logging of program material and set forth additional guidelines that will be elaborated upon later in this section.

Commercial, but unconventional broadcast services in other language formats, such as that carried on closed circuit cable radio, though not directly licensed as broadcast outlets, are expected to comply with certain logging practices as part of the contractual terms struck with the licensed cable system carrying the audio service. As of 1979, such

operations are expected to keep audio reproductions of the programming for a period of four weeks and meet additional requirements dealing with balanced programming, non-duplication of conventional off-air programming and commercial content. The policy further indicates that

> services in other languages will be limited only to the extent that their commercials must be in languages other than French or English.[4]

Licensing Arrangements

Particular licensing arrangements are prescribed for conventional off-air commercial and non-commercial outlets planning to air other language programming.

For radio, the policy guidelines, set out by the BBG in 1962, acquired legal status through a 1964 amendment to the Radio AM Regulations (Section 17) and the Radio FM Regulations (Section 26). Under these regulations an outlet can carry up to 15 per cent of its weekly aggregate schedule between 0600 and 2400 hours in other language programming. Regulatory permission must be given to increase this to 20 per cent. A licence-holder or aspiring applicant seeking to include from 20 per cent up to a maximum of 40 per cent is subject to a CRTC public hearing and has to be able to demonstrate that a "sufficient number" of listeners in the coverage area speak other languages. Additionally, the applicant has to indicate how such broadcasts "would help integrate these people into the community" (Section 17, Subsection 3 (b)) and state how control over the programs and advertising content of such broadcasts will be exercised (Section 17, Subsection 3 (c)).

In its 1976 FM Radio Policy statement, the CRTC noted that it endorsed regional networks for program interchanges and would facilitate their establishment for the purpose of strengthening regional and national information and entertainment links, and generally encourage program syndication. Later in this statement the CRTC noted that applications

for "multilingual FM stations" would be dealt with on a case-by-case basis.

In the case of off-air television, no percentage restrictions on other language programming exist per se, apart from logging procedure compliance. However, a designated class of "multilingual television" came into existence in 1978. Such a station is expected to devote at least 60 per cent of its weekly scheduled offerings between 0600 and 2400 hours to "third language" content with "third language" defined as other than English, French, or native Canadian.[2] Besides differing from the allowable percentage allotments for the radio counterpart, the multilingual television policy also did not stipulate that third language programming would have to be necessarily in direct proportion to the linguistic demographics of the coverage area. The policy suggestion was that larger groups could have their entertainment and information needs met by other conventional media. The CRTC view was that

> it may be necessary for the licensee to allocate a certain basic minimum amount of broadcast time in order to provide at least some programming service to any qualifying linguistic group regardless of its ability to attract advertising.[3]

With respect to "broadcast receiving undertakings" or cable television, as it is more commonly termed, there are no specific language designations. The 1975 Cable Policy statement did, however, call upon cable licensees to "provide opportunities for expression by the various ethnic communities within the licenced area".[4] This same policy statement indicated CRTC willingness to consider, on a case-by-case basis, applications from cable operators to establish special programming channels.

While cable programming with respect to the community cable and special multicultural channels will be addressed at greater length in subsequent sections, several policy items should be mentioned at the outset. The service offered via cable, that is to say, cable-originated programming, is expected to complement, not compete with, conventional

off-air broadcast services. Accordingly, the policy guidelines stipulate that

> cable television systems will not be allowed advertising on cable-originated channels including the community channel.[5]

The actual cable regulations state this as well (Section 11 (b)) and also prohibit "any programming other than community programming" on the community channel (Section 11 (a)).

The 1979 policy guidelines on cable, though prepared to "allow licensees to carry community programs from other licensees on their community channel",[6] look with displeasure upon the extensive use of bicycled programs since such a practice "has the effect of reducing the community programming production in the local area..."[7]

In this 1979 policy statement, no concessions are made on the strict prohibition on advertising or sponsored material that had been part of the earlier 1975 policy. These remain intact.

Specific guidelines are also set out with regard to Special Programming Channels. In terms of the nature of the programming that may be carried, non-Canadian programming not presently available from off-air broadcasters (emphasis added) can be provided. However, the 1979 CRTC policy also states that it is essential to use such channels to assist Canadian program producers. With that achieved, channels can be used for non-Canadian fare.[8] Here again though, no advertising or sponsored material is permitted, with certain exceptions. These are replays of local Canadian-produced programming and special cultural programs (with the exception of national or international sporting events) that can contain credits at the beginning or end of the program, provided only the sponsoring organization and creative personnel are listed. No specific product or service advertising is to be included in any part of the program.[9] Such channels, then, can extend and complement the off-air broadcast offerings but, they cannot compete with such services. The CRTC believes that a cable television licensee "should not expand its mandate to embrace the

responsibilities and role of the traditional off-air broadcaster, particularly with respect to the production, acquisition and scheduling of programming of a nature designed for general audiences." [10]

From 1978 to 1980 the CRTC approved the transfer of cable system ownership so that 47 per cent of the total subscribers are served by three main companies: Rogers Cablesystems Incorporated (RCI) with 30 per cent, Vidéotron in Quebec with 50 per cent of the province's subscribers or 9 per cent of the total, and Maclean-Hunter with roughly 8 per cent [CRTC Decision 79-9, page 5]. The CRTC noted in one of these transfer approval decisions that "significant positive benefits can be derived as a result of increased cable concentration."[11]

Against this backdrop the amount of multilingual broadcasting aired in Canada as of January, 1981, provides an indication of the shifts that have occurred since 1972-73. The 1972-73 data is from "Multilingual Broadcasting in the 1970s," a report published by the CRTC in 1974. Some operational features characterizing multilingual broadcasting are also described.

Table 2-1 indicates the amount of multilingual programming presently being aired as of January, 1981, and expressed as a percentage of the total number of outlets thus engaged and as a percentage of the total number of hours. Not included are the scheduled hours for four special program channels airing language-specific programming, nor three closed circuit cable radio operations.

Table 2-1

Amount of Weekly Multilingual Programming

Total Outlets %	Number of Outlets	Type of Outlets	Number of Hours	Total Hours %
45	46	AM Radio	410	47
20	20	FM Radio	269	31
10	11	Off-Air TV	102	11
25	25	Cable TV*	100	11
100%	102		881	100%

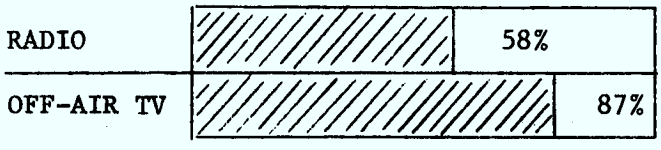
* Estimate

Looking first at conventional off-air broadcast outlets, it should be noted that of the 46 AM radio outlets, five are licensed to carry up to 40 per cent of their weekly schedules in other language formats as are two of the FM radio outlets. These include CFMB in Montreal with 21 languages, CINQ-FM in Montreal with five languages, CHIN AM in Toronto with three languages and CHIN FM with over 25 languages, CKER in Edmonton with 13 languages and CJVB in Vancouver with 19 languages. Of the total conventional radio broadcasting, approximately 89 per cent was aired on commercial AM or FM outlets, with 8 per cent (55 hours) on co-op community FM stations and 3 per cent (33 hours) on university FM stations. Of the eleven off-air television outlets, CFMT-TV in Toronto is the only designated multilingual television outlet licensed to carry 60 per cent of its weekly offerings in third language format, and presently schedules 21 language offerings. Another Toronto station, CITY-TV, airs 10.5 hours of weekly programming arranged by CFMT-TV, or MTV as the channel calls itself.

Figure 2-1 below shows the total broadcast hours that the six multilingual outlets air weekly, expressed as a percentage of the total off-air multilingual broadcast hours.

Figure 2-1

Weekly Per Cent of Programming Hours Aired by Multilingual Outlets Licensed to Schedule Maximum Weekly Allotment



* includes CITY-TV hours

Looking next at cable program originations, the number of community cable channels presently scheduling programming for language-specific audiences and that intended for English or French language audiences of non-angloceltic or non-franco-Canadian descent can only be conservatively estimated. No precise count exists. The estimate used in the Table 2-1

cable hour figures was based on the average number of hours per week in the five main cities supplemented by scheduling information forwarded to the study from an additional eight cities. Not included in the cable hour estimate were the number of re-broadcast hours for any given program segment which, for most systems, is at least twice, and as many as five replay times in a given week.

An indication of the numerical increase experienced over the past eight years with respect to number of program hours and languages carried is given in Tables 2-2 and 2-3.

Table 2-2

Percentage Increase in Total Weekly Hours on Reported Languages Programmed with (N) as Actual Number of Outlets

OUTLET	1973-74* Hours	(N)	1980 Hours	(N)	%
AM Radio	320	(45)	410	(46)	+22
FM Radio	137	(8)	269	(20)	+48
Off-Air TV	24	(12)	102	(11)	+76
Cable TV**	45	(21)	100	(25)	+55
Languages Programmed	25		46		+46

* CRTC Report 1974, Table 1-1
** Estimate

While the percentage increase in hours appears dramatic for all outlets given the addition of two multilingual outlets since 1973, the total hours of weekly programming for radio represents only 1.3 per cent of the total air time of the 421 private radio outlets offering an 18-hour daily schedule (assumes all these licensed operations are in operation). If the public sector CBC originating stations are included, the percentage drops to less than 1 per cent.[12]

Table 2-3 summarizes the number of radio outlets by the number of languages aired and includes a comparison with the 1972 information.

Table 2-3

Number of Languages by Radio

Stations Carrying:	1972 (N)	1972 %	1980 (N)	1980 %
1 language	(26)	49.0	(32)	48.5
2 languages	(10)	18.8	(9)	13.6
3 languages	(3)	5.7	(8)	12.1
4 languages	(7)	13.2	(2)	3.2
5-9 languages	(4)	7.6	(7)	10.6
10 languages	(3)	5.7	(8)	12.1
	(53)	100	(66)	100

In terms of percentage of weekly scheduling for radio, approximately 84 per cent carry 15 per cent or less.

A more interesting feature from Table 2-2 is the increase in the number of languages reported (a complete list of languages reported for radio is appended). Languages finding their way to the airwaves in the intervening period undoubtedly reflects the changing immigration patterns of the 1970s. However, only longitudinal analysis of this appearance could suggest whether the upsurge could, or would, be a sustained aspect of other language programming. Such projections would entail a fairly complex matrix of factors including such things as settlement patterns and related aspects of cultural retention. Not the least of these factors would be the language group's commercial viability and the level of receptivity accorded other language broadcast endeavours by the total economic power structure to be found within the broadcast industry and society at large. From the 1971 and 1976 census information on ethnic origins and on mother tongue, one Canadian in four traced his or her origins to a country where the language spoken is neither English nor French. One Canadian in nine claimed a mother tongue other than English or French. The 1981 census information will be the subject of close scrutiny for some bearing on projections.

It is possible to suggest that the numerically dominant mother tongue claimants, regardless of language retention rates across generations, with minor fluctuations and a few gaps, do account for the main

percentage of other language programming -- despite an overall miniscule percentage in the total private weekly broadcast hours. Table 2-4 gives some demonstration of this point for radio and offers a comparison of the ten languages accounting for the greatest number of radio broadcast hours in 1980 to that indicated in 1972. Also included for comparison is the percentage that each language grouping represented in the 1976 "mother tongue claimants" other than English, French or native Canadians.

Table 2-4

Ten Most Frequent Languages - Radio - 1980

	1980		1972	1976
LANGUAGE	No. of Hours per Week	% of Total Hrs. Broadcast	% of Total Hrs. Broadcast	% of Mother-Tongue Claimants
Italian	183.6	27.0	33.9	20.1
German	105.5	15.5	12.3	19.8
Portuguese	55.0	8.1	5.1	5.3
Greek	50.0	7.4	14.0	3.8
Ukrainian	41.35	6.1	6.8	11.7
Chinese	29.6	4.3	1.7	5.5
Polish	20.0	2.9	2.8	4.2
Spanish	19.1	2.8	---	1.8
Hindi	16.5	2.4	---	0.8
Croatian	15.5	2.3	3.5	4.8
Others	143.0	21.1	19.8	24.2
TOTAL	679.15	100.0	100.0	100.0

Since settlement patterns will vary from place to place, the demographic information for the five cities was compiled for comparison with the ten most frequent language programming hours by radio, off-air television in Toronto, and special multicultural program channel offerings in Vancouver. These tables may be found in the Appendix. The percentage of weekly multilingual broadcast hours to that aired by locally-licensed other broadcast outlets for the five cities is contained in Table 2-5.

Table 2-5

Weekly Off-Air Multilingual Program Hours as a Per Cent of Total Weekly Broadcast Hours (N) by City Indicated *

CITY	% Multilingual Hours	(N)	% of CMA Mother Tongue Claimants**
Montreal	3.6	3,024	10.5
Toronto	10.7	3,150	22.8
Winnipeg	2.5	1,764	18.6
Edmonton	2.4	2,016	16.3
Vancouver	2.1	2,394	16.9

* Based on commercial off-air outlets indicated for city specified in Canadian Advertising Rates and Data, February 1981.

** Statistics Canada, 1976, "Population-Demographic Characteristics -- Mother Tongue, P 1-1. Cat. #92-821.

The noticeable increase in additional languages does not appear to have been accompanied by any major fall-off in language programming already in place. Figure 2-2 demonstrates this by bringing up to date a long-term trend documented by the CRTC on radio hours and using the languages selected in that report for the trend projection. Table 2-6 gives the percentage increase in weekly multilingual program hours on radio by all languages and by other languages, excluding Italian, German, Greek, and Ukrainian.

Table 2-6

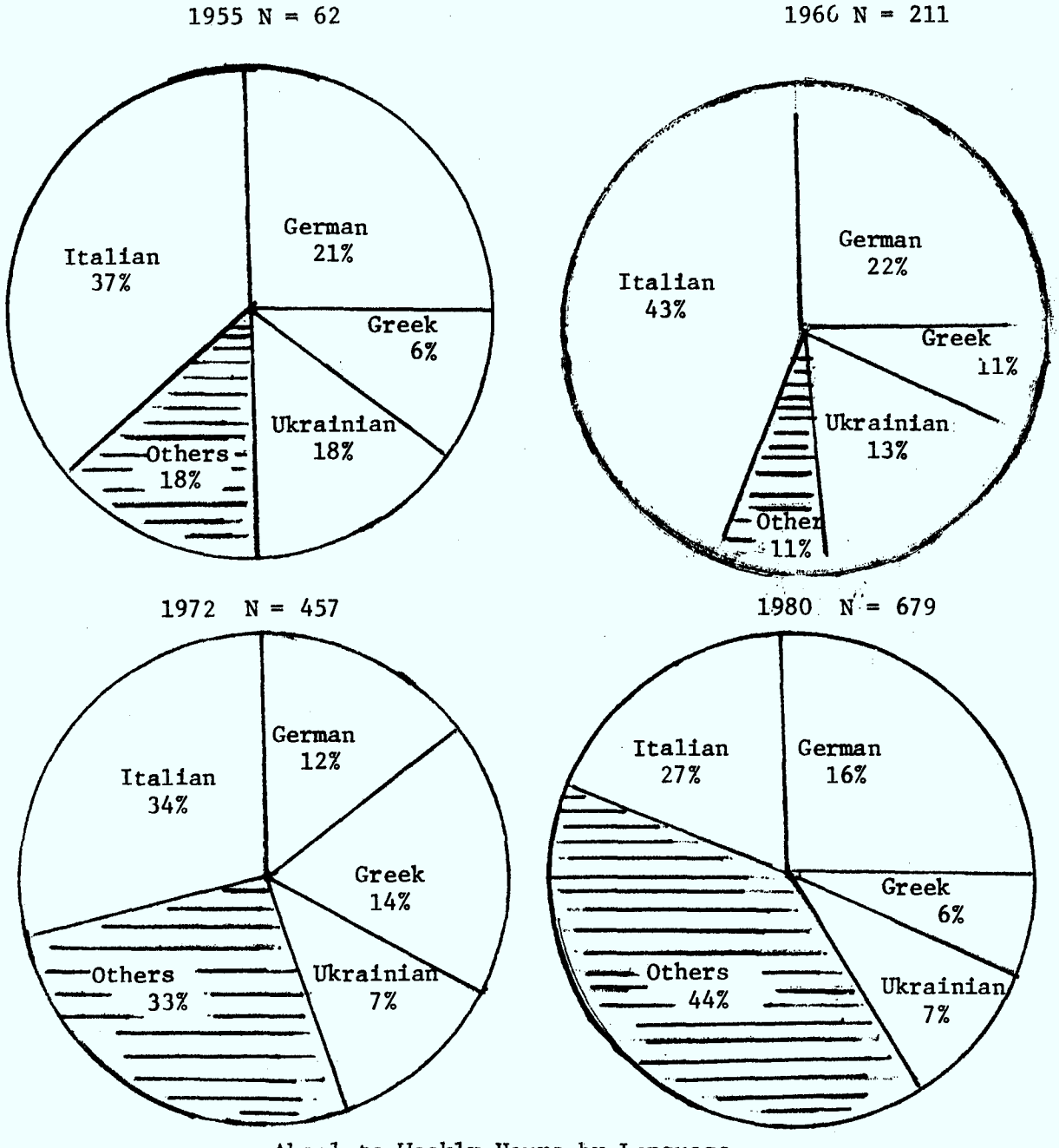
Percentage Increase in Total Multilingual Hours for Intervals Since 1955

	1955-1966	1966-1972	1972-1980
All Languages	70	54	33
Other Languages	52	85	48

Figure 2-2

Percentage Trends on

Languages Broadcast Weekly (Radio)



Absolute Weekly Hours by Language

	Italian	German	Greek	Ukrainian	Others	TOTAL
1955	23	13	4	11	11	62
1966	90	47	23	28	23	211
1972	155	55	64	31	152	457
1980	184	106	50	41	298	679

With respect to production personnel the CRTC report suggested that perhaps as many as five hundred individuals "may be involved in some significant way in the production of multilingual programming."[13] The 1974 Directory published by the CRTC listed 271 individual producers. This study identified 498 individual broadcast producers and Chapter Four deals with profile soundings tabled by the study. Of the individuals listed in the 1974 Directory, roughly 15 per cent were also identified by the study. Although it is not possible to determine whether or not the names appearing in that Directory are all still actively engaged in the field, a tentative indicator of numerical growth in production personnel, without adjusting for duplication, is presented in Figure 2-3. The suggestion from outlet owners and cable program directors in the five main cities that there had been little turnover even in volunteer production ranks does offer some corroboration of the growth indicated.

Figure 2-3

Approximate Percentage Increase in

Multilingual Production Personnel* Since 1973

	Total 1973	Total 1980	
All Radio	204	272	25%
Off-Air TV	12	35	66%
Cable TV[t]	72	140	48%
Other**	4	51	92%

[t] includes Special Multicultural Channel
* included would be production personnel in Multicultural formats aired in English or French
** more than one outlet or not indicated

Of course, Figure 2-3 does not include the overall staffing picture of even the six major outlets specifically licensed to carry the maximum weekly scheduling of language-specific formats. A rough estimate of that total staff complement would be around three hundred to include sales, administrative, marketing, traffic, operational, and other departmental staff members within a given outlet. For the six major outlets,

that represents roughly 2.5 per cent of the total private broadcast employees whether considering radio or television.[14]

Although the study was able to document, with some accuracy, the amount of programming aired, getting a consolidated picture of the nature of the programming by outlet type was confined to information volunteered on format features and discernible from scheduling sheets. With the exception of program segments on special multicultural channels and some of the MTV segments, a mixed format approach characterizes the greater percentage of other language programming. Tables on this and related scheduling characteristics for radio are appended. Qualitative considerations on the nature of the programming as perceived by the production personnel are dealt with in Chapter Four.

What emerges as an interesting aspect of most of the programming, whether on radio or television, is the percentage deemed to be of local origination. For radio, close to 88 per cent is reported as being locally originated. It would appear that regardless of content with respect to Canadian content regulations, the assemblage process is perceived to be a "locale-specific" production effort. Co-operation among the major off-air multilingual radio outlets also appears to be fairly well forthcoming based on individual discussions with senior management staff at the radio outlets at least.

Special multicultural program channels and a licensed off-air multilingual television outlets are among the more dramatic differences to be seen since the publication of the 1974 CRTC Report. There appears to be considerable flux as to just how these respective new ventures are expected to co-exist with one another. While the report's ensuing critical analysis may shed some light on this matter, this particular section will confine itself to a description of operating features presently characterizing special multicultural channels. The four under consideration are in Vancouver, Calgary, Montreal and Toronto. The more established one has been operating in Toronto since 1974, the one in Vancouver since 1979, and the remaining two are essentially in a start-up phase as of the latter part of 1980. Winnipeg, though not having a special channel, does, on one of the two cable systems there,

designate an impaired channel on basic service as its special programming channel and is included in the following descriptive run-down.

Of the five main cities, Winnipeg's two cable systems schedule the greatest number of language-specific segments in a variety of formats for roughly 18 language-specific audiences. As in most cities, this programming is simulcast where the city is served by two cable systems. The Winnipeg systems do not have mid-band capacity since that comes under the purview of the provincial telephone system of Manitoba. While the community programming approach differs from system to system, with some working on a first-come, first-served basis and others allocating an overall balance of offerings and interests within the schedule, groups and individuals interested in programming of a language-specific nature tend to complement the cable industry's marketing strategy with respect to augmented channel services available on converters.

In this regard, older systems are being modernized to include this additional channel delivery capability and an indeterminate number of cable systems have received approval for having special program channels. The evolution of language-specific programming in Toronto can be said to have inspired similar patterns of development. The availability of federal grants to assist ethnic groups in production aims has also been a feature across the country. Since the inception of the Secretary of State's Multiculturalism Directorate in 1972, $598,678 has been allocated for an annual grant program averaging $75,000. Two media skill development courses at Ryerson Institute in Toronto and at B.C.I.T in Vancouver were another initiative of the Multiculturalism Directorate. Presently the Special Multicultural Channel in metro Toronto systems consists of re-broadcasts of off-air programming from CITY-TV, MTV and Global, with RCI paying for the right to tape this language-specific programming off-air and re-running it during evening hours.

The Vancouver Channel 17 has been in operation since 1979 and now airs 27 hours weekly in 12 different languages. Prior to the 1975 Cable Policy, the Community Cable Channel 10 had an entertainment rather than an access dimension, airing films from abroad. With the shift in policy

emphasis, the channel started airing locally originated variety programming in addition to program segments from abroad. The availability of multicultural program grants brought an increasing number of groups and individuals seeking access. With this increase, and without mid-band capability, the Cable 10 Community program channel was facing increasing time constrictions and convergence of different people often from the same language group seeking air time with the result that air time was apportioned starting in 1976. Besides profiling the language groups within the community, many of the groups expressed continued interest in seeing news and films from abroad. The show of support objecting to its discontinuance was apparently quite heavy and a special channel was applied for in 1978.

The Special Multicultural Channel 17, which started in October of 1979, is available thus far on converter in three of the five communities served by the system. Two-year production contracts were signed with 12 individual producers, four of whom had been, and continue to do, programming on the community channel. Many of the individual producers have also incorporated into private companies. These production contracts were made prior to the RCI takeover of the Vancouver Premier System.[15] As part of the takeover terms, RCI will be supplementing current multicultural programming although it is not altogether clear what the terms of merging present programming efforts to the RCI package would entail. According to the Program Director of Vancouver Cablevision Ltd., the initial cost outlay for Channel 17 was $150,000 for equipment and the same for program acquisition in the first year, with the channel presently subsidized for travel arrangements and software purchases. The question in the minds of cable operators is: should the company pay for this programming or should the audience, since it amounts to subsidizing one lot of subscribers over others?

The situation in Calgary warrants mention because there the cable system has been instrumental in encouraging ethnic community leaders and others interested in mounting language-specific programming. Two technical production workshop courses, both in Edmonton and Calgary, have been run in conjunction with Alberta Culture and will include

follow-up sessions focusing on program process. By July of 1981, the Calgary system hopes to have a Multicultural Program Advisory Board in place which will look after time allocation on the community channel for program segments with the cable system planning to dedicate a certain number of its weekly scheduled hours for such programming. Eventually the role of the Advisory Council will extend to include the special multicultural programming channel which started airing imported material in January, 1981, under a contractual set-up with individual language-specific producers who have come forward from the community.

In Montreal, prior to the transfer of National Cablevision to Vidéotron in July of 1980, a formal production unit, l'Association des Groupes Ethniques du Monde de la Radio et de la Télévision du Québec was a nucleus production unit of seven that expanded to include 18 language-specific producers arranging programming on the community cable channel. The Community Cable Channel 9 currently offers five language program segments. This formal production unit succeeded in having the previous owners improve their minimal commitment to community and ethnic programming and also instigated Radio-Québec's involvement in ethnic programming that went on air in the fall of 1980.[16] Part of the transfer to Vidéotron included a commitment to provide Special Multicultural Channel 28 to become available in the various parts of the Montreal area being served by Vidéotron as the system completed its revamping. The support for the transfer application included the proviso that the Association of Producers was to have exclusive production rights on the channel. This was not intended to exclude other production interests who could join the production association. However, the intent was that no production interests from outside could come in and take over the channel.

The original Association of Producers has subsequently split into two groups because of internal differences with most of the original seven producers now formally chartered as Ethnic Media Productions/Production Média Ethniques. The breakaway group includes the numerically larger, more experienced production personnel. This group signed a contract with Vidéotron in March, 1981, to supply programming on Channel 28 and are seeking a similar contract with the other cable system serving

Montreal. Vidéotron as part of the contract agreement, has also appointed a co-ordinator to administer conflicting demands of the groups. Regardless of internal associational differences, all the production interests are faced with raising the necessary production funds for the programming.

The distinct external possibility of MTV coming in via satellite on these special channels has created considerable turbulence with no clear understanding of how the production arrangements currently underway would be affected should the MTV possiblity materialize. MTV has 50-50 firm partnership arrangements in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Halifax, and ostensibly in Montreal and Vancouver as well.[17] In addition, MTV has a contract with the Canadian Satellite Network (CSN), a consortium of the larger cable systems, to be a part of the package of program services CSN wants to offer. Both CSN and MTV filed applications for a network license in the February, 1981, Hearings held to consider applications for extension of services to northern and remote communities. At least one of the major questions being wrestled with is whether or not a packager of program services necessarily would have to have a broadcast license.

In a similar vein, if not exactly a precedent, is the fact that closed circuit cable radio operations do not have a broadcast license per se. At present there are three Greek language services of this nature. One is carried on the Montreal Vidéotron system and the other two are carried on the RCI and other systems in metro Toronto. An indeterminate number of language-specific closed circuit services operate on cable lines leased from the Bell Telephone. Many apparently would like to go onto the cable system. In Vancouver there has also been some expression of interest in closed circuit cable for multilingual broadcasting.

Other Organizational Features of Multilingual Broadcasting

Most, if not all, off-air outlets are members of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), representing the private sector. Owners of the established multilingual broadcast outlets also hold membership in the Broadcast Executive Society. With the exception of MTV, none of the multilingual radio outlets presently subscribe to the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM), the non-profit organization which measures the radio and television audience in Canada with funding by advertisers, agencies, broadcasters and other institutions. Cable programming at the community level adopts a public service attitude towards its programming and does not employ formal measurement services, relying instead on direct audience feedback in the form of phone-in shows, letters and the like. Cable hook-ups and converter sales are among the more tangible means of measuring user numbers. With the exception of CHIN AM/FM, none of the multilingual outlets subscribe to the Matthews Listing Service which gives detailed information on broadcast outlets including program staff listings.

Information on the quite recent formation of a new association came to light in the course of the report's fieldwork interviews. Effective March, 1981, several of the established multilingual radio owners had become charter members of a formal organizational setup to be known as the Ethnic Broadcasters Association of Canada. Particulars on who was eligible for membership were not clear since the formal charter papers were in the process of being drawn up and registered. In rough terms, the Association will have a rotating chairmanship, presumably among the five main cities, but no fuller idea of the Association's mandate was known beyond this initial information of the Association's founding.

Another organizational feature of some, though not all multilingual outlets, is the use of Advisory Councils made up of prominent members deemed to represent a given locale's ethnic communities. Inclusion of an Advisory Committee approach with respect to multilingual programming first came as part of the licence application initiative for CJVB Vancouver.

In its start-up phase, CKER Edmonton also had community input from an advisory council. Members of such councils, in the case of CJVB and CKER, are not necessarily known to the broadcast outlet producers. Selection of council members is done within the existing council membership. The main function of such councils is to advise on community reaction to the programming and generally ensure that the station is responsive to the needs of the target language audiences. With respect to MTV, part of its condition of license was to organize such a council in order to ensure equitable distribution of time in terms of duration and scheduling. Representatives were to be from the various ethnic communities with the CRTC requiring that such representatives were to have no financial interest in the station nor any formal staffing or advertising link to the operation. The CRTC further stipulated that the executive of such a council might be requested to be present at public hearings where "the performance of the licensee is examined" with minutes of the Council meetings available upon request to the CRTC. Though not formed as of January, 1981, when asked, MTV stated it was their intent to approach the existing Ontario Multicultural Advisory Council for input on the actual appointments to the MTV Advisory Council. Subsequently the Canadian Consultative Committee on Multiculturalism (CCCM) is also to be approached to select an additional advisory council, presumably pending successful approval of the satellite network licence application. The CCCM is, in turn, an advisory body made up of one hundred individual volunteer appointments.[18] The body was first created in 1973 to represent the views of Canadian ethnocultural groups to the Minister of State for Multiculturalism. Members serve for a period of one to three years and the overall body is organized into five standing committees including one each on media and cultural policy.

The older multilingual stations have not opted for a formal advisory committee approach, relying instead on their experience in the field of multilingual broadcasting and staff input where it comprises a sufficient cross-section of ethnic backgrounds to ensure knowledgeable response to presumed audience needs and market conditions.

In terms of ensuring responsiveness to perceived audience needs and interests for the target language audience, another alternate to formal advisory councils is found in the structural set-up of co-op community radio stations. Radio Centreville (CINQ-FM) was among the early ventures in co-op radio along with one in Victoria, B.C. and Kitchener, Ontario. CINQ-FM is now one of many co-op radio services operating at numerous locations throughout Quebec. The stations operate on low power transmitters, 36 watts in the case of CINQ-FM, and have become numerous enough to take on the semblance of an informal network with many of the plants capitalized at $100,000. In the case of CINQ-FM, to become a member of this co-op, one has to be an active participant willing to devote at least an hour a month to an activity of the co-op. As a member you are part of a team. The team size varies and can be as small as twenty with a mandate to consider programming or, as part of a larger-sized team you may be focusing on a variety of community interests with one part of the team dealing specifically with programming. Each team has a salaried member, with the staff complement at CINQ-FM presently at eight. Overall programming is the responsibility of a co-ordinating committee made up of a representative from each team who votes the team member to represent them on that co-ordinating committee. The actual programming itself is mounted by volunteers and depends largely on the nature of the series any given individual or team is interested in pursuing. The largest turnover is reported to be in the volunteer ranks and may include as many as two hundred over the course of a year. Every year a general assembly of all members is held to vote the Board of Directors whose main functions are in the area of administration, fund-raising, and public relations.

With the quantitative picture on multilingual broadcasting in place, the report returns now to an analysis of the way it has developed.

Chapter Two End Notes

1. CRTC Public Announcement, March 26, 1979, "A Review of Certain Cable Television Programming Issues," page 13.
2. CRTC Public Announcement, December 27, 1978, "Multilingual Television Broadcasting," pages 2 and 3.
3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. Ibid., "Policies Respecting Broadcasting Receiving Undertakings," (Cable Television), December 16, 1975, Item (e), p. 4.
5. Ibid., p. 7.
6. Op. Cit. at 1, p. 5.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 9.
9. Op. Cit. at 4, paragraph 6, p. 9.
10. Op. Cit. at 1, p. 16.
11. CRTC Decision 80-494, p. 7.
12. CRTC Facts Digest on Broadcasting and Telecommunications in Canada, December, 1980, pps. 3 and 4.
13. Multilingual Broadcasting in the 1970's. CRTC, 1974, p. 20.
14. Op. Cit. at 12, p. 2.
15. CRTC Decision 79-9.
16. Ottawa Citizen, "Ethnic Broadcasters Want More Air time." May 30, 1979; Saumart, Ingrid, "Les groupes ethniques se plaignent au CRTC" in La Presse 30 mai, 1979.
17. MTV License Application, December 1, 1980.
18. One-third of the appointees serve for a period of one, two or three year terms.

CHAPTER THREE

THE UNFOLDING ACCOMMODATION

Benchmark Prelude

Some disturbing insight on accommodating language diversity in Canadian broadcasting can be extracted from Canada's record with respect to her two numerically dominant languages, English and French. That record has been a stormy one on many fronts. The one waged in broadcasting has been no exception. A few examples will suffice to illustrate.

In 1933 the regional supervisor for the eastern Canada network operations of the CBC, known then as the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, had developed a varied schedule of French-language programs. For the one hour nightly reserved for transcontinental network programs from nine to ten p.m. EST, this particular supervisor scheduled three, and sometimes four, of these weekly time slots with French-language segments. The public outcry is captured in remarks made at the time by the federal Minister of Justice, C.H. Cahen:

> ...during the past four years in my capacity as Minister of the Crown, I have listened to reports coming in from the communities between the Atlantic and the Pacific and the chief cause of complaint that came in...was the use of two languages, English and French...[1]

Another example would be the CBC Montreal producers' strike in 1958. One author describing the psychic wounds inflicted from that protracted skirmish has said that:

> The sense of grievance among many French Canadians that their needs and interests were unheeded by the English-speaking majority...was heightened.[2]

A final example by way of reminding ourselves how recent these stand-offs were would be the fact that the 1958 National Film Board production, "Les raquetteurs" by Michel Brault and Gilles Groulx, marked

the first time that the Québecois voice was heard on a NFB film product.

In blanket terms, the broadcast ledger at an operational level, has seen more than its share of acrimony across the two dominant languages in the public sector. A similar brand of acrimony, though for different reasons, has been a mainstay feature of relations between the private and public broadcast sectors. The former's bid to get parity with the latter in the eyes of the regulator has invariably sought resolution in the political arena. And the vortex of political and broadcast interests gets flagged, though not directly addressed, in this report.

One observation raised on this acrimony sixteen years ago holds continued relevance to this report's subject matter. Writing in 1965, Weir noted that:

> A most regrettable failure of all national broadcasting -- even to the present day -- has been its failure to create mutual understanding of the French and English viewpoints and appreciation of the problems of the racial elements in this country. Far too little consideration has been given over the years to bridging (emphasis added) the chasm with casually informative entertainment reflecting the ways of life, ambitions and social forces governing the main minorities. Both English and French are to blame, for neither welcomed this.[3]

The foregoing, encapsulated look at how Canada has accommodated her numerically dominant languages in the broadcast scheme of things offers two salient features:

- the long-standing intransigence of the two main language groups' inabilities to share at an operational level, and
- the intensity of their pre-occupation not to do so.

The resulting mentality would seem an unlikely one for fostering generous inclusion of any other linguistic modes as subsequent events in the early 1970s appeared to demonstrate.

In the transfer of a private station, CKSB in St. Boniface in 1972 to the CBC, a number of language-specific programs were saved from immediate deletion as a result of the public hearing in 1973 that gave a

twelve-month reprieve to permit the programs to find alternate outlet airing.[4] In the same year CBC cancellation of a weekly Gaelic language program, "Island Echoes," became the heated subject of hearings by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the Arts.[5]

In all, the CBC has been called upon by four separate agencies throughout the decade of the '70s to consider inclusion of other language broadcasting in its scheduled line-ups, but the Corporation continues to regard it as a non-mandate item under the terms of the existing Broadcast Act.

Fuelling the climate of the times preceding these events was the searing spectacle of that preoccupation passionately debated to the virtual exclusion of citizens claiming non-franco and non-anglo linguistic roots.

The instrument struck by Parliament to unlock the debate and calm the waves rocking the ship of state from Quebec became for these Canadians a symbol of that preoccupation. It is not an idle claim to suggest that the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was taken as opprobrious evidence of paternalistic, benign neglect if not stinging exclusion. News media of the day, in tagging it the "B & B" Commission undoubtedly reinforced a reigning perception that the Commission's attention and mandate was focused exclusively on the two dominant languages. It is a misconception that has yet to be fully dissipated to this day.[6]

Misconceptions aside, the hearings of this Royal Commission did provide an overdue forum for pluralist expressions that had come into their own certainly since Canada's centenary. Volume four of the Commission's findings dealing with "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups" became a vital benchmark with respect to the accommodation of language diversity in Canadian broadcasting. The beacon of light it shed, ostensibly to be followed by heirs to the Commission findings, marks a watershed position in Canada's history. To fully understand that position, a consideration of developments and early pronouncements on multilingual broadcasting is in order.

Developmental Features

Language-specific programming has had a steadfast, if sporadic, place on private radio dials in centres throughout Canada where settled generations and more recent arrivals chose to live. It occurred almost exclusively in the private sector. By 1955 there were 27 radio outlets primarily along the Montreal-Windsor corridor airing a combined total of roughly sixty hours in twelve different languages. Toward the end of the 1950s a one-week survey indicated that 54 radio stations were airing a total of close to 144 hours of other language programming, with a steady rise in the Montreal-Windsor corridor and a marked increase in the prairie region, up from three hours in 1955 to nearly 23 hours.[7]

By the end of 1979 public officials could point with pride to the fact that Canada boasted a bevy of outlets airing other language programming including six major commercial radio outlets, a non-commercial FM outlet, and a full-fledged television outlet that went on air in the fall of 1979. These statements steered clear of mentioning that for most of the successful license applicants, as much as three years and as many as eight would have elapsed between the time the original application was filed and approval finally granted. This regulatory lag, as an aspect of that reluctance dimension, cannot be lightly dismissed.

The first licence application came in 1957 from the Chateau Broadcasting group. Coinciding as it did with the shift in regulatory responsibility from the CBC to the Board of Governors (BBG), under a revised Broadcasting Act, the application was re-filed in 1958. Though receiving conditional approval in 1959, the applicant was to see a four-year interval before CFMB went on the air in 1962 as the first multilingual radio outlet serving Montreal.

This same group filed for a Winnipeg outlet in 1966 and, among other things, again coincided with a shift in regulatory responsiblity, this time from the BBG to CRTC, put in place under a revised Broadcasting Act in 1968. It was not until six years and five applications in all that the license was granted and CKJS went on air in Winnipeg in 1974.

Meanwhile, in Toronto, CHIN-AM went on air in 1966 with language-specific programming and four years later, following the 1967 addition of an FM operation by CHIN, approval was given to increase scheduled offerings to the maximum allowable percentage. Vancouver's CJVB was approved in 1971 and went on air a year later with the impetus for licence approval based on use of an Advisory Council and on reclaiming Canadian listeners from other language broadcasting emanating from the United States, though mounted by Canadian-based producers. The Edmonton station, CKER, which went on air in 1980, had originally been filed as an FM application which was turned down in 1978. Licence approval for both CKER Edmonton and CKJS Winnipeg followed Radio Canada, the French arm of the CBC, getting approval of transfer of private outlets already operating in these respective cities and airing some language-specific programming.

Procedural rounds on the first licence application for a multilingual television outlet in Toronto filed in 1976 spanned two years to when approval was granted in December 1978, with the operation of CFMT-TV on air in the fall of 1979.

Augmenting the regulatory lag by the mid-1970s was the perceived threat that unbridled other language broadcasting held for the status of English and French which had been declared the official languages of Canada in 1969. On January 9, 1974, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the Arts had recommended that "research studies pursued by a group comprised of representatives of the CBC, CRTC, Secretary of State and the Minister of State for Multiculturalism whose duty would be to determine a formula for third language broadcasting in a way that would not diminish the status of the two official languages."[8] The subsequent group formed, called the Multilingual Broadcast Study Group, met from May, 1974, to April, 1975, but was not able to fulfill its mandate.[9]

This focus on formulas is an ongoing theme in any consideration of multilingual broadcasting and will receive further attention at a later point in this report. While many expressions of opinion given in that group were very supportive of other language broadcasting,

lingering traces of pre-occupation of the two dominant language groups was also evident.

In terms of early developments, then, to say that multilingual broadcasting had held a steadfast place in the private sector is not to say its inclusion was welcomed for other than short-term expediency. Its accommodation from the early 1950s through the late 1960s, and to some similar extent in recent times, has been an uneasy one.

Outlets including it in their line-up of offerings have done so more as a measure of cash flow convenience and unfilled scheduling gaps than from any commitment to the loftier notions enscribed in more recent multilanguage television policy pronouncement, which will be the subject of later discussion. The essential point here is that language-specific programming in its earliest stages came as a direct result of entrepreneurial initiative by individuals and small groups of financial backers. Definitive accounts of these early days still await full chroniclling -- complete with warts and bouquets -- by veterans of those early days. Many now hold considerable authority in multilingual broadcasting, with some of them among the people immigrating to Canada in the late 1940s and others tracing back two, three and more generations to when their families first took up life in Canada.

Judging from the anecdotal litany that has grown up around multilingual broadcasting, such chronicles would be incomplete without details on the last minute schedule bumping, station hopping, and fringe time allotments that seemed a tedious part and parcel of those days. Minimal technical resources or facilities, a trail of bankruptcies and rebuffs by large advertising accounts and unconvinced media time buyers, form part of that story as do incidents of broadcast material taxing Canadian diplomacy at an international level.

A stigmatic perceptual reality dogging other language programming that it is only for newly-landed immigrants because it is in those funny foreign tongues and somehow not Canadian, would have to be squarely addressed in the full story. Chapters on the uses and abuses of the broadcast medium's power has yet to be fully fathomed; but any faction

gaining a broadcast platform was as commercially oriented as it was ideologically committed. Anyone setting the record straight on these early times and not simply bent on white-washing would probably ponder: so what's changed?

An update chronicle on multilingual broadcasting could certainly be counted upon to rightfully boast the instrumental role it has played, not merely in reflecting but in shaping the language communities tuning it in. Fund drives undertaken by outlets for the victims of the Italian earthquake in the latter part of 1980 were but the latest in a long series of similar acts of goodwill and humanity: a string of citations justly deserved.

All this and more, form part of the rich, often contentious lore surrounding multilingual broadcast efforts. For all that richness, this report must be content to flag it and move on to examine the broad parameters of how it has all been accommodated.

What is evident from early developmental features is that summary treatment of language-specific programming meted out by licensed outlets appears to have been the order of the day.[10] Beyond suggesting that such treatment presently persists, it is difficult to gauge its actual extent owing to a pronounced unwillingness to air the matter openly. Such openness could jeopardize whatever sort of mutually satisfactory monetary arrangements the broadcast producer and outlet management have entered into, be it long-term, short-term, amicable, or otherwise. Other factors contributing to that unwillingness can best be discerned and partially understood in terms of "fallout" from early production practices, especially in radio which to this day have yet to be satisfactorily resolved.

The usual practice was to purchase air time from a licensed outlet on a cash advance basis, then re-sell portions of the time bloc for commercial segments. This time accustomed radio and television practice was not, and is not, exclusive to language-specific program fare. Recouping the initial cost outlay, covering production resource expenses incurred, to at least break even, if not turn a profit, seems a straight-forward enough proposition. Some practitioners went

on to build their program service into a syndicated one bought by numerous outlets.

If such practices resulted in other than balanced expression of opinion in terms of content, thereby breaching terms of the Broadcast Act,[11] documented evidence in the public domain is hard to come by. Certainly industry gossip alludes to it.[12]

What appears certain is that this production method of brokering air time has fallen under a cloud of regulatory disapproval. The term appeared in some official documents but was conspicuous for its absence in the 1974 CRTC report, "Multilingual Broadcasting in the 1970s." Multilingual television policy explicitly cites it as undesirable.[13] It is evident that over the 1970s such practices have come in for increasing criticism. The first task force to button-hole it was the Senate Committee struck in 1969 to look at mass media in Canada.

On the basis of a 1969 survey on other language broadcasting, the Davey Committee, as it was known, observed with respect to program content that such broadcasting

> ...tended to be overwhelmed by the commercial nature of the broadcasts...more often than not, ethnic broadcasts are brokeraged by the stations concerned to ethnic entrepreneurs [and] the resultant programming leaves much to be desired.[14]

The strong inference was that such broadcast activity was strictly a sideline supplement to increase public exposure of the broadcaster's related business interests within the community. The Davey Committee did not elaborate why monitoring for any excess of the regulated clock hour time that may be devoted to commercial content was not more rigorously made to check that excess. The logging procedures covering advertising and program content for language-specific programming had been in place since 1962.[15] In any event, brokering and specifically what came to be its loaded label, "culture brokerage," was getting filed under "D" for DON'T by the regulators.

The Davey Committee also noted that the ethnic press was of vital consequence because of the rather limited access new Canadians have to

the electronic media. Again the report offered no explanation or further elaboration on why access was limited, but it did suggest that cablecasting might take up the slack. Writing as they were in 1970, when cable operators generally were only beginning to shoulder their broadcast role with anything resembling today's enthusiasm, the Davey Committee went on to suggest that in the meantime, "the CBC should consider some degree of ethnic broadcasting on radio."[16]

Another enterprising alternative to the print medium, cablecasting or outright air time purchases that surfaced in the mid-1960s was that of setting up closed circuit cable radio systems run on lines leased from the Bell system. The operation of these other language services, though in a uni-lingual format, was not dissimilar from over-the-air conventional broadcasting except that no broadcast license was required. To curb the lease-line expenditures, some of these systems moved over to cable systems in Montreal and Toronto, bringing with them additional cable hook-ups for the cable system.

The 1971 CRTC policy statement on cable television made no mention of these services, although in 1970 one such service, which had started in 1965 in Toronto, was placed on the Rogers Cable television system. By 1976 it was on three other cable television systems. Policy focus on them in 1975 called for discontinuance of such services. Conforming to this policy directive proved difficult. The regulatory intent was to bring such services under direct regulatory control by having low power transmitter outlets licensed. This alternative apparently would have proved more costly than the Bell lease-line arrangements. As the CRTC noted in 1979, there were numerous requests that these operations be permitted to continue with representations by Members of Parliament and ethnic groups in effect seeking an expansion rather than discontinuance.[17] As a recent policy options paper has noted: "Often disagreements developed as to who best represented the community's interests and in the worst cases, rival factions battled over the right to speak for the community and to gain access."[18]

While critics of electronic ghettoes undoubtedly have such operations in mind, no clear-cut evidence exists on whether or not such an outcome is an actual given.[19] If the broadcast or narrowcast product is viewed as a result of electronic proliferation, such as holds in the print media for example, the suspected social drawbacks of a steady diet of narrowly-defined audience intake would have to be the subject of longitudinal study. With respect to regulatory initiative to discontinue closed circuit and have alternate off-air delivery, it appears that short-term political and social factors held the upper hand. Equally pertinent is the notion that in the long run closed circuit delivery might tend to drive language diversity underground, leaving it out of earshot on political agendas. In any event, dislodging these practices and the proprietary tendencies they engender, and the risk to balanced programming they might entail, have been marked features of recent licence applications.[20]

From the developments sketched in above it is clear that whatever other commitments language-specific broadcast interests were bringing to their broadcast role, entrepreneurial tenacity and perserverence rank high among them.

The bid to stake a claim on the airwaves and in the system was perennially being subjected to unstable operating conditions. These undoubtedly fuelled ambitions to effect a more stable and secure base of operations. Factored into these efforts was what can be taken to be an implicit desire to have a more integral and presumably equal, if peripheral, place within the private broadcast industry as a whole. To do so meant mounting a licence application that would win favour within the existing climate of opinion.

Stressing the assimilative function of other language programming seemed congruent with the tenor of the times in the late 1950s. The earliest policy assumption rested on the notion of assimilation.

Policy Features

On the face of it nothing in the existing regulations prohibits any broadcast outlet from carrying up to 15 per cent of its weekly broadcast schedule in language-specific formats. If every outlet in the private radio sector exercised that option there would be 7,956 hours of total weekly air time.[21] Using a straight ratio percentage broken out on the demographic data on mother tongue spoken, this would yield about 170 hours per language for 47 languages. A more sophisticated version of the formula would have to account for audience tastes and interests broken out generationally. Also helpful would be an index of high-brow, mid-brow, and low-brow or popular culture tastes to be served.

The point of the preceding exercise is to point up the improbability of effecting a workable numerical formula that could be equitably applied across all language interests and numbers. The exercise is useful in giving a taste of what confronted regulators in the early 1960s who had to come up with a set of guidelines for the orderly inclusion of language-specific programming.[22]

While it is doubtful that great energy went into devising a sophisticated no-fail formula, three considerations do appear to have been uppermost, judging from the outcome of the deliberations:

- the commercial viability of a station opting for a varied language format;
- the function such broadcasting was expected to perform; and
- the provision of equitable service with respect to serving a majority of the principal ethnic groups within an outlet's coverage area.

Given those concerns, the guidelines set out in 1962 indicated that the BBG would not consider putting an extra notation to devote from 20 to 40 per cent of its time between six a.m. and twelve midnight for a station licensed in English, French, or both unless:

> It can be demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Board that between 150,000 and 200,000 potential listeners with mother tongues other than English or French live within the confines of the [coverage area].
>
> It makes provision to serve a majority of the principal ethnic groups [with] the programming ...arranged to satisfy language needs roughly in relation to the percentages of each language group...[23]

In practice radio outlets designated foreign-language in Canada, though not directly called upon to do so, have attracted and opted to serve a multitude of language groups with a service format of varying program calibre predicated on also linking cross-cultural sharing and sensitization of respective cultural expectations. It provides at least a brief refuge from the continuing need to cope with the subtleties of another language.

The BBG also stressed that such service was not to be what it termed "an in-and-out service." In other words, should the need disappear, the station could apply to have the "foreign-language" notation removed from its licence The stated premise was that "as ethnic groups become better assimilated, this need will gradually disappear."[24]

The BBG position can be taken as the tag end of the anglo conformity which had been the Canadian reality since World War One. As one writer has observed:

> faced with integrating the diverse mass of immigrants into a coherent social system, voices of cultural pluralism did not win out.[25]

Two years later, in 1964, these principles formed the basis of Section 17 of the AM Radio Regulations and Section 26 of the present FM Radio Regulations. They remain as originally set out seventeen years ago.

While any station could broadcast up to 15 per cent of its weekly schedule in other language formats, and as high as 20 per cent pending regulatory permission, any percentage beyond that -- up to a maximum of 40 per cent -- would be the subject of a specific application hearing.

More intriguing to this report's consideration of reluctance marking language diversity's accommodation, is the <u>BBG notion on function</u>

that such an applicant would have to be able to demonstrate "his reasons for believing that such broadcast will help to integrate (emphasis added) those people into the community."

Six years later two separate Parliamentary Commissions were to add definitional refinement to the term integration. The Davey Committee pointed out that such integration did not necessarily mean assimilation.[26]

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, in its fourth volume, delved into these and other terms as well. With respect to multilingual broadcasting, Volume four added another function it should play: that of fostering retention and maintenance of other language usage and culture.[27] But by that time one wonders if the perceptual reality could be altered to include this expanded and noteworthy function. This perceptual reality basically was that such outlets served newly-arrived immigrants, especially the housebound female, to feel more at home in their adopted country. This perceptual reality entails a possible dysfunction with respect to meeting the younger members' listening needs. The format offered by a time-constricted multilingual outlet in reflecting the older generation's musical tastes and information needs, could be an instant tune-out for the young people. Given industrial society's penchant for streaming people into age groups, whatever divisiveness that imposes on intergenerational ties might well be accentuated by this perceptual reality.

The BBG's set of principles overlooked this built-in dysfunctional feature and had shortsighted notions on the process of assimilation. That process was neither automatic nor necessarily welcomed. Any culture is continually changing and evolving. People transplanted from one country to another within a given time period become different, not only from those in their original setting but from later arrivals from that same point of origin. The resulting intricacies for cultural expressions were lost on the early policy formulators.

To return to the B & B ruminations on the subject of an expanded function to be played by multilingual broadcasting in fostering retention and maintenance of culture: the Fourth Volume doubted how influential

the existing programming could be in such a maintenance function given the pap programming they noted for much of the fare.[28] What is interesting to note, despite its whiff of paternalism, is the culturally elevating function the Fourth Volume was prepared to ascribe to commercial broadcasting as an expanded function for multilingual broadcasting. Commercial broadcasting, regardless of language format, could hardly be expected to perform it, given industry norms based on commercial imperatives. All of this comes as part of a long-standing school of thought intent on having the finer potential of the broadcast media flourish. The 1976 FM Policy of the CRTC could be taken as another example of this same intent.

The Fourth Volume did take regulators to task for having imposed special restrictions on multilingual broadcasting by setting percentage ceilings. In recommending their removal, the thinking appears to have been that the viability of language-specific fare was best determined in the market place.[29] The Fourth Volume was giving the nod to some form of independent air time purchase arrangement in stating that:

> Both the private stations and cultural groups other than British or French should be free to negotiate whatever arrangements the market permits.[30]

Recommending removal of the percentage restrictions was a clarion call for making multilingual broadcasting an integral part of the Canadian fabric, not some remnant set apart for short-term integrative purposes. It was not a call that private or public sector advertising accounts heard with any great measure. The Commission suggestion seemed prepared to give the benefit of the doubt to independent producers who might operate outside the regulations by not logging all the commercials aired nor declaring income derived from the re-sale of time for products and services that would get a commercial plug without complying with the detailed procedures on Food and Drug clearance.

From the outset percentage restrictions have been presented as a market protection for such stations. The 60 per cent devoted to an official language would draw the major operating revenues which for most commercial AM outlets is the early morning and afternoon "drive time."

The 40 per cent other language portion could tap advertising income sources which might otherwise not have been reached.

Operating realities do not necessarily bear this out, however, since attracting that 60 per cent advertising is often a hen's tooth proposition.[31] The ethnic majority 'mind-set' against allocating funds to have commercial messages in other than English or French tends to rank order the ethnic market as least, and last, for a then-empty kitty. As a result, religious program segments form part of the program line-up for a number of these stations including the television outlet with 11 per cent of its schedule made up of language-specific religious programming.[32] Such programming is a necessary part of the outlet's revenue picture for some, though not all, multilingual outlets. The revenue from the programme time sale is pro-rated on a formula based on the outlet's current commercial rates.

While outlets airing the maximum allowable percentage are expected to perform this integrative function as a condition of licence, they receive by their account, minimal ad dollars from government advertising although the amount of public service announcements aired leaves the distinct public impression that such outlets are publically subsidized. Given that some of the linguistically smaller groups or larger, more recent groups will not be commercially viable, their program segments are subsidized from the overall financial picture of the outlet. Obvious public sector accounts, such as the Post Office's "Mail Early for Christmas" campaign, or the telephone's "Overseas Rate Information" do not make language-specific pitches although the listeners would be prime users. Private sector national accounts rely on traditional audience measurement sources such as the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement, and put little credence in the alternate demonstration of audience numbers that outlets have commissioned by independent market survey reports.[33]

Compounding the accurate measurement of audiences is the distinct possibility that even if broadcast measurement systems could fan out to every language segment of a given coverage area, there is no guarantee that a reliable Cost Per Thousand rate (CPM) could be exacted. This is due to the perceptual reality that the outlet offerings are only for

immigrants with minimal command of English or French. Young listeners adapting to life in Canadian society are not necessarily willing to admit they tune into the station. Older audience members have not been willing to talk to market surveyers or fill in forms.

In any case, if the logic of numbers in the market place dictates the air time allotment, it seems illogical to have to constrict the scheduling to artificially imposed ceilings. The basic reluctance to expand the allotted time stems in part from a brand of thinking aligned to the diminution in status to English or French such an expanded other language format might entail. Even the Fourth Volume stressed this notion in its interpretation and defence of some aspects of the BBG's public announcement on foreign language broadcasting:

> A cultural group can have neither the only radio station in an area nor a station devoted exclusively to broadcasting in its own language, even if its members make up the majority of the population and are willing and able to finance a station.[34]

The reason cited was that regulation requires that the outlet ensure service to a majority of the principle ethnic groups within the listening area. Fieldwork interviews with the major outlets did not indicate any willingness to adopt a single other language only format to the exclusion of either French or English, so the reluctance on easing percentage restrictions is difficult to fathom. The combined effect of settlement patterns and policy has resulted in more of a clustered accommodation rather than one of dual language formats spread across the radio media of a given urban area. The preferred music formats characteristic of the AM radio complexion would seem beyond such a spread.

Easing percentage ceilings is not of itself a magic solution. By following the logic of greater numbers in the market place, numerically or economically less viable groups risk being shunted from the schedule or assigned more fringe time placement in the line-up. A definite pattern does seem to hold with the better time slots allotted to the numerically larger and commercially more viable groups as the survey information demonstrates (see Appendix B, Table 1). Devising a listening format

that will draw younger listening tastes may mean shunting those of older listeners.

Alleviating the lack of air time by encouraging closed circuit operations quite apart from real or perceived social drawbacks, might also have the effect of reducing air time on conventional stations to only the larger commercially viable language formats. One outlet owner in the course of the report's fieldwork took the scenario a step further: the proliferation of closed circuit operations in language-specific formats would find commercial rates being lowered in a bid to attract accounts. The resulting decrease in operating revenues would have a negative impact on the quality of program service. The balance of reach over the air with a certain number of hours versus the numbers plugged into a closed circuit operation would be a cumbersome one to construct.[35] The outlet owners, in dealing with the competitive threat, are prepared to mount heavy artillery to protect their pioneer efforts and risk-taking in a tenuous market place.

Outlet owners are the first to admit that their financial imperatives are the same as other commercial broadcast outlets. Throughout the 1970s both the Toronto and Montreal outlets of CHIN-AM/FM and CFMB have made repeated requests to have the allowable percentage restrictions increased, but no change has been forthcoming.[36]

What is interesting is that although these and other multilingual broadcast interests have come from brokerage practices, they presently maintain a vehemently hard line against such practices and would like them outlawed. It is left to speculation whether this hard line also has something to do with effecting behaviour more in tune with regulatory posture before further concessions on easing percentage restrictions will fall on more sympathetic ears.

As of 1980, statements on the question of removing or altering percentage restrictions shed little light on the entire question. In its presentation to the Multilingual Broadcasting Study Group in 1974 the CRTC indicated that it

> will retain Section 17 of its radio regulations to ensure that there is no misunderstanding that it is the Commission policy

> to expand the full range of opportunity to multilingual broadcasting in the private sector.[37]

Nor does the private broadcast industry have a clear-cut consensus. A 1977 poll of multilingual stations conducted by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters indicated that:

> most respondents would be opposed to any regulation requiring stations now broadcasting multilingual programs to do so fulltime or alternatively being asked to discontinue all multilingual programming.[38]

This same poll reported divided opinion on

> whether the quantitative level of third language programming should be subject to regulations or conditions of licence for each licensee depending upon the particular circumstances.[39]

As part of this report's fieldwork, members of the Advisory Councils with two multilingual radio outlets were polled on this as well. Although none were prepared to suggest changes to existing policy, none felt that multilingual broadcasting should be subject to special restrictions. Some even felt that the Council should be used to administer public funds to subsidize program service for the more recent or commercially less viable groups.

A litmus test to measure the audiences for multilingual broadcast outlets would be to call for the removal of other language programming.[40] The outcry would be in the high decibel range.

And yet for all that, one veteran broadcast owner, with more than 15 years in the multilingual broadcast field, was still terming multilingual broadcasting an experiment. The dimension of reluctance cuts more than one way. It includes a healthy suspicion of the motivations of the dominant language lobbies.

Benchmark Epilogue

Of the six recommendations tabled in the B & B Fourth Volume with respect to media of communication, three were directed at the CRTC, with

two of them to include CBC involvement; one was directed at the CBC. Two remaining recommendations dealt with the National Film Board and will not be covered in this report.

One of the three CRTC items called for removal of special regulatory features on private broadcasters vis-a-vis other language broadcasting "except those restrictions necessary to meet the administrative and legal responsibilities of the licensees and those that also apply to English and French language programmes."[41]

The other two called for research to be undertaken in conjunction with CBC's extensive research resources in two main areas:

- determining the best means by which radio and television can contribute to the maintenance of languages and cultures with pilot projects on either AM or FM radio in both Toronto and Montreal;[42]
- determining the nature and effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly- and privately-owned English- and French-language radio and television stations.[43]

Besides recommending that the CBC recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life, the Fourth Volume also called on the CBC to remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting.[44]

A stock-taking of the present status of these recommendations entails a brief recap of events unfolding after the fourth volume was tabled in 1969.

Where the B & B marked a watershed in studied concern being focused on the ethnic diversity of Canadian society, the Government's policy statement issued October 1, 1971, became the political reflection and amplification of that studied concern. The rather straight-forward recommendations with respect to communication media could not have presaged the institutional developments that were to figure in the follow-through on those recommendations.

A "policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" became the flagship statement unanimously approved by Parliament that launched

a fleet of voluntary associations across the country from the municipal, provincial, through to the federal level.[45]

A ministerial post established in 1972 to head up the policy implementation included a Multiculturalism Directorate to serve ministerial needs and those of his volunteer advisors in the form of the Canadian Consultative Committee on Multiculturalism (CCCM), first formed in 1973.

The wealth of scholarly research tabled by the B & B and the fields of study it inspired are of untold value in understanding ourselves as Canadians. That the baseline was long overdue cannot be questioned. But if those prodigious volumes had one flaw, it was that of tracing anglo and franco descent lines back to Britain and France in such a strong classificatory light. The harsh light of that tracing eclipsed the very real notion of Canadian identity as a unique entity in and of itself without resort to descent line definitions.

Casting back as the volumes had to, the tool of that tracing was a necessary one, but a flawed one nonetheless, that was to have grave implications when it came time to implement policy features of multiculturalism.

What exactly was meant by it? Since policy hinges on apportioning tax dollars in the form of grants, who exactly would be the recipients and why? The flaw fired an "us and them and les autres" fixation. It was, and is, a fixation that risks turning a two-pronged dilemma into a three-pronged one -- indeed, a multi-pronged one. The range of opinion camps it broke out would occupy volumes, and does.[46] The prosaic mosaic had fallen into the political cauldron and whether it can get out with its natural diversity intact is the great imponderable.

Multiculturalism as state policy has done little to relieve the reluctance underpinning the accommodation of language diversity in Canadian broadcasting. Does multilingualism go hand in hand with multiculturalism? This vexatious question, as noted earlier, held the spotlight for three months of intensive soul-searching by the special study group on multilingual broadcasting called by the Parliamentary Standing Committee

on Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the Arts. Its mission to find a formula for the inclusion of other language broadcasting without diminishing the status of English and French aborted in 1975.

It was a successor to the earlier Standing Committee's inquiry triggered by the CBC cancellation of "Island Echoes." The upshot of those hearings was that the CBC, apart from seeing other language broadcasting as a non-mandate item except with respect to the Inuit and Canadian Indian peoples, cited the additional operating and capital fund requirements that would be needed were it to become a mandate item implemented without decreasing the level of service in French and English. On balance, the public sector giant was prepared to conclude that the needs of multilingual broadcasting are best met by private stations whose responsibility and interests are local and therefore better able to reflect local concerns.[47] The assumption that multilingual interests will be satisfied with this conclusion is probably untenable and certainly arguable.

The CCCM has made considerable headway in political consciousness raising vis-a-vis "multiculturalism" as Item 27 of the proposed constitutional Charter bears witness.[48] Will a revised version of the Broadcasting Act, lurking in the wings for several years now, be complete without some policy statement encompassing at least the notion of the multicultural heritage of Canadians? And if that transpires, how much longer could the link of culture and language be kept closeted?

The suspenseful air of these high-level policy deliberations throughout the 1970s had not been stopping life at the street level. The Rogers Cable set-up, which by the end of the 1970s had become the leader in Canadian cable concerns accounting for close to 30 per cent of all subscribers, had already sniffed the multi winds of opportunity. Possibly taking its cue from the Davey Committee Report, multicultural programming had been a part of its community cable channel since 1971. For example, the inclusion of East Indian films was used as a marketing draw to attract hook-ups in the Scarborough cable system that wanted to expand to the Melborne Housing district, the majority of whose residents included Canadians of East Indian descent. By 1973 both Rogers in Toronto

and the company it took over in 1979, Premier in Vancouver, were running other language film products on the community channel. When the CRTC cited this as a contravention of cable policy, the way was open to use the augmented channel capacity to house such fare, and entice production interests, viewers, and hook-ups as part of a cable marketing strategy.

Meanwhile, in 1972, a recently licensed UHF television outlet in Toronto, CITY-TV, started including language-specific originations mounted by a production unit of ever-growing numbers and hours, based on an air time purchase arrangement and ad sale commission set-up.

This nucleus production unit came to include programming people who had originally started out with the Rogers multicultural channel. By dint of its four-year involvement with CITY-TV, this production nucleus regarded itself as the "in-place" candidate and eventually was awarded the licence franchise to operate Canada's first multilingual television outlet that went on air in September of 1979.

Besides spelling the intrusion of another competitor into the media-rich metro Toronto market, and disruption to the existing signal carriage patterns, the original application and two subsequent competing applications meant laying all those fine commitments to language and cultural maintenance on the regulatory line. The case had moved beyond one of an outlet functioning to integrate newcomers until they had become assimilated with the market for such programming service eventually receding. The regulator had to cast a new set of guidelines for accommodating language diversity without foregoing the accustomed rationale of probing the projected commercial viability of this or any license seeker.

With the operation in its second season critical evaluation of its service is in considerable flux,[49] but the principle question that can be posed, if not fully answered, is: how well can institutional devices such as policy directives and licence conditions guarantee societal results? Put another way, what happens to cultural interests wed to commercial imperatives?

Judging from the guidelines set out, the policy formulation demonstrates a certain tunnel vision on the part of the CRTC. Its focus was

as much on the prospective outlet being another dumping ground for foreign American product as it was on stressing the pro-social function assigned.

The policy on multilingual television, besides switching the 40-60 ceiling percentage that applied to radio, further stipulated that the 40 per cent portion was not to consist of "programs which have been created for commercial U.S. networks and stations."[50] Nor would dubbed versions of said product sources be considered to fall into the 60 per cent portion in "third language" defined as "any language other than English, French or native Canadian."

Still with the 40 per cent portion, the policy assigned a particular function, namely that of "bridging programming which will enable groups to learn about each other's culture...."[51] Perhaps as psychic spill-over from the inability of the two numerically dominant groups' inabilities to "bridge," the assumption appears to have been that chasms could also be expected to exist between other language groupings. The remarkable thing on this notion of bridging is that a fledgling outlet was supposed to accomplish what the public sector giant had for so much of its history been unable to, and on a minute scale of resources.

Besides the third language content commitment, Canadian content and commercial content regulations were to apply to a multilingual television station. The juxtaposition of Canadian content and language diversity is a somewhat problematical one which will be explored at a later point. Given the magazine format which has tended to characterize the presentation of other language programming, the notion appears to be that "Canadiana will be woven throughout the program [and] will occur naturally."[52]

What appears certain is that the Bible provided by such landmark documents as the B & B got lots of thumping throughout the course of the hearings. What also appears certain in retrospect is that the CRTC vastly underestimated that the new service would be devoted "primarily to serving the various linguistic community needs of multilingual Toronto [and a] source of enrichment to all Toronto residents."[53]

The game-plan for the new outlet is to become a national network with affiliates across the country and go after the U.S. market with its 26 million other language populace.[54] The operation's ambitions are a ready complement to the marketing perspective of Rogers Cablesystems. With cable penetration rates at 80 per cent, the issue confronting the industry is how to get 5 per cent of the remaining 20 per cent with at least 2 to 3 per cent of the non-cabled being of ethnic origins other than anglo-celtic or franco-Canadian extraction. For this reason the cable industry is keen to see MTV develop into a national satellite channel. CRTC hearings on licence granting for extension of northern services included an MTV and CSN application to this effect. The CSN has signed contracts with cable systems representing over ten million subscribers to take MTV as soon as it comes to air.[55]

Development of multilingual programming was not confined to metro Toronto. Other cable systems at various points across the country had taken their cue from industry leaders -- and were featuring multicultural programming on the community cable channel as well. The access forum of cable programming was also used by groups to express reaction to events unfolding in Quebec. The attractiveness of the language-culture arguments held valid application for other language amalgams, even if the historical roots of the Québecois case got lost in the mimicry. For many Canadians multicultural programming simply provided an entertainment focus on popular culture available from points abroad. The availability of such programming went hand in glove with the fashionable industry claims of alternative viewing and diversity of program choice. Such claims could count on a more receptive regulatory posture than those of de-regulation mounting in the United States.

In the decade since the B & B Fourth Volume was tabled, a lot of unforeseen developments had been put in place. With respect to the recommendations made by that volume on communications media, the CRTC policy-cum-study paper, "Multilingual Broadcasting in the 1970s," answered them in part as did the licensing of a co-op FM station, CINQ-FM or Radio Centreville which went on the air in 1974 in Montreal. The 1974

Multilanguage Broadcasting Study Group made a specific resolution that FM radio be used to accommodate other language broadcasting. The 1976 FM policy statement gave "folklore of ethnic peoples" as an example of 'structured programs.'[56]

The Secretary of State and the Multiculturalism Directorate commissioned a number of valuable studies on media portrayal.[57] These studies also sounded language groupings and the public generally on aspects of the still-elusive "multiculturalism." In this regard the Non-Official Languages Study (1975) and the Majority Attitude Study (1976) offered somewhat contradictory shadings with respect to other language programming. Where the former found support for such programming if it were "quality," the latter noted a certain hesitancy among respondents on the advisability of having such programming.[58] More relevant to the social agenda of concerns on accommodating language diversity were the three conditions noted in the Majority Attitude study that it suggested had to be operating.

Individuals should feel they belong to a group that is well-defined both in objective and subjective terms; should have a positive but objective appraisal of their own group which is free of defensiveness and exaggeration; and therefore should be seen in their cultural and economic context. All three conditions are necessary the authors suggested for inter-group tolerance to flourish. The absence of one may turn the others into promoters of inter-group conflict.[59] What is pertinent here with respect to multilingual broadcasting is that the individual more often than not in broadcasting contributed to the very notion of a group consciousness on the part of any given language-specific group and sub-groups within it.

The qualitative notions of language-specific broadcasting represent a lynchpin aspect that has been the subject of critical, if fleeting, attention in the past. This report was interested in learning what the people directly responsible for multilingual production had to contribute on this, and form findings on this in the next chapter.

By the mid-1970s several new structural elements had entered the scene. As one of them, the CCCM has made its presence known in a number of forums.[60] The nature of its claims addressees the nub and essence

of Canadian identity. The CCCM tone is one of mounting the ramparts of existing insensibilities within the various segments of the broadcast industry. The thrust made in one keystone CCCM document is on "cross-cultural sharing...." [61]

With respect to accommodating language diversity, however, the CCCM is not a ready ally. Their concern is that the type of language-specific programming aired on the community cable is

> ...generally unicultural in nature and mostly in the language of the group concerned. While some third language unicultural programming is necessary, the Council feels that groups should be encouraged to interact and share information more freely, not only among cultural minorities, but also with the wider community within the mandate of the licensee.[62]

In their commitment to the very real notion of television being a strong medium for socialization, the thinking in that document overlooks one essential tenet of communications models, or at least takes it as axiomatic that the intended message of cross-cultural sharing will be the same message received. Without going into a lengthy discourse on communications models, the case mounted by the CCCM fails to focus its thinking clearly on the ramifications or intricacies of the intended recipient's selective exposure, retention, and perception behaviour.

In its bid to mount a grass-roots "revolution to restructure the Canadianizing of broadcasting"[63] the blueprint verges more on polemic than constructive criticism. To the extent that any group can be said to represent others by way of a collective monolith, the instrumental claims mounted by the CCCM cannot be lightly dismissed. It appears, however, that the line of thinking from a changing volunteer membership cannot be relied upon for consistent emphasis. It may even offer a contradiction of past positions if one weighs the 1980 CCCM statement to that which appeared in 1974: "without language, cultural pluralism... emerges as a truncated multiculturalism...."[64]

With the CCCM and other elements embarked on the path to a new improved Canada, it is, of course, inevitable that they have locked horns on a number of issues though often sharing the same ground of concern.

In terms of the existing policy and regulatory features pertaining to broadcasting, all elements are enmeshed in a very thorn-laden thicket. It is not mean-spirited to suggest that multiculturalism at the instrumental level may be as much a part of the problem as it is of the solution. Everyone is in search of the long term solution, the ultimate effective formula that will overhaul inequities and atone for past blind spots. The case mounted by each has considerable merit, but the rhetoric employed is as counter-productive as the goals are ideal.

Chapter Three End Notes

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3. Ibid., Weir, p. 152.
4. CRTC Public Hearing, February 19, 1973, Montreal.
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7. "A Report on Foreign Language Programming," in The Canadian Association for Radio and Television Broadcasters, Toronto, May 1958.
8. Minutes, Standing Committee on Broadcasting, pps. 32:5.
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10. See, for example, Broadcaster back issues, January 1975 and June 1976.
11. Section 3(d) of the Broadcasting Act states that "programming provided ...should provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern...."
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14. Special Senate Committee on Mass Media (hereinafter cited as the Davey Committee). Report: The Uncertain Mirror, Volume 1, 1970, page 18.
15. The Board of Broadcast Governors Circular, No. 43 was issued October 27, 1961 and dealt with the four procedural rules for logging of language programmes.
16. Davey Committee, p. 183.
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18. Cable Programming Services Past and Present Experience: Future Options. Option paper by Francis Spiller Associates, Canadian Cable Television Association, October 1980, page 31.
19. Juneau, Pierre, "Electronic Communications and Cultural Diversity." Address delivered to UNESCO Symposium, September 25, 1972 as Chairman of the CRTC. The national broadcast policy objective is "to provide for the public the benefits of the cross-fertilization of historic cultures in the electronic medium with creating electronic ghettoes," page 12.
20. Broadcaster news item, January 1979, notes that in the sale of CKLB and CKQS-FM in Oshawa, the new owner said that "he opposed the practice of brokering ethnic programs to independent producers since it reduces the station's control over program content," page 10.
21. CRTC Facts Digest, December 1980, puts the number of licensed private radio outlets at 421. The number of actual operations is not indicated, page 3.
22. BBG Public Announcement, 2 January 1962.
23. Ibid., BBG, page 16.
24. Ibid.
25. Elliot, J.L., "Canadian Immigration: A Historical Perspective," in Two Nations: Many Cultures. Prentice-Hall, 1979, page 165.
26. Davey Committee, page 14.
27. B & B, Volume Four, "Broadcasting in other languages is also important for maintaining these languages and some elements of the cultures of the groups that speak them," page 189.

28. Ibid., Table 21, Other Language Broadcasting, page 189.
29. Ibid., page 190, Recommendation 8, paragraph 538.
30. Ibid., p. 189.
31. Randall, Keith, "A Towering Giant With a Matching Personality," in Broadcaster, June 1976. This article deals with the CFMB Montreal and CKJS Winnipeg stations and quotes the owner, Casimir Stanczycowski, as saying that for the 60 per cent English portion the stations earn next to nothing, page 19.
32. Based on MTV, Channel 47 1981 Spring/Summer Schedule, effective March 310, 1981 for hours from 0600 to 2400.
33. Canadian Facts, "CHIN Italian Language Programming Audience Survey," June 1980; Survey '76, The Market Within a Market (a report on the CMA Vancouver Ethnic Population), survey conducted by Advanced Systems Development Ltd., June 21-July 5, 1976.
34. B & B, Vol. Four, page 186, paragraph 524.
35. To receive closed circuit cable radio, a cable line has to be connected to the radio receiver.
36. CFMB, Intervention at licence hearing for multilingual television notes that requests to increase the permissible weekly allotments had been made by CHIN in 1974 and by CFMB in September, 1975, June 1976, and October 1976.
37. Statement made by CRTC Chairman in appearance before Multilingual Broadcasting Study Group set up by Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Films and Assistance to the Arts, as cited in Cioni Paper at page 22.
38. Canadian Association of Broadcasters, "Submission Re: Canadian Multilingual Radio and Television Services to CRTC," June 1977, page 4.
39. Ibid.
40. Aiken, Don, "The Quiet Radio Station is Making Itself Heard," in Trib Magazine, April 19, 1980. This feature article recounts how a Winnipeg newspaper omitted CKJS from its roundup on radio stations in the city and received letters and phone calls from CKJS listeners complaining that the station had been slighted.

41. B & B, Volume Four, Recommendation 8, page 190.
42. Ibid., Recommendation 10, page 192.
43. Ibid., Recommendation 11, page 193.
44. Ibid., Recommendation 9, page 191.
45. House of Commons Debates, October 8, 1971, pp 8545-8548. The provinces of Alberta and Ontario all have adopted policies of multiculturalism. The province of British Columbia has a Cultural Heritage Advisor. The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia passed a provincial statute in 1980 to establish the Nova Scotia Multicultural Advisory Council. Prince Edward Island has a Multicultural Council. Saskatchewan has an Act respecting its Multicultural Advisory Council similar to that of Nova Scotia's. Manitoba has a funding program of multicultural grants administered through the Secretariat on Dominion-Provincial Cultural Relations. There is a National Multicultural Theatre Association based in Toronto with similar associations in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and British Columbia. In the spring of 1980 a Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations was established.
46. First Annual Report of the Canadian Cunsultative Council on Multiculturalism, Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, 1975; Multiculturalism as State Policy, Canadian Consultative Committee on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, 1976; A Report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism 1977, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Ottawa, 1977; Multiculturalism, A Canadian Reality -- A Report of the Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, October 27-29, 1978, Minister of Supply and Services, Ottawa, 1980; Zolf, Larry, "Mulling Over Multiculturalism," Maclean's Magazine, April 14, 1980, page 6.
47. Minutes, Standing Committee on Broadcasting, page 23-12.
48. Item 27 of the proposed Charter states that "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians."

49. See, for example, McQuaig, Linda, "Ethnic TV Alters Its Accent," Maclean's Magazine, October 6, 1980, pps. T 3-4; and Toronto Star, September 10, 1979, "Trying to solve our dilemma of the dial: several of the leaders of Metro's 35 ethnic communities express initial dissatisfaction over CFMT's production standards -- the programs lack quality they claim."
50. CRTC Public Announcement, "Multilingual Television Broadcasting," December 27, 1978, page 4.
51. Ibid., page 3.
52. Op. Cit., Canadian Association of Broadcasters, June 1977, page 4.
53. CRTC Decision 78-780, page 1.
54. Walker, Glynnis, "CFMT after U.S. ethnic audience: Window for Canadian Producers," in The Financial Post, December 15, 1979, page 16.
55. Interview with Executive Co-ordinator of Canadian Satellite Network, March 3, 1981.
56. CRTC FM Policy 1976, page 6.
57. Owaisi, Lateef and Bangash, Zafar, Visible Minorities in Mass Media Advertising, Report submitted to the CCCM Executive. Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1978; Teachman, G., The Portrayal of Canadian Cultural Diversity on English-Language Canadian Network Television: A Content Analysis, Report prepared for the Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism Directorate by PEAC Developments, September 1980, Toronto. See also: Elkin, F., The Employment of Visible Minority Groups in Mass Media Advertising, A report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission, August 1971; Henry, Dr. Frances, The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto, Research Report, Department of Anthropology, York University, Toronto, February 1978; Laferriere, Michel, Ethnic Stereotypes and Mass Media: A Bibliographical Search from Computerized Sources. Department of Social Foundations of Education and F.C.A.C. Minority Education Research Project, McGill University, June 1980.
58. O'Bryan, K., et al., Non-Official Languages -- A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1976, p. 150. Berry, John, et al., Majority Attitude Study, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1975, page 80.

59. Ibid., Berry, John, et al., p. 248.
60. CCCM Presentation to the CRTC on the CBC Licence Renewal, October 6, 1978, Ottawa; CCCM Presentation to the CRTC on the Licence Hearing to Examine the Revised Promises of Performance of CFTO-TV, CITY-TV, and Other Stations, February 13, 1979; CCCM Submission to the CRTC on the Review of Canadian Content Regulations, July 1980; CCCM Intercessions on CBC television program, "Connections" and CTV television program, "Campus Give-away" aired in September 1979; CCCM Press Release, "Media Misrepresentation of the Italian-Canadian Community," July 13, 1979.
61. CCCM Submission to the CRTC on the Review of Canadian Content Regulations, July 1980, page 28.
62. Ibid., page 29.
63. Ibid.
64. CCCM First Annual Report, Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1975, page 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

FOCUSING THE QUALITATIVE PICTURE

Survey Rationale

The report undertook to profile the people directly responsible for the conception, creation, acquisition and related production aspects of language-specific programming.

The only similar exploration of broadcast producers was undertaken as part of the 1974 CRTC report, "Multilingual Broadcasting in the 1970's." Although details on the survey were not included in the published report, an internal document, "Pilot Study of Third Language Producers,"[1] apparently formed the basis for some of the published report's statements on multilingual broadcasters and producers. So, where applicable, a touchstone did exist on which to draw some comparison and insight on findings that came to light as a result of this report's fieldwork.

The 1974 CRTC report concluded, among other things, that "third language broadcasting in Canada is growing...."[2] The numerical indication of this growth in the six years since that report's publication was provided in Chapter Two.

While the 1974 CRTC report represented a positive shift from the more reluctant regulatory posture that had characterized multilingual broadcasting prior to the early 1970s, the supportive tone was nevertheless one of ambivalence sustained throughout that report. A concluding statement cautiously suggested that multilingual broadcasting

> ...is <u>probably</u> (emphasis added) much more a herald of the future than an echo of the past.[3]

The rationale for profiling the production talent was to determine the strength of that "herald of the future."

The tentative tone of the 1974 CRTC report was equally pronounced when it dealt with the production processes of multilingual broadcasting. As part of the lore surrounding the accommodation of language diversity its production processes have been customarily described as "informal."

This study, therefore, was interested in exploring the nature of these production practices to determine if there had been any shift away from the informal to a more formal production approach. The arrival of two major outlets and a host of FM radio outlets during the intervening six years could not, in and of itself, be taken as an indicator of any such shift.

This rationale is consistent with the 1974 CRTC report's conclusion that third language broadcasting is "and will probably continue to be...characterized by relatively informal production processes."[4] While no direct criticism was likely intended, cynics would be on firm ground in suggesting that such an appraisal amounts to damning with faint praise.[5] The present study investigated the nature of the production arrangements and the production talents' views on such arrangements.

Conventional wisdom would seem to dictate that informal processes could, and would, have a direct bearing on what might be termed the 'presentational calibre' of language-specific product in terms of a qualitative technical standard. It is not straining that conventional wisdom to suggest that informal production techniques could result in an inferior production standard. This inferior standard would risk some sort of negative audience impact -- regardless of how that audience was defined.

To pursue this theme a little further, the case can be made that listening and viewing audiences have, to some extent, undergone a certain degree of what could be termed "medium acculturation," usually, though not exclusively, in the North American context. Put another way, acculturation to the medium sets a certain expectation threshold with respect to the listening or viewing product in terms of qualitative standards. If a particular production standard is inferior, for whatever reason, a resulting <u>impairment dimension</u> is at work. Just how it manifests is beyond the scope of this study since this would entail an outlet by outlet language by language treatment.

The impairment dimension must be introduced to underscore the inadequacy of statements like: 'Yes, there will be informal production processes'. These 'processes' themselves must be seen as a measure of the strength that language diversity accommodation has in Canadian broadcasting.

Much of the 'mainstream-backwater' syndrome affecting many language-specific production talents, and those who label their interests as multicultural, can be traced to production arrangements.[6]

The preceding is not to be construed as a call for imitating slick production values across the board at no costs spared. Stringent budget allotments and resulting necessity can combine to foster attractive, innovative approaches without turning out carbon copies of video-America or video-Italiano.[7] Nor is the preceding meant to doubt the fact that the accent in community cable programming has been rightfully placed on its access, public forum, community animation and experimentation role. Yet, the fact remains that language-specific programming in the medium of television has, for all intents and purposes, been consigned -- some would say relegated by default -- to the community cable channel. Cable is often the only outlet for mirroring language-specific interests within a given community.

The language-specific audience may be assumed to have undergone some degree of medium acculturation, and seeing aspects of society mirrored which may or may not include a reflection of themselves, as part of that overall societal complexion. The mirror offered is a scaled-down production mode. As a feature of the impairment dimension, it is not unkind to suggest that a tin mirror approach risks a tin mirror reflection. Various groups, notably the CCCM, have for some time been pressuring for program exchange and alternate funding sources to underwrite community level production efforts.[8] Language-specific producers also argue that the mirror should not be an anglofied or francofied reflection.

Compelling or wrong-headed as these demands may be, it is the implication of variations on this line of argument that this report is addressing. In effect, such demands and arguments put both the target audiences and the production talent on the point of a multi-edged exploitation.

Brandished in blunt terms it means the target audience and the production talent either have to settle for informal, possibly inferior calibre product or be content with existing production arrangements.

Short of renouncing their ethnicity, they can also lobby for a special multicultural channel provided the necessary production funds can be mustered from public or private sector sources.

The regulatory implication might best be expressed in this way: informal production → inferior product → second class treatment → specialized program channels → pay TV and other tiered channel service → disruption to off-air conventional television production investment. In light of this, language-specific programming becomes a forefront phenomenon. Its status in the scheme of things is that of a bargaining wedge which, if effectively driven in, can reverberate across the entire broadcast industry. The reluctance with respect to accommodating language diversity hinges now on that potential reverberation and spillout.

The regulator is in a precarious position in this scheme. Regulation must contend with the break-neck pace of entrepreneurial ambition triggered by fast-breaking technological advances.[9] At the same time it must contend with the over-riding concerns of how Canadians identify themselves.

It has already been noted that the 1974 CRTC report on multilingual broadcasting strove to place projected developments in language diversity accommodation in a favourable light. At the same time the CRTC published a Directory of Multilingual Broadcast Producers. The express intent of that Directory was to promote

> more interaction among the broadcasters and stations...and help the vigorous multilingual community <u>expand</u> and <u>improve</u> its broadcasting activities.[10] (emphasis added)

The present study was, therefore, interested in sounding the <u>associational maturity</u> within the production ranks during the six-year interval since the Directory's publication.

Table 4-1***

Producer Survey Population

Province	Main City	Community Cable Television**	Commercial Television	Commercial AM/FM Radio	Non-Commercial Radio	Other*	Total
British Columbia		12	--	31	--	26	69
	Vancouver	(12)	--	(14)	--	(26)	(52)
Alberta		11	--	15	9	--	35
	Edmonton	(11)	--	(15)	(7)	--	(33)
Saskatchewan		--	--	1	--	--	1
Manitoba		38	--	21	--	--	59
	Winnipeg	(38)	--	(19)	--	--	(57)
Ontario		55	33	137	21	25	271
	Toronto	(23)	(27)	(59)	--	(25)	(134)
Quebec		23	2	20	7	--	52
	Montreal	(23)	(2)	(20)	(7)	--	(52)
Nova Scotia		--	--	10	--	--	10
Newfoundland		1	--	--	--	--	1
Total by Province		140	35	235	37	51	498
Total by City		(108)	(29)	(137)	(14)	(51)	(339)

* Media Skill Development course participants
** Includes Special Multicultural Channels
*** Issued 498 survey forms; 127 survey forms completed and returned; 10 survey forms returned un-opened.

As mentioned earlier, the 1970s had witnessed a surge of associational networks prompted by the government policy statement on multiculturalism. At the study's outset, however, it was not clear whether instigation of a more formal associational set-up was occurring within the production ranks or whether, indeed, there was any perceived interest in such associational ties.

Aligned with the two dimensions identified was a third which springs from considerations on depth of field within the production ranks. In other words, a broadcast commitment dimension was being sounded.

The remainder of this chapter presents the findings of a Producer Survey as they relate to the various dimensions. A questionnaire was mailed to the 498 individuals identified as the population of multilingual producers in Canada. Table 4-1 provides a breakdown of this population. Method notes on the survey are in Appendix A.

Table 4-2 indicates the survey response rate by the type of broadcast outlet and general demographic information on the respondents is given in Table 4-3. A pronounced majority were born outside Canada, with the actual length of residency in Canada fairly evenly distributed across three periods starting at 1971, 1961 and 1951. The greater percentage have been in Canada since or prior to 1951.

Table 4-2

Percentage Response Rate by

Type of Broadcast Outlet

N = 498

Commercial AM/FM Radio	24
Non-Commercial Radio	46
Commercial Television	46
Cable Television*	42

* includes special multicultural program channels throughout this section of the report, unless otherwise indicated.

Table 4-3

General Demographics

N = 127

		% of Total Respondents
Gender:	Female	21
	Male	79
Age:	Under 35	32
	35 - 44	32
	45 or older	35
	Not Indicated	1
Birth:	Born in Canada	10
	Not Born in Canada	90
Residency in Canada:	Since 1971	26
	Since 1961	34
	Prior to or since 1951	41

Broadcast Commitment

Table 4-4 indicates the number of years that respondents have been actively engaged in multilingual broadcasting in Canada and how many years they have been associated with the present broadcast outlet. In terms of total years engaged in such broadcasting, the period since 1972 is somewhat accentuated. This can be attributed in part to the low return rate on radio and to the fact that four of the six major off-air multilingual outlets have only been in place since 1972 or later.

In terms of number of years with the current outlet, the more recent group, that is to say the period since 1978, is also somewhat accentuated. This is due, in part, again to the lower radio return rate. Though not indicated in Table 4-4, roughly 10 per cent of the group actively broadcasting since 1971 had become involved with the current broadcast outlet

within the past three years. So, although 50 per cent of the respondents had been with the current outlet since 1978, this includes the more experienced 10 per cent who had become associated with the outlet since 1978.

Table 4-4

Broadcast Years by Category Indicated

N = 127

In Canada:	
Since 1972	74%
Since Before 1972	26%
With Current Outlet:	
Since 1978	50%
Since 1971	34%
Prior to or since 1951	13%

The median number of years with the current outlet = 3.

It is also interesting to note in Table 4-4 that this is similar to the finding in the Internal Pilot Study of Producers conducted by the CRTC. That study found that 50 per cent of their respondents had been in the field of broadcasting for fewer than five years. Since this report's study had no way of determining what per cent of the original CRTC survey group would still be active in the field six years later, it is difficult to account for the comparatively recent influx to the production ranks. Possibly it has something to do with the heightened profile that "multiculturalism" has had since the mid-1970s.

Respondents' recency of residency does not seem to be a contributing factor on its own since the percentage of the total group indicating that they had been resident in Canada within the past five years represents less than 12 per cent of the total group. Nor is age a reliable indicator of this more recent influx to production ranks, since the age

categories also distribute evenly across the categories, based on length of time involved in broadcasting.

Some sort of commitment feature is manifesting, however slight, that can be better discussed, if not accounted for, in light of some additional findings.

Table 4-5 indicates the percentage of respondents deriving their main livelihood from multilingual broadcasting; the nature of their broadcast role; the sort of training they have; and the number of outlets with which respondents are associated.

Table 4-5

Percentage by Category Item Indicated

N = 127

Main Livelihood:	
Broadcasting or Related Field	26%
Non-Broadcast	74%
Broadcast Role:	
On-air plus Production Aspects	71%
Off-air Only with Production Aspects	22%
Other	7%
Broadcast Outlet:	
One Outlet Only	81%
Two Outlets	13%
Three Outlets	6%
Training:	
On the Job	73%
Some Formal	27%

For purposes of the study, fields related to broadcasting included involvement in the print medium, or else the performing or film arts field. Twenty-six per cent are in this category, with roughly half

engaged full-time in broadcasting although as one respondent pointed out, full-time involvement was not to be mistaken for full-time salary.

Respondents claiming a non-broadcast field as their main livelihood when probed for career aspirations with respect to broadcasting, point up a commitment feature to broadcasting, with 59 per cent planning to continue part-time in their present capacity and 20 per cent, or one in five, seeking to move more fully into the field of language-specific production.

The broadcast role described by the greater majority of respondents was a multiple one, which in addition to on-air duties, included varied aspects of production ranging from program conception, writing, directing, assembling resources, on-air guests, and arranging for funding either through the sale of advertising or donations.

An indicator of this commitment feature also surfaces for the entire group. Slightly under half (48 per cent) planned to continue on whatever part-time basis and in whatever sector they were currently engaged. Roughly one out of ten indicated they would like to become engaged full-time in broadcasting in a language-specific vein. This is a useful finding to bear in mind when the information in Tables 4-6, 4-7 and 4-8 is examined.

Contours of Present Broadcast Involvement

Tables 4-6, 4-7 and 4-8, set out below, indicate the broad contours of the survey group's present broadcasting involvement in terms of the type of outlet and whether it is in the commercial or non-commercial sector and with respect to how respondents are associated with the outlet and the primary reason accounting for that association.

Table 4-6

Percentage by Type of Outlet and Sector

N = 152

Outlet	Commercial Sector	Non-Commercial Sector
Commercial AM Radio	25%	
Commercial FM Radio	13%	
Non-Commercial Radio		12%
Commercial Television	11%	
Community Cable Television		36%
Special Multicultural Channel		4%
	49%	52%
Total*	101%	

Table 4-7

Percentage on Basis of Outlet Association

N = 152

Outlet	Remunerative	Non-Remunerative
1) Full-time outlet staff	5%	
2) As in (1) plus Commissions on Advertising	4%	
3) Part-time outlet staff	5%	
4) As in (2) plus Commissions on Advertising	9%	
5) Syndicated Program Service	1%	
6) Independent air time purchase arrangement	14%	
7) Volunteer with no formal ethno-group ties		20%
8) Volunteer with formal ethno- or multicultural association ties		42%
	38%	62%
Total*	100%	

*Totals may exceed 100% owing to rounding error.

Table 4-8

Primary Instigation Feature

Accounting for Current Outlet Involvement

N = 127

1) Mainly personal initiative	37 per cent
2) Mainly outlet initiative	7 per cent
3) Combination of personal and outlet initiative	22 per cent
4) Recommended by, or personally knew, previous person doing the programming	9 per cent
5) Recommended by formal or informal group affiliation	22 per cent
6) Religious group affiliation	2 per cent
7) Commitment to media involvement to advance inter-ethnic group sharing	2 per cent
8) Other/Not identified	1 per cent
TOTAL*	102 per cent

* Total may exceed 100 per cent owing to rounding error

Of particular interest was the apparent contradiction in item (8) of Table 4-7 and the overall picture that emerges in Table 4-8 concerning the main reason for respondents' present outlet involvement. With 42 per cent of the respondents indicating volunteer capacity with a specific ethnic or multicultural association, it seemed somewhat incongruous that personal initiative was cited three-quarters of the time as the reason for how association with the current outlet came about.

It appears that acting on behalf of the voluntary association more often than not accounts for the initial contact with the broadcast outlet. The personal initiative and group initiative categories were cross-checked on the basis of number of years actually involved in multilingual

broadcasting. This analysis showed that the importance of group affiliation was greater within the past three years than prior to 1978. Although personal initiative holds evenly at roughly one-third for broadcast involvement for the periods 1951, 1961 and 1971, including the shorter period of 1978 to the present, group initiative stood at 56 per cent for that most recent period. Crossing the specific item (8) in Table 4-7 by how the association with the outlet came about, also supported this slight trend.

Not surprisingly, personal initiative is most clearly expressed when respondents discuss the major satisfaction they derived from their programming involvement. Linked to the gratification of audience feedback, which accounted for 30 per cent of the responses, was a 25 per cent grouping describing some aspect of personal satisfaction. Meeting cultural needs, language-specific pride, and fulfilling language-specific community information needs accounted for another 20 per cent, with 10 per cent citing specific broadcast career goals and the remainder dealing with a varied range of satisfaction.

Impairment Dimension

The survey clearly demonstrates that no one is more aware of the potential impairment dimension, or more sensitive to it, than the individual producers themselves. The production personnel registered a strong interest in continuing efforts to have the product quality improved. This is most clearly articulated when they described their major dissatisfactions.

Without characterizing responses as generally complaining when discussion moved to citing the sort of challenges, obstacles or major constraints confronting them, their major frustration was obvious. Exasperation with impediments blocking product improvement underscored the impairment dimension.

As Table 4-9 indicates, inadequate funding was the major obstacle most often cited, followed next by inadequate technical facilities in terms of either studio equipment or resource materials such as music and tapes.

Table 4-9

Challenge or Obstacle Most Often Cited

N = 244 Responses

Funds to ensure high level quality programming	25%
Inadequate technical facilities	13%
Heavy personal time commitment	6%
Not enough or inadequate scheduling time	4%
Other	19%
No real problems	16%
No response indicated	17%
Total	100%

It should also be mentioned that the commitment dimension gets a further accent as respondents focused on such things as lack of personal or adequate remuneration for efforts expended, and dissatisfaction with the amateurishness surrounding the cable production arrangements and a perception on the part of some respondents that there was a lack of commitment on the part of outlet personnel to the programming of language-specific groups.

Associational Maturity

There is little in the way of formal organizational arrangements to characterize the production personnel with respect to their multilingual broadcast involvement; however, a very definite majority (93 per cent) of the respondents expressed an interest in the establishment of more formal organizational ties and more than two-thirds of these expressed extreme interest. A scant 7 per cent indicated they would not be remotely interested. This very high expression of interest holds equally across age, province, outlet type, and association with outlet. The commitment feature to product improvement is unmistakable,

with 60 per cent seeing more formal association as a forum to facilitate information and idea exchanges. Twenty per cent envisaged an even more instrumental role for such an organization within the broadcast industry, particularly in the area of funding. While more veteran multilingual broadcasters expressed interest in the idea of an association, such interest was often tempered by concerns about structure and motivations of potential originators.

There is a lack of knowledge concerning the policy and regulatory features of multilingual broadcasting. Two open-ended questions concerning the nature, justification and desirability of specific changes in either policies or regulations were either not answered by about half the respondents or they stated that they had insufficient information to do so.

The half who did respond to the questions provided an array of opinions and suggestions. The frequency with which these re-occurred is presented in Table 4-10. Only about one in ten of the respondents were satisfied with the present policy and regulatory situation.

Table 4-10

Response Themes Elicited from 45 Per Cent of the Group

QUESTION: Are there specific changes to the existing broadcast policy or regulatory features you would say should be implemented with respect to radio, cable, or over-the-air television?	
RESPONSES:	Frequency
Canadian content rulings should be relaxed	16
Cable programming should be permitted to carry ads in multilingual programming	14
The CBC should review its policy not to air other language programming	12
CRTC should be more instrumental in helping ensure language-specific programming	7
Cable program exchange should be more possible	4
Status quo is fine	11
Other	33

Table 4-11

Response Themes Elicited From 45 Per Cent of the Group

QUESTION: How justified is current policy that inhibits, for example, such practices as brokering air time to independent producers in the case of commercial broadcasting or program exchange arrangements and alternate methods of underwriting production expenses, say, in the case of cable television?

RESPONSES:	Frequency
Favour Brokerage	13
Somewhat favour brokerage, but with reservations on its abuses	6
Not in favour of brokerage	6
Language-specific programming is a needed broadcast function	6
Alternate funding methods are needed to underwrite production	2
Respondent indicated insufficient knowledge of policy to proffer opinion	23
No response indicated	71

In summary, multilingual broadcasters provided ample evidence of a strong commitment to high professional standards to the broadcasting profession and for the product they provide their defined audience, but feel generally constrained by circumstances over which they have little or no control. While the 1974 CRTC report's suggestion that 80 per cent of the multilingual broadcasters "may be altogether marginal" in terms of "contact with broadcasting as an industry and a profession"[11] may still be descriptively accurate, the explanation for such marginality must be found within the industry and social setting rather than within the broadcasters themselves.

Chapter Four End Notes

1. Galbraith, G. and Horvath, J., "Pilot Study of Third Language Producers 1974." CRTC Library.
2. Multilingual Broadcasting in the 1970's. CRTC, 1974, page 31.
3. Ibid., page 32.
4. Ibid.
5. Internal CRTC documents preceding the Report publication did adopt a more critical line. See, for example, Lindsey, S. and Jetchick, S., "Internal Report CRTC Research Branch, Appendix v, "Status of Linguistic Broadcasting," 1971. This dealt with logging information that would be needed to undertake a thorough study of other language broadcasting. Horvath, J., "Study of Yugoslavian and Hungarian Radio Programs," 1973; Crossland, J., "Broadcasting in Non-Official Languages in the Vancouver Area," 1973; Bolton, Kenneth C., "Winnipeg Third Language Study," 1973; Caisse, Chartier et Associe Inc., "La programmation multiculturelle de la region de Montreal en langues non-officielles," 1972;
6. Participants in the multicultural media skill development courses conducted by Ryerson Institute of Technology during the winter and spring of 1980 and at the British Columbia Institute of Technology in late autumn of 1980, held an exchange of views on November 29, 1980 via a cross-country satellite link-up. The discussion included a focus on the problem of dealing with mainstream and alternate media approaches.
7. The commercial production unit of MTV, for example, has succeeded in producing several commercials for major clients that are comparable in technical standard and viewer impact to that produced by major private advertising firms in Toronto, and at less the cost ordinarily charged by such firms. Fieldwork interview, March 4, 1981.
8. Cultures Canada, June 1980, Volume 1, Number 5, page 2, was seeking input from people on the present CRTC definition of "community" and the trading or "bicycling" of programs from one community to another;

Cultures Canada, June 1980, Volume 1, Number 6, page 5, notes that "on a motion from the media committee (of the CCCM) the national executive has agreed to indicate to the CRTC that their definition of 'community' should not be limited as it now is to the geographical area of the licensee, but rather be broadened to include ethnocultural communities." Such a revised definition, the CCCM feels, would further the aims of multiculturalism.

9. Critics of the broadcast regulatory process and private broadcasting advance the case that the former has become a captive of the latter. See, for example, Babe, Robert E., Canadian Television Broadcasting, Structure, Performance and Regulation, a study prepared for the Economic Council of Canada, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1979.
10. CRTC Directory of Multilingual Broadcasting in Canada, 1974, p. vii.
11. Op. Cit., Multilingual Broadcasting in the 1970s, page 20.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOME ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF ACCOMMODATION

The United States

Government Policy

The policy of the American broadcast regulatory agency, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), is to license radio and television stations to broadcast in languages other than English on a full-time or part-time basis without any special restrictions. It seems probable that the FCC would be prevented by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution from making the kind of content and operating regulations about multilingual broadcasting which the CRTC has imposed in Canada. The position of the FCC also appears to be governed by Section 326 of the Communications Act, which reads as follows:

> Nothing in this Act shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the Commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication.

The only evident concern expressed by the FCC from time to time about multilingual broadcasting relates to the necessity for a station operator to maintain control over what is broadcast. A Commission memorandum, Opinion, and Order re Foreign Language Programming, FCC 73-269, dated March 7, 1973, sets out the responsibility of the station operator for program content and warns him of the risks involved in the sale of air time to program brokers.[1]

In summary, the U.S. government has not, in any way, restricted multilingual broadcasting by the commercial sector, up to and including full-time stations operating in a language, or languages, other than English. The U.S. government has also not intervened to encourage any degree of multilingual broadcasting by the public broadcasting system to which it grants substantial amounts of money.

Demographics

The U.S. 1970 census reported that 33.6 million out of 203 million residents were either foreign born (9.6 million) or native born of foreign or mixed foreign/native parentage (24 million).[2] Elimination of English-speaking stock reduces this to 28.2 million, or about 14 per cent of the population, who have a fairly direct connection with languages other than English.

Another indicator can be found in a 1975 Census Bureau study of languages spoken in the home, which showed that 25.6 million out of 196.7 million persons over the age of four years (or 13 per cent) used a language other than English as a first or second language in the home. From this latter survey, the larger groups, other than English, are shown in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1

United States -- Language Use of Persons Four Years of Age and Over

(000's)

	First Language	Second Language	Total	%
Spanish	4,822	5,189	10,011	39.1
Italian	522	2,331	2,853	11.1
German	157	2,131	2,288	9.0
French	285	1,990	2,275	8.9
Chinese	353	196	549	2.1
Japanese	109	418	527	2.0
Greek	161	327	488	1.9
Filipino	122	255	377	1.5
Portuguese	143	206	349	1.4
Korean	123	126	249	2.0
Others	966	4,648	5,614	22.0
Total	7,763	17,817	25,580	100.0

Commercial Broadcasting

This section will deal only with radio broadcasting, as no source of reliable data on television was located. There are about fifteen

full-time Spanish-language television stations in the United States and little other multilingual television broadcasting is done. No statistics were obtained for cable television.

Multilingual commercial radio broadcasting has shown a steady increase over the past twenty years as Table 5-2 indicates.

Table 5-2

U.S. Commercial Multilingual Radio Broadcasting

1960 - 1980

Year	Number of Stations Broadcasting Multilingual Programs	Number of Hours Broadcast Per Week
1960	n.a.	6,805
1970	823	9.944
1980	899	14,232

The 1960 figures are taken from a Language Resources Project survey sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare and reported in Joshua Fishman's, Language Loyalty in the United States.[3] The 1970 figures are from a survey carried out by the American Council for Nationalities Service,[4] but were aggregated and analyzed for this study as were the raw data for 1980 taken from the 1980 Broadcasting Cable Yearbook. For both 1970 and 1980, the hours broadcast by full-time non-English radio stations were calculated on the basis of an 18-hour broadcast day, seven days per week. This may be overly generous, as some stations are day-time operations only. Thus the figures should be treated with some caution. For 1980, the totals include 70 full-time Spanish-language stations (not including Puerto Rico) and twelve stations broadcasting full-time in other languages.[5]

The outstanding feature of multilingual radio broadcasting in the United States is the extent to which it is dominated increasingly by Spanish language programming, as Table 5-3 shows.

Table 5-3

U.S. Multilingual Commercial Radio Broadcasting

Language	No. and % Using Language Other Than English		Share of Hours of Radio Broadcasting Per Week					
	1975		1960 LRP Survey		1970 ACNS Survey		1980 Broadcasting Yearbook	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spanish	10,011	39.1	4,499	66.1	6,975	70.1	10,926	76.8
Italian	2,853	11.1	582	8.6	379	3.8	431	3.0
German	2,288	9.0	215	3.2	501	5.0	286	2.0
French	2,275	8.9	248	3.6	415	4.2	554	3.9
Japanese	527	2.0	--	--	430	4.3	600	4.2
Polish	--	--	438	6.4	516	5.2	682	4.8
Others	7,604	29.9	823	12.1	728	7.3	753	5.3
Total	25,580	100.0	6,805	100.0	9,944	100.0	14,232	100.0

Although Spanish-speaking people make up about 40 per cent of those claiming to use a language other than English, they benefit from about 77 per cent of all multilingual radio broadcasts. By contrast, the Italians, with 11 per cent of the population claiming use of a language other than English received only 3 per cent of multilingual radio broadcasts and had fewer hours in 1980 than they had in 1960. French, Japanese and Polish are holding their own in radio broadcasting and even gaining a little. German, like Italian, seems to be losing ground.

Most U.S. radio stations engaged in multilingual broadcasting have programs in only one language other than English, as Table 5-4 illustrates.

Table 5-4

Number of Languages Used by U.S. Radio Stations

Stations broadcasting in:	1970	1980
1 language	523	719
2 languages	169	110
3 languages	81	56
4 languages	38	10
5-9 languages	38	4
10 or more languages	7	--
Total	856*	899

* This total includes 33 American Indian language stations.

There is an apparent trend towards broadcasting in fewer languages in 1980 than was the case in 1970. For example, in 1970, 164 stations were broadcasting three or more languages while only 70 were doing so in 1980.

In summary, Spanish language radio represents almost all of the multilingual broadcast growth. For other language groups, growth is either relatively slow or the number of hours is actually declining.

Public Sector Broadcasting

According to a Task Force Report on Minorities in Public Broadcasting prepared for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and published in 1978,[6] minorities in the United States receive a minimal level of service from the public broadcasting system. In the terminology of the Task Force, "minorities" include black people who in the 1970 census made up about 11 per cent of the U.S. population. When blacks are added to the 13 - 14 per cent of the population claiming to use language other than English, "minorities" thus represent about 25 per cent overall.

The Task Force report notes that for radio in 1977, national programming on the public system included only 70 out of 1500 hours (4.7 per cent) in programs "by, for, and about racial/ethnic minorities."[7] As to local programming on the public radio system, out of 1,543 hours broadcast by twelve stations surveyed, 72 hours or 4.6 per cent were minority programs, including 60.6 hours for blacks, nine hours for Hispanics, 2.5 hours for native Americans, and none for European or Asian Americans.[8]

As for television, the Report noted that the Public Broadcasting System distributed 379 hours of minority programming in 1976-77, or about 20 per cent of all programs distributed. However, only about 27 per cent of public television stations actually show the minority programs distributed by the corporation.[9]

The Task Force found the situation in both radio and television totally unsatisfactory and recommended that minority programming should be funded and distributed on a basis at least equal to the percentage of the population represented by minorities. The Task Force also recommended that decision-making positions in the programming structure of the corporation be staffed with an adequate proportion of people from minority groups.[10]

A member of the Task Force, writing in mid-1980, claimed that there had been a total lack of response to the Task Force recommendations by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. He saw no sign that federal and state governments would intervene to improve the situation, notwithstanding the fact that $326 million out of $482 million (68 per cent) of funds for public broadcasting in 1977 came from the two levels of government.[11]

Australia

Government Policy

Multilingual broadcasting was virtually non-existent in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s. Regulation prohibited more than 2.5 per cent of

the time of any radio station from being devoted to foreign languages. Policy at that time was said to emphasize the need for all newcomers to assimilate into the Australian way of life.[12] Although the 2.5 per cent limit was removed in the 1960s, by 1973 only 19 of Australia's 118 commercial stations regularly broadcast multilingual programs, for a total of 36 hours per week, and the Australian Broadcasting Commission had only two programs.

In the mid-1970s, the government increasingly recognized that "migrants" were not being reached by the broadcast media and were not taking part in the process of integration which had replaced assimilation as the government's goal. Moreover, Australia, which was dependent upon immigration for a slow but steady increase in population, was unable to hold its new citizens, for the "out-migration" rate reached 30 per cent per annum in the nine-year period 1966-74.[13]

Thus, to reduce the flow of out-migration and to better integrate new citizens, the Australian government launched multilingual broadcasting with experimental stations in Sydney and Melbourne between 1975 and 1977. As the Australian Broadcasting Commission showed reluctance to take over the service, the government decided in 1977 to create a new agency, the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), which was brought into being by an amendment to the Broadcasting and Television Act the same year. The service is headed by a chairman and a board of two to six members, all of whom are appointed by the government and serve on a part-time basis. They receive advice on ethnic broadcasting policy from a National Ethnic Broadcasting Advisory Council appointed by the Minister of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

The government's philosophy and objectives with regard to multilingual broadcasting are revealed to a large extent by a set of criteria or code of principles laid down for the guidance of the SBS, as follows:[14]

> To provide a medium for presenting to non-English speaking residents of Australia, entertainment, news and other information in their own languages.
>
> Assist those from other cultures to maintain them and pass them on to their

descendants and other Australians.

Provide information and advice on the rights and obligations of residents in Australia and on other matters to assist the non-English speaking migrant to settle speedily, happily and successfully.

Encourage and facilitate the learning of English.

Provide as adequately and equitably as possible for all ethnic groups including those which are numerically small.

Assist in promoting mutual understanding and harmony between and within ethnic groups and between ethnic groups and the English speaking community.

Avoid political partisanship.

The SBS began an experimental television service in Melbourne and Sydney in April, 1979, using the facilities of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. The government then introduced legislation in 1980 to establish a new Independent and Multicultural Broadcasting Company to operate the television service on a continuing basis, but the legislation was stalled in the Senate. As a result, the government fell back on existing authority to have the SBS run the television service which became a permanent part of the structure in October, 1980.[15]

Funding for the Special Broadcasting Service increased from $A49,000 in 1975 to $A1.9 million in 1978 and to $A4.5 million in 1979.[16] It is not known what figure the budget reached in 1980 with the introduction of television.

There have been charges that the SBS displays a bureaucratic insensitivity to the needs and aspirations of the ethnic communities. Such an accusation was made, for example, by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council in a brief to the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts in June, 1980.[17] The charges seemed serious enough that the government was prepared to assign responsibility for the television service to a different agency.

While it is too early to judge the success of the Special Broadcasting Service, the Australian government did recognize the failure of the commercial sector and the ABC to provide multilingual programming, and has taken steps to try to correct the situation.

Demographics

In the 1971 Census, about 1.4 million Australians out of a total of 12.8 million (or 11 per cent) were registered as foreign born in countries other than English-speaking.[18] The five largest groups registered in 1971 are shown in Table 5-5.*

Table 5-5

Nationality of Origin	Number
Italian	289,476
Greek and Cypriot	173,467
Yugoslav	129,816
German	110,811
Dutch	99,295

While the 11 per cent foreign born population from non-English speaking countries would probably represent the prime audience for multilingual broadcasting, it may also hold some interest for Australians of mixed/foreign parentage. In 1976, 2.5 million out of 13.5 million (or one in five) were estimated to be either non-English speaking foreign born, or children born in Australia with at least one parent in that group.[19] Thus, it is not surprising that multilingualism and multiculturalism are of considerable interest in Australia.

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* The complete listing of countries of origin may be found in Price, C.A., Australian Immigration. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1975, Table C.

The Service Provided

Multilingual broadcasting in Australia is provided almost entirely by a specially established government agency, the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). This service operates radio and television stations in Sydney and Melbourne, and finances multilingual radio programs on public broadcasting (that is, community) stations in a number of other cities and towns. The major state broadcasting agency, the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), and commercial stations provide a negligible amount of multilingual programming.

Table 5-6 shows most of the multilingual radio broadcasting being done in 1979, the year after the SBS came into operation.

Table 5-6

Multilingual Radio Broadcasting in Australia

1979 -- Hours Per Week

SBS Station Sydney (2EA)	126 hours	41 languages[20]
SBS Station Melbourne (3EA)	126 hours	41 languages
PBS Stations (15)	297 hours	2-35 languages[21]
Commercial Stations	16 hours	covers only five cities[22]
ABC Stations	12 hours	
TOTAL	577 hours per week	

In addition, the SBS began offering television in Sydney and Melbourne in October, 1980, in twelve languages for 35 hours on each station, or a total of 70 hours per week.

The grand total of all multilingual broadcasting in Australia is, therefore, in the order of 700 to 800 hours per week. One authority suggested a total of 747 hours for radio broadcasting in 1979.[23]

The SBS tries to serve a wide variety of language interests. The 1979 schedule for radio station 2EA in Sydney included transmissions

in 36 languages other than English. The larger time blocks are shown in Table 5-7.[24]

Table 5-7

Selected Languages Broadcast -- Radio Station 2EA Sydney - 1979

Italian	10:30 hours per week
Greek	10:30 hours per week
Arabic	9:15 hours per week
Turkish	6:15 hours per week
German	6:00 hours per week
Spanish	6:00 hours per week
Maltese	5:00 hours per week

The SBS operates its own news bureau to provide bulletins of Australian and international news for the various language programs. Other broadcasts include traditional and popular music, current affairs, sports, "bulletin board" service about cultural, religious and community events, and information about citizen's rights and responsibilities to help newcomers adjust to life in Australia.[25]

On the new multilingual television service, all programs carry English sub-titles in the expectation that the service may appeal to Australians of all language groups. For this purpose, the service employs more than one hundred sub-titlers and translators.[26] Languages employed in television broadcasts include Greek, Italian, Yugoslav, Polish, Arabic, Swedish, Portuguese, French and German.

Comparing the Models of Accommodation

Structures

In Canada and the United States, commercial operators have found it viable to provide multilingual broadcasting. On the whole, commercial

radio has been more receptive than commercial television. In Australia, by contrast, commercial operators have not been attracted into multilingual broadcasting and the national government found it necessary to set up a special state corporation to provide it.

Government Roles

The Canadian government, because of its policy of multiculturalism, has on occasion made pronouncements in favour of multilingual broadcasting, and has devoted some money in grants to voluntary organizations engaged in the preparation of broadcasts (see page 22). The CRTC has proscribed growth by a variety of restrictions on multilingual radio broadcasting. As a matter of policy, the national broadcasting service, the CBC, does not provide domestic multilingual broadcasting.

The United States government has maintained a "hands-off" position, and if it has not aided the development of multilingual broadcasting, neither has it hindered it. The Federal Communications Commission has no special requirements except to give special emphasis to the station operator's responsibility for content of programs where languages other than English are used. The U.S. government apparently does not exert pressure on the public broadcasting system to devote more time to multilingual broadcasting in return for financial support. It does, however, make modest grants under the Emergency School Education Act for bilingual educational programs.[27]

In Australia, most multilingual broadcasting is being done by the government, through a specially established agency, the Special Broadcasting Service, which offers both radio and television. Substantial amounts of money are being allocated by the government to the SBS for this broadcasting work.

It is interesting to note that none of the tax-supported broadcasting systems in the three countries, i.e. the CBC in Canada, the PBS in the United States, and the ABC in Australia, has involved itself to any degree in the provision of multilingual broadcasting services.

Levels of Service

There is insufficient information about the quality of the service being offered in the three countries to make any comparison. On the level of quantity, a crude comparison is offered with many reservations in Table 5-8. Note that the data is provided for radio only.

Table 5-8

Comparison of Radio Broadcasting -- Hours Per Week

Canada, United States and Australia, 1979-80

	Canada	United States	Australia
(a) Total population	23 million (1976)	217 million (1977)	13 million (1971)
(b) Size of group interested in multilingual broadcasting	2.4 million*	26 million**	2.5 million***
(c) (b) as a % of (a)	10%	12%	19%
(d) Hours per Week of Multilingual Broadcasting	679 (1980)	14,232 (1980)	747 (1979)
(e) Estimated Weekly Hours -- All Radio Broadcasts	71,000	1,102,000	34,000
(f) (d) as a % of (e)	.95%	1.3%	2.2%

* Mother tongue claimants other than English, French and native Canadian.

** Claimants of first or second language other than English in the home.

*** Foreign born of other than English mother tongue and children born in Australia of at least one parent in that group.

The make-up of the various groups interested in multilingual broadcasting (item (b) of Table 5-8) is not strictly comparable. Nevertheless, the figures are interesting in that none of the three countries is providing multilingual radio broadcasting to an extent that corresponds to the percentage which the potentially interested group represents among

the total population. Australia has the highest percentage of multilingual broadcast hours (2.2 per cent) but also the highest percentage of "migrants" (19 per cent). The United States total of 14,232 hours per week vastly exceeds ten times the Canadian total of 679 hours per week which might be expected using a rule of thumb frequently applied in Canada-U.S. relations. But all in all, Australia with 2.2 per cent, the United States with 1.3 per cent, and Canada with under 1.0 per cent (see page 93) are all offering a minimal level of service despite the three different approaches taken to the provision of multilingual broadcasting.

Policy Goals in Practice

The goal of the Canadian government is that citizens speaking neither English nor French should integrate into one of these dominant language groups, but be free to retain their own language and culture. Section 38 of Canada's Official Languages Act passed on September 7, 1969, notes that:

> nothing in this Act should be construed as derogating from or diminishing in any way legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed either before or after [passage of the Act] with respect to any language that is not an official language.[28]

Australia, too, advocates integration over assimilation.[29] No recent statements by the government of the United States on integration versus assimilation have been found. While there is no officially prescribed language in the United States, there is no question that the operative language is English. To try to determine whether Canada and Australia are cultural and linguistic mosaics, whereas the United States a melting pot, would involve a consideration of many more features of the three societies than multilingual broadcasting. However, a few observations may be offered about the effects of such broadcasting in the three countries.

In all three countries, multilingual broadcasting is growing, both as to number of outlets and hours of broadcast. In Canada, Italian shows

up strongly, and Greek and Portuguese continue to have a relatively high share of hours broadcast. German showed an increase between 1972 and 1980 though disproportionately low in total hours. Much of the growth in total hours is in additional languages. For example, if all the Indo-Pakistani languages in the study's radio survey are grouped together, they add up to 43.5 hours per week, or 6.4 per cent of the total. It could be argued that multilingual broadcasting in Canada is providing a comprehensive service to the larger groups (e.g., Italian and German) at one end of the spectrum, and a minimal service to a very wide range of other language groups at the other.

Continued broadcasting of a language in Canada depends, among other things, on commercial sponsorship and it is here that the heavy concentrations of groups such as the Italians and Greeks in the metropolitan centres of Toronto and Montreal help to ensure the continuation of broadcasting in those languages.

In brief, Canada may be said to claim at least some of the elements of the linguistic and cultural mosaic.

In the United States there seems to be no doubt about the survival of the Spanish language which now dominates multilingual broadcasting in that country. The Spanish-speaking group is not being lost in the melting pot and benefits from a continued influx of Spanish-speaking people as well as from the availability of programming from Mexico and South America.

The fate of other languages in the United States seems more problematical. Although French, Japanese, and Polish enjoyed increased radio broadcast hours as between 1970 and 1980, the relatively large Italian and German groups were static or lost ground, as did all other languages. There seems to be a good possibility that all languages except Spanish will be lost in the melting pot.

In Australia it is too soon to say whether the Special Broadcasting Service will contribute to the mosaic or the melting pot. Australia is making a greater effort than Canada or the United States to achieve inter-group understanding by requiring sub-titling in English on all multilingual television programs. The SBS is also expected to provide

information and advice to help multilingual groups adapt to life in Australia and to learn their rights and responsibilities. Time will tell if these measures are effective in achieving the Australian government's goal of a multicultural society.

Chapter Five End Notes

1. Pike and Fischer, Radio Regulation -- Consolidated Digest, Vol. 2. Pike and Fischer Inc., Washington, 1969, pps 52-225.
2. U.S. Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1978. Washington, 1978, p. 38.
3. Fishman, Joshua, ed., Language Loyalty in the United States. Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1966.
4. American Council for Nationality Service, Radio Stations in the United States Broadcasting Foreign Language Programs. New York, 1970.
5. While the 1980 Broadcasting Cable Yearbook lists 104 stations broadcasting full-time in Spanish, the Minorities Enterprise Division of the FCC advised in March, 1981, that there were approximately 70 such stations and the latter figure has been used here.
6. Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Task Force Report on Minorities in Public Broadcasting, 1978. Washington, 1978.
7. Ibid., p. 38.
8. Ibid., p. 39.
9. Ibid., p. 39.
10. Ibid., p. xxii.
11. Berkman, David, "Minorities in Public Broadcasting" in Journal of Communication 30:3, Summer 1980.
12. Ethnic Broadcasting in Australia, 1979. Special Broadcasting Service, Sydney, 1979, p. 22.
13. Price, C.A., Australian Immigration. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1975, p. 6.
14. Ethnic Broadcasting in Australia, 1979, p. 6.
15. From notes in a conversation with Dr. George Zubrzycki, Chairman, Australian Ethnic Affairs Council and Professor J. Weston, Carleton University, Ottawa, October 16, 1980.
16. Bailey, Julie, "The Road to Ethnic Television," in Media Information Australia, No. 15, February, 1980, p. 14.

17. Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, Submission by the Ethnic Media Consultative Panel to the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, June 1980, p. 3.
18. Population and Australia -- A Demographic Analysis and Projection. Government Printer of Australia, Canberra, 1975, p. 15.
19. Tolhurst, Julian, "Research into Broadcasting to and for the Ethnic Communities," in Media Information Australia, No. 15, February 1980, p. 53.
20. Sklovsky, G.A., "Special Broadcasting Service," in Media Information Australia, No. 15, February 1980, p. 17.
21. "P.B. Stations Carrying Ethnic Programs," in Media Information Australia, No. 15, February 1980, pps. 46-48.
22. Tolhurst, Op. Cit., pps. 54-55.
23. Ibid., p. 53.
24. Ethnic Broadcasting in Australia, 1979, p. 28.
25. Ibid., p. 5.
26. News Bulletin, Radio Australia News, February 8, 1981.
27. Keller, E. and Roel, R., "Foreign Languages and U.S. Cultural Policy: an Institutional Perspective," in Journal of Communication 29:2, Spring 1979, p. 108.
28. Official Languages Act, R.S.C., 1970, p. 5599.
29. Ethnic Broadcasting in Australia, 1979, p. 5.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SLATE OF CANADIAN CONCERNS REVISITED

A Core Dilemma

It does not take judicial expertise to spot the broadcast policy inconsistencies nor cite the inequities in practices arising from the accommodation of language diversity in Canadian broadcasting. Some of the finest minds have addressed these as a subset of the pattern of inconsistencies that characterize the entire broadcasting set-up[1] in Canada. It would, nonetheless, tax the best magician to even approach systems perfection. Regulatory hopes of achieving perfection risk playing the sorcerer's apprentice.

With multilingual broadcasting largely consigned to the private commercial sector, the application of various policy and regulatory instruments appear to shackle the commercial imperatives which form the major distinguishing feature of this sector. Policy puts percentage limits on the amount of multilingual programming which specially licensed off-air outlets can carry in weekly schedules. Multilingual programming in the cable realm is prohibited from including advertising or engaging in major program exchange arrangements. Closed circuit cable radio operations can engage in the former and FM radio in all three. Off-air multilingual outlets have the dubious distinction of a special status by virtue of these restrictions. If the policy that shackles commercial imperatives was lifted for off-air outlets and cable originated multilingual programming, then normalcy would be achieved with respect to the off-air outlets, but anomalies would be introduced into the cable realm.

Allowing advertising on multilingual cable programming apart from putting it in a competititive posture vis-a-vis off-air outlets, would confer a special status on these program interests. Effecting such regulatory dispensation would mean parting company with the principle of the overall Canadian broadcasting set-up being treated as a single, integrated "system."[2]

However, the qualifier on notions of an integrated system reveals a core dilemma. As the Broadcasting Act now reads, that "system" gives a statutory edge to the national broadcasting service, the CBC. The Act ascribes expectations to the CBC over and above those which apply to the private constituents of the "system." Section 3(g) spells out this special mandate and goes on to state in Section 3(h) that:

> where any conflict arises between the objectives of the national broadcasting service and the interests of the private element of the Canadian broadcasting system, it shall be resolved in the public interest but paramount consideration shall be given to the objectives of the national broadcasting service. (emphasis added)

The historical antecedents as to why the total system was not committed to all or some of Section 3(g) need not detain this discussion. According paramountcy to one sector results in an unbalanced system. The imbalance reflects an underlying mistrust critically aimed at the private sector. The mistrust is underscored by Section 3(g) iv, in the CBC mandate which states that: "...[the CBC] shall contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity." Some move toward systems balance would encompass all elements, both private and public, under this tenet.

Exerting pressure on the CBC to offer other language programming apart from existing commitment to Inuit and Canadian Indian languages does nothing to offset this basic systems imbalance. Nor does it remove the tacit mistrust levelled at the private elements. Such lobbying addresses the less weighty concerns. It fails to redress the imbalance or resolve a core dilemma. Undoubtedly public pressure will continue to be brought on the CBC to include other language broadcasting. Chances of successfully achieving a shift in the present mandate interpretation of Section 3(g) ii, dealing with provision of service in English and French, is contingent on broad-based political currency. Even if the present Broadcasting Act were re-drafted to encompass notions of multicultural heritage as now couched in the proposed Canadian

Charter of Rights and Freedom,[3] the prospect of CBC other language formats remains remote. The ethno-linguistic cultures remain compressed, mixed-format isolates.

The Circumstantial Web

In general terms, the policy inconsistencies characterizing the accommodation of language diversity can be attributed to the sequential place each broadcast medium has had in the evolution of broadcast technology. As traced in Chapter Three, the policy rationale marking any given medium has come as an experiential product of the times in which it was cast.

A mixture of pragmatic problem-solving, political impetus, and principle characterized such stages. This was especially the case since the configuration of services in the private sector was invariably in advance of the policy framework to which they would be expected to conform. Compounding this has been the cumulative layer of functions that successive actors in the policy realm have assigned to multilingual broadcasting. Added to all, are the natural delivery limitations circumscribing each type of broadcast medium as a result of entry costs, scheduling constrictions, resource availability and technical operating constraints. Consequently, the slate of institutional and social concerns related to the accommodation of language diversity offers two attenuating circumstances:

> Given its predominantly private sector situation, any meaningful, as opposed to token achievement of policy-ascribed functions is entrusted, for better or worse
> (1) in the commercial realm of that sector, to the vagaries of marketplace behaviour with its commercial imperatives and whatever infusion of public funding that may be successfully exploited, and

> (2) these functions in the non-commercial realm of that sector are entrusted to program efforts that rely on exploiting alternate funding sources in the private or public domain.

A third attenuating circumstance on multilingual broadcasting subsumes the preceding two:

> (3) where off-air spectrum availability is scarce, broadcast policy encourages such things as program exchanges, syndication and at least the semblance of informal networking arrangements; but, where spectrum channels offer the prospect of greatly expanded, if not infinite supply, policy is hesitant in encouraging similar arrangements and deferential to the interests already invested in off-air spectrum scarcity.

By pulling together the developmental skeins of multilingual broadcasting and pegging analysis of its accommodation to tenets of the Broadcasting Act, this final chapter will attempt to shed some understanding on how language diversity is expected to hold its own within this circumstantial web.

High Standards and All That Entails

The locus of policy inconsistency with respect to accommodating language diversity is Section 3(d) of the Broadcast Act, which calls on all parts of the "system" to provide programming that is

> ...of high standard using predominantly Canadian creative and other resources.

Can Con and Quantitative Formulas

The 60-40 or 40-60 predilection, whether applied to Canadian content or third language content, is vexing to some and untenable to others. Canadian content and third language content may be mutually exclusive by definition. The scale of operation, audience to be attracted, and service to be mounted when it comes to multilingual fare might well detract from a predominant focus on creative Canadian and other resources, although they cannot be said to detract from Canadian-based ingenuity in provision of program service. Of critical importance is the fact that present logging practices on "foreign" or "third language" mask just how at odds or how congruent Canadian content and third language content may be. The congruence or lack thereof goes administratively unheeded and would appear to be a regulatory blindspot born of more pressing workload priorities.

Whose High Standards?

Production efforts can be counted on to be exclusively Canadian creative resources in the realm of community cable originations in other language formats. The commitment to high standards there is possible only within the bounds of existing funding arrangements, definitions of "community" and impediments to program exchange.

The translation of high standards has inspired some interesting definitions. The MTV licence application indicated with respect to technical production values that they "are expressed in the content and not the technical excellence."[4] This same eight hundred-page brief went on to say that "the CFMT face will not be talking heads."[5] Twelve months after the MTV start-up, one critical opinion noted that MTV is "mostly just two people talking on a screen."[6]

Production Access/Alternate Production Modes

Strictures against advertising on cable originated programming are rooted in the role assigned to cable which was to complement, not compete with, off-air broadcasters. The rationale in part was to protect the advertising revenue base of conventional outlets. This rationale is waived in the case of closed circuit cable radio which is allowed to advertise in third languages and not required to hold a broadcast licence.

Recently this threat posture and the fragmented audience arguments that it rests on has been shifting ground considerably. The ascendant notion places the onus of proof of economic damage on the existing outlets.[7] If that thinking has any widespread currency, multilingual outlets will have to mount their case on those grounds with respect to closed circuit cable radio. Closed circuit cable radio came as one result of the limited air time that off-air outlets could allot to a given language. This was, in turn, compounded by the percentage ceilings.

More problematical is the fact that such cable radio operations operate without a direct licence. The legal and administrative burden for ensuring no regulatory transgressions devolves on the licensed cable operator. The implication of this non-licensed broadcast service raises a host of legal perplexities with respect to satellite delivery arrangements. These will not be addressed in this report except to say that commercial imperatives and notions of access form the leading edge of whatever stands are taken.

More relevant to this discussion of access and alternate production modes is the <u>step-removed posture</u> the provision of closed circuit cable takes from the traditionally firm stand by off-air owners that

> all persons licensed to carry on broadcasting undertakings have a responsiblity for programs they broadcast... (Section 3(c)).

This is the much-used anchor for claims against alternate production practices. These include independent air time purchase arrangements. Less quoted from this particular section is the subsequent statement

that:

> the right of persons to receive programs subject only to generally applicable statutes is unquestioned.

No statutory light is shed on the right of persons to produce and acquire program services beyond licensees. Stated differently, notions of production access as a principled feature of broadcast policy are not apparent. Consequently, in terms of multilingual broadcasting and independent air time purchase arrangements, a lockout mentality is at work on the part of licensees. It has little patience for other program services which might benefit their scheduled offerings. In terms of special multicultural program channels, this has resulted in an extremely unresolved operational feature. Production efforts there, whether for indigenous Canadian-based originations or impressario roles, must contend with the possibility of a licensed multilingual operation from elsewhere in Canada supplanting their efforts (see Chapter Two, page 21).

To return to Section 3(c), multilingual licensees interpret this section to mean they have the sole responsibility, not merely a responsibility. It is a subtle but important shading. Understandably, these licence- holders have made a substantial investment in staking their claim on the public air waves. They do not welcome subjecting it to risk and liability, nor undoing their imaginative and attractive marketing efforts. Nevertheless, all other claims and commitments to ensure responsibility for program control are secondary to maintaining a competitive edge in the market place.

Multilingual licence-holders have an equally understandable desire for respectability within the broadcast industry ranks. They hold a place within that industry that conforms to industry norms even if operating below them in economic terms. Anything fuelling a negative image in the eyes of the industry peers becomes a debit to be expunged. "Brokerage" and other questionable practices fall into that column.[8]

Multilingual licensees exhibit a brand of double-think on brokerage. On the one hand they condone the revenue from sale of air time

for religious program segments. On the other, they bemoan the disruption to the revenue picture by independent producers who, though willing to mount calibre programming, are not willing to accept the outlet's financial terms. The additional revenue resulting from re-sale of that time is lost to the outlet's revenue. It is a contentious area since the independent comes to have an entrenched proprietary attitude toward that time slot. None of this is to suggest that irregularities in commercial logging or compliance with Food and Drug clearance or income declarations should be condoned. The point at issue is whether the case of what could be called the honest broker has been adequately heard.

Whatever motivations fuel the regulatory and franchise holder's bid to dislodge such practices can only be speculated upon. It can be seriously questioned whether the area of independent air time purchase arrangements has been fully aired. Judging from this report's findings, such practices would appear to be a minimal aspect of overall production arrangements. But as also stated, there is an unwillingness to discuss the matter openly given the current regulatory climate. Nevertheless, this study received a preponderate percentage of people speaking on the practice with favour (see Table 4-11).

Throwing out all such practices seems a hasty step. The item of independent air time purchase arrangements warrants inclusion on the agenda of concerns relating to independent production within the "system." Admittedly, that is a bit like going from the skillet to the fire given the issue of vertical integration that figures in that agenda. At a bare minimum, such inclusion would accord legitimacy to rightful claims that may be getting snuffed out. Here again a statutory foothold on the principle of access is lacking.

The somewhat complex expostulations on production, exhibition and distribution spelled out in a recent position paper offer a direction that independent production arrangements could take.[9]

Easing the Nub of Policy Inconsistencies

Reconciling Canadian content and multilingual broadcasting's natural draw on product from points abroad seems a likely discussion lever to unlock the stand-off between licence-holders and independents. Pumping that lever would, of course, trigger cries of special concession from other private outlets. Their existing track record could only amount to a hollow case.[10]

Functions Within Functions

With the possible exception of the CBC mandate, the mandate set for multilingual broadcast outlets -- regardless of how well or indifferently it is met-- surpasses anything that other broadcast outlets are called upon to do in terms of functions. The multilingual mandate sets out a stream of difficult to measure functions such as integration, fostering cross-cultural sharing, diffusing intra-group differences and "bridging" chasms.[11] What is interesting, though not enlightening in this regard, is the implicit assumption that only such outlets should be called upon for this lot of functions. It virtually assumes that only such outlets will be relied on by listeners and viewers for such ends.

As a conduit for essential survival or needed relaxation for anyone whose recency or age precludes a proficiency in English or French, the function performed by multilingual outlets is of undisputed importance. Established independent third language producers depart from this function and often have little patience for it.

Their program interests focus more on using the broadcast medium as a natural means of sharing and imparting the best and/or most popular of product from abroad. The vital distinction is that such fare can also complement indigenous entrepreneurial initiative. Such program service situates in the cultural domain of achievement or proven popularity. It is not necessarily confined to artistic endeavours of a "high brow" nature. Whatever its appeal, it can be counted on to aim

for some sort of standards defined and set by the particular genre of product.

Where such third language fare also emanates from the Canadian experience, despite existing odds against its mass diffusion, its availability and the promise of same should not be passed over simply because it is "unicultural" third language fare.

The multiple functions of serving a multilingual audience have been innovatively set in operation by cable and off-air outlets. Judging from a cursory look at language retention rates,[12] the practical day-to-day or week-to-week showcasing of Canada's linguistic diversity gets put in place at considerable market risk. It involves a welter of extra, but necessary, administrative tasks such as script translations. Commercial imperatives and intra-group wrangling notwithstanding, multilingual broadcast interests have attempted a form of celebration and service to Canada's pluralistic make-up. They have kept the language component intact. The Broadcast Policy, in seeking to protect these imperatives, has shackled them. The practical ramifications of multiculturalism have given them short shrift. The reward has been a defensive mentality fretting over a diminution to the status of English or French as official languages. The carry-over in thinking that permitting a natural growth in other language broadcast hours will be an activist step toward official other language recognition is fatuous, if not self-serving.

Putting the Accent Where It Belongs

The preceding seems to have gone far afield from the original discussion focus on "high standards." Discussion comes full cycle when one considers the prime licensing supposition on two key items: talent and ad dollars.

It is either tacitly assumed or explicitly stated that multilingual broadcast talent will be closely linked with the respective ethnolinguistic community comprising the target audience. It is a narrow supposition that can get translated by "groups" to mean a particular

spokesperson will be representing that group to the exclusion or slight of others. Such a supposition cannot be said to seriously apply to other broadcast talents programming in French or English. Admittedly, some thinking has it that had more attention been paid to selecting a cross-section of ethno-specific talent, the inadequate reflection of Canadian society would have been nipped in the bud.[13] However, the point being raised here is that again the multilingual outlet is singled out for a special operating criterion.

If all the constituent elements do, in fact, form a "single system" with respect to "high standards," the selection criteria used by outlets will be one accenting actual or potential talent. Selection will not be wed to some narrowly defined non-broadcast commitment. Otherwise it falls short of shouldering the social responsibility of a broadcast role dedicated to facilitating balanced, comprehensive, program service. Operating realities on this score have yet to relieve other language production talent from a taxing multiplicity of roles. As one interviewee remarked: the term 'broadcast producer' applied to multilingual broadcasting is just a euphemism for glorified salesman.

In light of this consideration, if the accommodation of language diversity in Canadian broadcasting is to be singled out -- as it presently is anyway -- let it be for the right set of reasons. In other words, the policy and operational accent should fall naturally on the role of fostering Canadians' other language production efforts. It is a disservice to those efforts if the policy and operational gesture stems from other than committed recognition that the country's linguistic diversity and ethno-cultural maintenance is a natural resource to be fostered and shared.

At an international level Canada, as a sovereign state, has made such a commitment both as a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in its 1976 accession to the UNESCO Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Section 1 (1) of that Covenant gives the signpost of such commitment:

> All peoples have the right of self determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their

economic social and cultural development.

Section 27 of the Covenant states that:

> In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Practical Operating Realities

Translated into practical terms, aspiring and established broadcast talent in other language programming have a sobering reality to confront. The potential language-specific audience is numerically small in marketplace terms and conceivably indifferent if they exhibit media use patterns characteristic of the society in general. Seeking the resonant refuge that radio has the potential to supply or the seductive images that television can beam, is not something that can or should be dictated. It remains a user's prerogative. It must be wooed and earned.

The cumulative layer of functions assigned to multilingual broadcasting has yet to totally dis-inter itself from the subtractive rather than the additive[14] features of multilingual broadcasting as a natural part of Canadian society and an integral part of its broadcasting. Even with that accommodation more securely in place, far and away more challenging operational features still leave a stacked deck.

Non-Commercial Pitfalls

At an operational level, market conditions and entry threshold costs hold sway. Diminishing threshold entry costs by deployment of low powered FM set-ups in the non-commercial sector, for example, though a partial solution has its own built-in impairments. One of

these is the "revolving door syndrome" with respect to talent. Community cable programmers were the first to coin the notion. It amounts to the fact that a great variety of people accessing the cable channel or radio platform are motivated to do so for all sorts of reasons. Within the scheduling constrictions, implicit in any operation and even with scheduling flexibility, the reliance is on volunteer time and conviction. These are not subject to a predictable stay. Volunteer longevity also engenders its own drawbacks having to do with complacency and lack of innovation over time.

A more sinister assessment of this resort to scaled-down cost operations -- quite apart from the impairment feature risked with respect to inferior presentation calibre traced in Chapter Four -- is that it risks being a state-induced co-opting technique. In such a scenario the potential conflict issues related to social change and improvement being sought can operate to defuse such conflict and dissipate efforts at needed change by sheer systems inertia. In the final analysis, a combination of eroded volunteer commitment and target audience apathy can be counted on to depress and eventually extinguish any vitality. A third potential drawback to reduced cost alternatives is that they may well be taken by middle scale language-specific citizens as acts of tokenism at best, and second class treatment at worst.

Commercial Sector Impairments

In the commercial sector such socio-economic indices form the basis of audience definition. They have more to do with how many cars a potential listener owns, what age bracket he falls into, what earning power and disposable income he has. This is the unvarnished reality into which such finer, less readily indexed functions must fit. The notions of cultural maintenance and linguistic retention may court shortfall by definition and serve a subtractive, not additive, role.

Improvement in Numbers

Although an amalgam of combined effort in the field of multilingual broadcasting offers a practical solution and one that received an overwhelming expression of high interest (see page 76), it is one that may fly in the face of traditional market place behaviour when position in that environment is threatened. At best, it would be a delicate one to put in place. Although the major multilingual radio outlet owners appear to be seeking some sort of organizational regroupment, the overall lack of associational maturity and direction for production interests must be taken as an adverse measure of multilingual broadcasting's more solid situation in the broadcast landscape. The tie-in MTV seeks with provincial and federal voluntary multicultural associations becomes an alternate regroupment tactic. In both cases it is difficult to perceive the positive benefits for dedicated production ranks in the field of multilingual programming. State agency funding initiatives or involvement can only come as a suspect gesture. On balance, an atmosphere rife with uncertainty and charged with overlapping ambitions seems an unpropitious one in which to effect a consolidation of co-operative effort.

In the operational realm of cable television, it is one that presently isolated production efforts across the country are going to have to come to grips with since traditional regulation thinking has bent to the off-air investment interests.

The Product Price

In terms of tapping product from points abroad, the diverse multilingual broadcast efforts currently embarked in this area, risk creating a "seller's market" which has been the case of conventional single language program purchasing for the Canadian industry at large.[15] Competing buyers, regardless of the size of their operational base, could in their foreign source acquisitions induce an inflationary cost spiral

into the exhibition picture. No detailed examination of these costing implications is being attempted in this report, but certain structural implications already manifesting warrant some comment.

The MTV operation based in Toronto countenances itself as the main Canadian buyer and product exhibitor. It remains unclear just how that operation will dove-tail into pre-existing ones.

Equally serious is the impact on indigenous production efforts characterizing the regional multicultural channel operations. The production unit originally organized in Montreal to mount programming has been the victim of internal splinters whose wrinkles are still being ironed out. Given the key link of a cable industry leader to what can be called the only, if not the, multilingual television leader, do the isolated independents stand a chance? If existing off-air television operations have no scheduling room or no inclination to accommodate exterior production practices (forcing them to operate from another base as is the case in British Columbia), then it is difficult to predict a certain outcome beyond saying there will be continued turbulence for an indeterminate time.[16]

Were the state-funded national broadcasting service in Canada to adopt an across-the-board ease up on other language production beyond CBET in Windsor, economic drain and competing service would be the main end served.

The Basic Operating Myth

The only thing separating MTV, special multicultural channel efforts, and other language program efforts in community cable from any other product is language. That is the only barrier between them and a more aggressive claim on viewership and ad dollars. It is a brittle barrier, but a necessary operating myth to maintain in the commercial sector. While it is a difficult barrier for the medium of radio to cross, it is presently only a cost-induced, market preferred impediment for television. Radio-Québec crossed the barrier in its other language programming commitment by the simple, if costly, expedient of sub-titling.

If one is arguing viewer choice and public interest, then commercial arguments to protect hard-earned vested market positions pale by comparison. If one argues paramountcy to the national broadcast service, it has never been a remote contender in the field. Its entrance at this late stage would be a definite conflict to the private broadcast element. Could resolution of the conflict claimed in the public interest be made with a straight face? Has the Canadian model of accommodating language diversity painted itself into an institutional corner?

It is in this context that the demands by an agency such as the CCCM to remove policy proscriptions on cable advertising and to ensure greater program exchange must figure. Removal of such proscriptions does not forestall the seller's market. It might exacerbate it. Of course, the CCCM focus is specifically on indigenous ethno-Canadian fare[17] and preferably fare that links across and within groups. Nevertheless, this feature of indigenous language-specific production effort particularly in television sets the the Canadian model of accommodation apart from the Australian one and to a lesser extent the American one.

It is a guarded difference backed by no similar outpouring of state dollars such as Australia has committed for different social ends. The Canadian-based indigenous production effort has to get by on a trickle of public dollars and localized sponsorship. Removal of such cable proscriptions would find multilingual radio outlets claiming adverse impact and unjustly based practices.

It is extremely doubtful that removal of such proscriptions could be made solely for other language production nor is their removal a necessarily wise move in the long run since it too is premised on the brittle thin barrier of language.

The Core Reluctance

The Canadian model of accommodation thus far with respect to multilingual television has positioned a Canadian contender to exploit the

advantages and court the economic risk of direct-to-home satellite delivery via cable outside Canadian borders if not within them. Within Canada, "public interest" with respect to multilingual broadcasting pivots on private ingenuity "to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada" (Section 3(b)). Recasting this oft-quoted section of the Broadcasting Act to read "multicultural fabric" would do little to alter the consignment of multilingual broadcasting to the private sector.

With no hard and fast formula exacted by the regulator to guarantee what percentage of the profit returns will be re-invested into Canadian product, it remains to be seen which threads of the fabric will benefit most. With no statutory precept calling on all elements of the broadcasting "system" to "provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity," injunctions calling for Canadian content have been a lame substitute.

In a pessimistic vein, the record of private television production in Canada, with its string of broken promises, may well be writing a similar chapter in the multilingual television venture. In an optimistic vein, continued benefit of the doubt must be extended. Detractors of the venture must be prepared to hurl more than back-biting criticism. Criticism must demonstrate a sound appraisal of operating realities and offer constructive suggestions to redress shortfalls.

In a realistic vein, Canadian-bound skirmishing to protect a position in the multilingual market can only add to an overladen dimension of reluctance. This market place posturing precludes an effective formula that goes beyond greedily guarding a slim piece of the pie. It assumes a siphoning effect on regional, possibly untapped, ad dollars. Such thinking may be founded more on economic rhetoric than fact. At best, it betrays a certain staleness that pegs continued market survival on incoming immigration.

The scale of operation with respect to multilingual broadcasting in Canada is simply too slim to withstand market place in-fighting.

If media time buyers start seeing demonstrated, positive results that adoption of another language component can yield in the Toronto market, then the language barrier for commercial purposes will be cracked. Multilingual outlets in other centres could well tap such an attitudinal shift on the part of agencies. In a related vein, official language broadcast outlets may find themselves fighting a rear-guard action by persistently clinging to the myth that ads in other than English or French pose no competitive threat.

Paradoxically, in their very understandable efforts to drum up more funding for improved program standards, the interests of cable-based other language program efforts, whether in community cable or multicultural channels, rely on this operating myth that the ad carried in another language decreases its competitive threat. It is the case for closed circuit cable radio, so why not their efforts?

If regulatory reluctance on multilingual broadcasting in the early 1960s stemmed from a paternalistic premise that language assimilation was a foregone conclusion, the reluctance now is one of skirting the commercial operating myth of other language ads somehow being a non-item. Having cautiously given the green light to multilingual broadcast efforts in the early 1970s, the thinking was predicated on ethnolinguistic programming being a confined, localized, isolated, informal part of the Canadian fabric. To its credit, CRTC initiative was displayed in attempting to spark greater interaction among production interests. In a country the size of Canada, that interaction is a costly one to materialize.

If the state commitment to multiculturalism includes other language usage as a natural expression of Canadian cultural identity, then, the acid test has yet to be made. Lack of consensus on the elusive ideology of multiculturalism can be counted on to forestall the test, and the general pall of reluctance surrounding multilingual broadcasting cannot be expected to lift.

At a cosmetic level, the term "foreign" in radio regulations should conform to the "third" language terminology used in television

regulations. Removal of percentage restrictions and adoption of a logging procedure that gives a better break-out on program origination source would be an administrative improvement. The in-place advisory councils are already sensitive to time allotments by need and numbers.

If multilingual broadcasting is to be considered an integral part of the "system" then removal of proscriptions on advertising in terms of cable program originations cannot be confined to multilingual program efforts only. Changes in this area will be part of the unfolding regulation scenario on the increasing capacity of cable. It could well include some form of de-regulation and/or removal to the realm of provincial jurisdication. Program funding arrangements in such an eventuality would be worked out in those appropriate provincial arenas.

As an aspect of "integration," commercials beamed for a target specific audience are not necessarily confined to language-specific groupings. Were technological capability applied with greater innovation and in a cost-reduced manner, the use of sub-titling, for example, would be the one major "bridging" concession that can be looked to as a realistic operative feature in terms of cross-cultural sharing.

The core reluctance underpinning the accommodation of language diversity ultimately resides in the notion of "the continuing expression of Canadian identity" coupled with the right of listeners and viewers to have unrestricted choice of programming. These are key principles of the existing Broadcasting Act. Without the former applying across the entire "system," the basic operating dilemma will persist and the basic systems imbalance will be a continued feature fuelling other inconsistencies and inequities in practice.

If the Canadian identity is to know no unreasonable bounds, it comes as contorted thinking to mould its expression into unnatural, self-conscious norms borne of language politics. The Canadian reality with respect to accommodating language diversity in its broadcasting has some way to go to divest itself of this core reluctance.

Chapter Six End Notes

1. See, for example, Canadian Broadcasting and Telecommunications: Past Experience, Future Options. Report prepared for CRTC, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1980; Cable Programming Services Past and Present Experience: Future Options. An options paper by Francis Spiller Associates, Canadian Cable Television Association, October 1980; The 1980s: A Decade of Diversity. Report of the Committee on Extension of Service to Northern and Remote Communities, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1980; New Developments in Canadian Communications Law and Policy, edited by Peter S. Grant. Law Society of Upper Canada, 1980; Other Voices In Canadian Broadcasting. The Evolution of New Forms of Local Programming in Canada. Jean McNulty, Telecommunications Research Group, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. June 1979, for the Department of Communications; Telecommunications and Canada: Consultative Committee on the Implications of Telecommunications for Canadian Sovereignty, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1979; Rationalizing Canadian Telecommunications, Delta Report, December 1978.
2. CRTC Policy Statement, "Canadian Broadcasting: A Single System," July 16, 1971.
3. Item 27 of the proposed Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom states: This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.
4. License Application brief for Multilingual Television Limited, September 1976, p. 17.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
6. McQuaig, Linda. "Ethnic TV alters its accent," Macleans Magazine, 6 October 1980; quotes attributed to Willy Cheng, General Manager of Shing Wa Daily News, pg. T3.
7. See, for example, brief submitted by Ontario Ministry of Transportation and Communications to Thérrien Committee Hearings on Provision of Northern Services, March 25, 1980.

8. Glustein, Hyman and Porter, Kathy. "CRTC response leaves community advocates with bitter aftertaste," in Canadian Consumer, February 1981, pps. 41-43 on CHCR closed circuit cable radio operation in Montreal.
9. The function of cable in this scenario would be three-fold: it would include program, origination, exhibition and carriage. In its programming role, cable would not be limited to community only but would encompass production of a general nature and would include provision of premium channels and would also make channel space available to independent program exhibitors on a lease basis (pps. 104-105, CRTC Report Can Broadcasting, 1980).
10. See, for example, Babe, Robert, E. Canadian Television Broadcasting: Structure, Performance, Regulation. Study for Economic Council of Canada, 1979.
11. Horvath, John. "Ethnic Broadcasting in Canada: An Exploratory Study," MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1978, deals with function of integration performed by ethnic broadcasting and concludes that "...any attempt to assert that ethnic broadcasting only fosters integration or only prevents integration would be too simplistic. Under certain circumstances it may do one or the other or both in different ways" (p. 133).
12. DeVries, John and Vallee, Frank. Data Book on Aspects of Language Demography in Canada. Kingston, November 1975.
13. Abu-Laban, Baha. "Cultural Diversity and Television: The View of Cultural Minority Groups." Paper presented at the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council Conference, Edmonton, November 15, 1980, notes that ethnic group concerns revolve around three main issues, one of which is that cultural minority groups are under-represented on the set, behind the camera and in the corporate structure of the broadcasting industry (p. 9).
14. The notion of additive and subtractive features is borrowed from a lengthier paper that explores these features with respect to the experience of minority language groups passing on language skills to off-spring in a linguistically dominant environment that regards minority language(s) in a pejorative or unsympathetic light. As cited

in Savard, Jean-Guy. "Pluralingualism and Quality of Life," in Language and Society 1 Autumn 1979, pps. 17-23.

15. Nelson, Joyce. "The price of being number one," in In Search, Fall 1978. Department of Communications, Government of Canada, pps. 10-14.
16. Cultures Canada, May 1980, Volume 5, notes at page 5 that 60 hours of weekly programming produced by Canadians comes out from KLYN in Lynden, Washington, U.S.A.
17. Ethnic Kaleidoscope, May, 1978, carried an article dealing with new and expanded programs planned by the Multiculturalism Directorate and announced March 21, 1978 by the Minister. Besides the $2.5 million set aside for 1979 programs, over $50 million was to be set aside over the next five years so that "all of Canada's cultural groups will have the opportunity to share their rich traditions with Canadians" (p. 6).

APPENDIX A

Method Notes

The three main fieldwork assignments undertaken by the study were to survey individual multilingual broadcast producers and members of existing Advisory Councils with several of the multilingual outlets; to systematically interview key individuals with outlets in the five main cities; and to determine the amount and nature of the multilingual programming and related production and contractual arrangements for all types of outlets.

The multilingual outlets were identified by consulting logs made available to the study by the CRTC. These logs included radio from 1966 to 1977 plus the Toronto area radio logs for 1978, and other language television logs to 1979. This information supplemented outlet identification that had been put in place by consulting various directories, pertinent publications and availing the resources of related public and private agencies.[1] Letters requesting up-to-date information on multilingual broadcast outlets in all the provinces were also sent to the provincially-based regional offices of the Secretary of State, and replies received from all ten offices.

The multilingual broadcast production personnel for the outlets were identified by contact with the outlets in the five main cities either in person or writing, and with radio outlets by an extensive phone survey.

The survey of broadcast producers entailed mailing questionnaires to the individuals identified for each outlet either care of the broadcast outlet or to the individual's mailing address submitted to the study by the outlet. The actual survey forms are included in this appendix. The survey form included a stamped return address envelop.

Owing to station policy for seven radio outlets airing multilingual formats, the mail-out procedure had to be altered since names of individual producers were not made directly available to the study. However,

alternate arrangements were made with such outlets to distribute the survey material directly to the individual producers associated with those outlets. A similar arrangement was followed for the Special Multicultural Channel in Montreal.

With respect to closed circuit cable radio and a production company that had recently set up operation in Vancouver, the study encountered a definitional block since such operations are not directly licensed outlets although offering or planning to offer language-specific programming. Consequently, information on such operations was confined to analysis with respect to accommodation implications.

Production personnel forwarded to the study by the Multiculturalism Directorate included a listing of individuals who had enrolled in the Media Skills Development courses conducted at Ryerson Institute of Technology in Toronto and the British Columbia Institute of Technology in Vancouver.

End Note:

1. A Study of Broadcasting in Ontario in Languages Other Than English or French. Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1979; Repertoire des Médias des Communautés Ethniques du Québec. november 1979, Ministère de l'immigration, Direction des communications; Ethnic Kaleidoscope. Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration, back issues 1972 to 1980; Cultures Canada. Newsletter of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, back issues 1980- ; Canadian Cable Television Association. Included a study request for scheduling information and personnel directly involved with multicultural or multilingual production interests in its mid-December, 1980 bi-monthly information sheet.

Carleton University Multilanguage Broadcast Study
Survey of Advisory Committee Members
January 1981

1. What do you see as the main function or functions of the Advisory Committee and your role as a member of the Committee?

2. What would you list as your main reason or reasons for agreeing to serve on the Advisory Committee?

3. With respect to Advisory Committee meetings, who determines the need for calling a meeting, how often are meetings held, and is the Committee consulted as a whole or on an individual basis depending on the nature of a particular matter requiring advisory input?

4. In general terms, what sort of items has the Advisory Committee, or you as a member of the Committee, been called upon for input?

5. How much impact on programming decisions do you feel the Advisory Committee can, or should, exercise?

6. Would you see any advantages in having the concept of an Advisory Committee expanded to encompass a similar role with respect to all broadcast outlets licensed to serve a particular community?

7. In your opinion, should the amount of programming aired weekly be subject to regulations that restrict the percentage of weekly programming that can be carried in languages other than English or French?

8. How well do you think multilanguage broadcasting is accommodated within the existing terms of the Broadcasting Act and regulatory framework? Are there specific changes you feel should be made?

9. What key examples would you give that illustrate the way in which multilanguage broadcasting fosters retention of any given ethno-cultural heritage?

10. What additional matters related to multilanguage broadcasting in Canada would you bring to the Study's attention?

Carleton University

Multilanguage Broadcast Study Survey

Broadcaster Profile

Please indicate by checking the appropriate space:

If you are Male..... Female .....

Your present age category:

18 to 24 years

25 to 34 years

35 to 44 years

45 or over

If born in Canada, how many generations back does your family in Canada extend:

one generation

two generations

three generations

four or more

Your length of residency in Canada:

1 to 5 years

6 to 10 years

11 to 15 years

15 to 20 years

21 to 30 years

over 30 years

Length of time engaged in Multilingual Broadcasting in Canada:

Intermittently for the past ..... years

Consecutively for - 1 to 3 years

4 to 9 years

10 to 15 years

16 to 20 years

over 20 years

Length of time with current outlet

In what broadcast medium you are primarily engaged:

Commercial AM Radio
Commercial FM Radio
Co-op FM Radio
University FM Radio
Closed Circuit Cable Radio
Commercial Television
Community Cable Television
Special Multicultural Cable Television Channel
Other not listed above (please specify)

The basis of your present broadcast outlet association:

on full time staff
on full time staff with commission for advertising
on part time staff
on part time staff with commission for advertising
contract with outlet for syndicated program service
independent producer with air time purchase arrangement
volunteer with no formal ethno-cultural group association
volunteer with formal ties to a multicultural association
other not listed above (please specify)

In what field of employment do you earn your full time livelihood?

Currently what is your specific broadcast role and area of programming responsibilities?

In brief terms, please describe how you first became involved in broadcasting, including the nature of your broadcast training and experience, and how your association with the broadcast outlet now airing your programming came about.

What are your long term aspirations with respect to broadcasting, say five years from now?

What degree of interest would you personally have in seeing more formal organizational ties established within Canada among people actively engaged in some form of multilanguage broadcasting and your reason(s) for that expression of interest?

I would be .... extremely interested; .... somewhat interested; or .... not remotely interested because:

What would you say is the major satisfaction and the major dissatisfaction your broadcast involvement gives you?

Program and Production Profile

With respect to your programming aired during the 1979-80 season, what format did you usually adopt in terms of the headings listed below?

Broadcast medium or media
Single program length
Airing schedule
Duration of series
Broadcast language(s), including dialects
Content
Additional program description

Would this 1979-80 program format be similar to the one you are now following and have adopted for earlier seasons?

What would be the original production source of the program material expressed as an approximate percentage of your regularly scheduled programming?

Produced locally by the broadcast outlet
Produced elsewhere in Canada
Produced outside Canada

How do you define your target audience?

What sort of reception did your programming receive in terms of:

positive audience feedback

negative audience feedback

In order of importance, what are your main programming objectives?

What would you say is the single greatest challenge, constraint, obstacle, or frustration you encounter in meeting these objectives?

What sort of production resources, in terms of technical and funding items for example, do you have at your disposal for meeting these objectives, and how adequate would you say they are?

Profile on Concerns

Are there specific changes to the existing broadcast policy or regulatory features you would say should be implemented with respect to radio, cable or over-the-air television as they relate to broadcasting in other than English or French?

How justified is current policy that inhibits, for example such practices as brokering air time to independent producers in the case of commercial broadcasting or program exchange arrangements and alternate methods of underwriting production expenses, say, in the case of cable television?

What key examples would you give that illustrate the way in which multilanguage broadcasting fosters retention of any given ethno-cultural heritage?

What issues, concerns, or observations arising from your own broadcast experience would you bring to the study's attention?

APPENDIX B

Table 1

Comparison of Weekly Program Hours
for the Ten Most Frequent Languages

City	Language	Hours		Mother Tongue Claimants*	
		No.	%	No.	%
Montreal (confined to off-air hours)					
	Italian	39.0	35.5	120,595	41.0
	Greek	24.0	21.8	34,015	11.6
	German	.75	.7	18,705	6.4
	Portuguese	12.0	10.9	16,390	5.6
	Spanish	11.5	10.5	11,570	3.9
	Chinese & Japanese	4.6	4.2	10,585	3.6
	Polish	2.0	1.8	10,550	3.6
	Ukrainian	1.0	.9	10,070	3.4
	Yiddish	1.5	1.4	8,845	3.0
	Magyar/Hungarian	.75	.7	8,640	2.9
	Others	12.75	11.6	44,280	15.0
	Total	109.85	100.0	294,245	100.0
Toronto	Italian	115.60	34.3	200,970	31.3
	Portuguese	32.75	9.7	61,010	9.6
	German	15.5	4.6	53,125	8.3
	Chinese & Japanese	6.5	1.9	42,605	6.7
	Greek	29.0	8.6	38,175	6.0
	Ukrainian	11.5	3.4	32,710	5.1
	Croatian/Serbian	10.5	3.1	31,835	5.0
	Polish	9.0	2.7	25,775	4.0
	Indo-Pakistani	30.0	8.9	18,665	2.9
	Spanish	4.8	1.4	18,200	2.8
	Others	72.0	21.4	115,725	18.3
	Total	337.15	100.0	638,795	100.0

* Statistics Canada, "Population: Demographic Characteristics," in 1976 Census of Canada, Cat. #92-821 (Bulletin 2,2).

Table 1 (cont'd)

City	Language	Hours		Mother Tongue Claimants	
		No.	%	No.	%
Winnipeg	Ukrainian	9.5	21.3	31,835	29.6
	German	10.0	22.5	30,370	28.2
	Polish	2.5	5.6	7,165	6.7
	Italian	5.0	11.2	5,620	5.2
	Portuguese	7.5	16.9	5,085	4.7
	Chinese & Japanese	0.5	1.1	3.675	3.4
	Dutch/Flemish	0.5	1.1	3,530	3.3
	Yiddish	1.0	2.2	2.930	2.7
	Scandinavian	--	--	2,450	2.3
	Croatian/Serbian	0.5	1.1	1,855	1.7
	Others	7.5	16.9	13,465	12.2
	Total	44.5	100.0	107,530	100.0
Edmonton	Ukrainian	9.5	19.3	28,505	31.4
	German	7.75	15.7	21,285	23.5
	Chinese & Japanese	5.0	10.2	6,865	7.6
	Italian	10.0	20.3	6,260	6.9
	Dutch/Flemish	--	--	5,215	5.8
	Polish	3.5	7.1	3,935	4.3
	Scandinavian	--	--	2,565	2.8
	Portuguese	1.0	2.0	2,495	2.8
	Indo-Pakistani	6.5	13.2	1,925	2.1
	Croatian/Serbian	1.0	2.0	1,580	1.7
	Others	5.0	10.2	9,960	11.1
	Total	49.25	100.0	90,590	100.0
Vancouver	Chinese & Japanese	18.0	35.3	45,385	24.5
	German	6.0	11.8	36,715	19.8
	Italian	11.0	21.6	16,780	9.0
	Indo-Pakistani	1.0	1.9	12,710	6.9
	Ukrainian	--	--	11,210	6.0
	Scandinavian	6.0	11.8	10,300	5.6
	Dutch/Flemish	1.0	1.9	9,990	5.4
	Croatin/Serbian	1.0	1.9	5,465	2.9
	Portuguese	1.0	1.9	4,695	2.5
	Magyar/Hungarian	--	--	4,415	2.4
	Others	6.0	11.8	27,755	15.0
	Total	51.0	100.0	980,930	100.0

APPENDIX B

Table II

1980 Carleton Telephone Survey

Multilingual Radio Broadcasting in Canada

(Number of Hours Broadcast per Language per Week)

Italian	183.6	Armenian	2.5
German	105.5	Pakistani	2.5
Portuguese	55.0	Romanian	2.5
Greek	50.0	Russian	2.5
Ukrainian	41.35	Japanese	2.5
Chinese	29.6	Arabic	2.0
Polish	20.0	Punjabi	2.0
Spanish	19.1	Servian	2.0
Hindi	16.5	Turkish	2.0
Croation	15.5	Bulgarian	2.0
Dutch	13.75	Urdu	1.5
West Indian/Caribbean*	13.5	Lebanese	1.5
Hebrew, Yiddish	12.5	Korean	1.5
Yugoslavian	10.5	Flemish	1.5
Hindustani	10.5	Lithuanian	1.5
East Indian	8.5	Bengali	1.0
Danish	7.0	Austrian	1.0
Hungarian	6.25	Slovenian	1.0
Scandinavian	6.0	Gujarati	1.0
Finnish	4.5	Czech	.5
Creole**	4.5	Swiss**	.5
Filipino	3.75	Maltese	.5
Macedonian	2.75	Vietnamese	.5
		Multilingual	3.0

* Mainly English

** Reported as languages

Appendix B

Table III

Television Broadcasting - January 1981

Language	No. of Hours Per Week	Per Cent
Italian	35.3	35
Portuguese	10.25	10
Greek	9.5	9
Asian and Far East	6.5	6
German	5.0	5
Spanish	5.0	5
Chinese	3.0	3
East Indian	2.5	2
Ukrainian	2.0	2
Dutch	2.0	2
Others (15)	20.95	21
	102.0	100

APPENDIX B

Scheduling and Multilingual Production Contract Information Reported for Radio Survey 1980

Table IV-A

Day	Per Cent of Programs Broadcast
Sunday	43.6
Weekdays	31.0
Saturday	23.1
Weekdays and Weekend	1.7
Saturday and Sunday	0.7
	100.0

Table IV-B

Time	Per Cent of Programs Broadcast
Afternoon	35.3
Evening	33.6
Morning	22.6
After 10 P.M.	8.6
	100.0

Table IV-C

Amount of Third Language Used in Program	Per Cent of Programs Broadcast
80 - 100 per cent	80.5
50 - 79 per cent	10.2
Entirely in official language	4.6
Mostly in official language	3.1
Less than 50 per cent	1.9
	100.0

Table IV-D

Type	Per Cent of Programs Broadcast
Mixed Format	80.5
Religious	8.8
Music	8.4
Other	2.3
	100.0

Table IV-E

Origin	Per Cent of Programs Broadcast
Local	88.3
Non-Local	7.8
Mixed Local and Non-Local	3.9
	100.0

Table IV-F

Type of Producer Arrangement	Per Cent of Programs Broadcast
Producer receives % share of commercials sold	25.6
Volunteer producer	19.6
Part-time station employee	18.9
Full-time station employee	18.6
Producer buys air time and sells commercials	5.3
Producer is paid a fee	5.0
Station donates air time for public service broadcast	4.0
Other	2.6
	100.0

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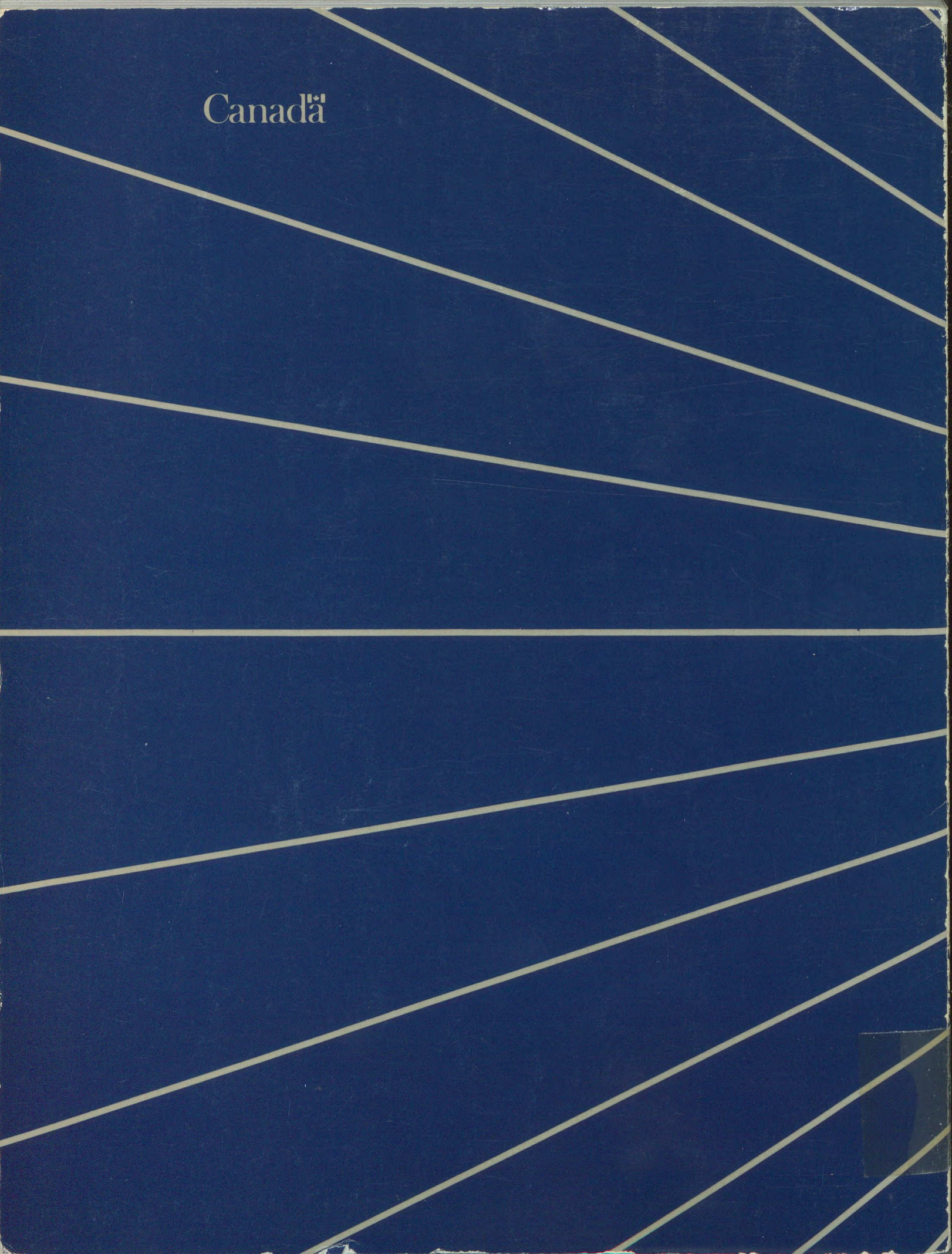
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