Community Radio in Québec - Perspectives in Conflict

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RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse vise à élaborer une analyse descriptive de la relation entre le concept de communauté d'une part et le processus de conception, de planification, de financement, d'instrumentation, de fonctionnement et d'évaluation d'un projet de radio communautaire d'autre part, en l'occurence, le phénomène de la radio communautaire au Québec.

L'étude tente de percevoir la réalité à trois niveaux différents. Dans un premier temps, elle fait l'historique du développement de la radio communautaire au Canada en décrivant les trois modèles successivement utilisés: la radio de service communautaire (community service), la radio juxtaposée à la communauté (community-based) et la radio à gestion communautaire (community-managed). Cet historique met en lumière le modèle le plus courant au Québec: la radio à gestion communautaire, modèle que les organismes voluntaires ont développé parallèlement en Colombie- Brittanique, en Ontario et au Québec.

Deuxièmement, cette étude présente une analyse des rapports structurels dans laquelle on constate que les réglementations gouvernementales aussi bien fédérales que provinciales et la présence de groupes de pression organisés semblent influencer l'expérience de la radio communautaire. Les politiques et les comportements de ces divers agents constituent les indices

importants permettant d'expliquer comment les agences gouvernementales et les groupes de pression se sont appropriés des droits de contrôler l'expérience de la radio communautaire.

Troisièmement, la thèse présente une étude de cas d'un projet particulier de média communautaire, en mettant l'accent sur le milieu, les installations techniques et l'organisation sociale de la station radiophonique de même que sur les relations entre les personnes clés et les facteurs qui ont le plus contribués à l'évolution du projet. L'étude examine les structures organisationelles, le fonctionnement de la programmation liant le personnel de production aux membres de la communauté de même que les difficultés pour le personnel et pour la communauté d'atteindre des objectifs communs de développement culturel.

C'est, en effet, dans ce domaine qu'apparaissent les contradictions les plus flagrantes entre la nécessité de faire fonctionner une entreprise de radio-diffusion et les espoirs des promotteurs locaux et des décideurs gouvernementaux. L'étude tente aussi de saisir l'ampleur des luttes qu'ont dû entreprendre les groupes et les individus de la base pour faire valoir leur point de vue, ce qui nous permet de mieux comprendre les conflits de perspective. Le 'communautaire' tel qu'envisagé par les politiques sociales nous semble alors fort différent du 'communautaire' tel que vécu à la base.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to provide a descriptive analysis of the relationship between the concept of community and the process of conceiving, planning, funding, implementing, using and evaluating a community media project - in this case, community radio in Québec.

The study is organized at three levels. Firstly, it presents the historical background to the development of community radio in Canada based on the three successive models of community service, community-based and community-managed radio. This background places in perspective the model currently used in Québec, community-managed radio, which was concurrently developed in B.C., Ontario and Québec by voluntary organizations. Secondly, the study presents an analysis of structural relationships where government regulations, both federal and provincial, and the presence of organized pressure groups are all seen to affect the community radio experience. The policies and practices of such groups and agencies are important in examining the extent to which their self-enfranchisement has set limits on the community radio experiment. Thirdly, the thesis presents a case study of one media project which examines the local milieu, technical facilities, social organization of the radio station, relationship between key figures, and factors contributing most to setting the agenda of the project.

The organizational structure, and notions of programming which seek to link program producers with members of the community, and both to an objective of cultural development are examined. It is argued that it is here that the contradictions between an idealized image of community, projected by government policy-makers and local promoters alike, and the demands of an operating radio station are most apparent. The dynamic of perspectives in conflict is explored in an effort to more clearly appreciate the struggles of local individuals and groups to try to come to terms with the images and aspirations held out by the undertaking. The sense of community that is revealed through local practices is seen to be significantly different from the sense of community as set out in community radio policies and initiatives.

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A community will only undertake what it really wants, in a form it understands, and for a purpose that meets its known and expressed needs.

C.W. Gray
Movies for the People
1973

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INTRODUCTION

The literature on community radio in Canada is comparatively thin given the recent growth of the sector. Apart from government reports, and documents produced by radio stations and groups lobbying in their interest, which are understandably promotional of the medium, very few studies have been undertaken and analytical research is almost non-existant.

The Association des Radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec has frequently pointed to community radio as the third broadcasting sector, after state and commercial radio, and has identified a number of ways in which public interests are being served for the first time with this medium (1). Access to the airwaves by non-professionals considered underrepresented by the traditional mass media is seen as an important correction to an inherent imbalance in mass media content. The role of the radio as an agent and even focal point of development, particularly cultural development, is seen as a source of strength and even power within communities. This promotional approach, albeit with less emphasis on the notion of cultural development has also been taken by the National Campus Radio Organization which identifies itself closely with the community radio sector by virtue of its own campus/community orientation (2).

Consideration of the potential, or ideal of community radio, has also been given by Bourbonnais (3) and the Institut Canadien d'Education

des Adultes (4), this time in a context of popular education. It is viewed as a possible outlet for distributing information designed for the 'development of a social conscience' and consequently able to 'prepare and adapt people for inevitable social changes'.

Surveys have also been undertaken in an attempt to gain some overall perspective of different types of community radio activities by the CRTC (5), CBC (6), DOC (7), and Secretary of State (8) descriptive both of specific projects and general orientation. There are a number of weaknesses to the survey approach quite apart from its administrative outlook. Firstly, it frequently attempts to define some general principles of community media in all examples, many of which are simply not comparative. Secondly, the institutional context is often neglected, a very important feature with respect to funding, planning, and regulating community media. Thirdly, the local context is often ignored in terms of the process of setting the agenda for the project and its relationship to the community in which it operates.

The beginnings of a critical analysis of community media in Canada, especially radio, have been formulated by Salter (9). Salter stresses the importance of examining the complexity of issues, and the range of perspectives in conflict within community media themselves as a step beyond the community media vs. traditional media argument. It is, she suggests, time to acknowledge and question the rather limited impact such 'radical' media have had upon the political landscape. Programming is seen to be often 'flat and unexpressive', splintering the public into distinct minorities or interest groups, and failing to attract loyal audiences. This is seen to be partially attributable to narrowly conceived notions of 'participation' and 'access'. Salter's analysis

looks with some depth at specific cases of community radio in Canada, but limits itself to experiments outside of Québec where the role of provincial governments in funding and organizing the sector has been far less important. This has led to an approach sympathetic to the importance of 'marginal voices' but limited in its treatment of the role of the state in supporting and sustaining community media (10). What follows then, a study specifically on Québec, fills in this aspect missing from Salter's work.

Within Québec the provincial Ministère des communications has undertaken a number of studies and policy reports on community media (11). These studies and reports typically provide a justification for supporting community radio in the name of cultural development, or provide evaluations of the support program itself. As a consequence, community radio, when dealt with in these documents, is discussed in an idealized manner, its potential for citizen participation in the cultural development of the province underscored. The few studies undertaken on the listenership and content of community media disclaim any real representivity, given the small sample involved, generally place their emphasis on community television and video production.

Some academic research in Québec, undertaken in conjunction with government requests, has been critical of community media's ability to legitimate itself, pointing to problems with government intervention, and to the lack of fixed objectives in media experiments. Brunel's study focuses on the process of institutionalization by which a medium develops a relationship with its milieu, has a unique and well-defined role, and has a real impact in terms of social change (12). Brunel sees the process of institutionalization as incomplete or thwarted when a

medium does not have a reciprocal relationship with the community it serves (ie. laying claim to represent community interests at the same time as being largely ignored by the majority of workers). A real social legitimation, which in this case means that the community is made to feel that its interests really are represented, is seen to depend upon three elements. Firstly the mobilisation of an audience is considered essential in order to coalesce energy around specific conflicts. Secondly, an ability to create a social memory by providing a sense of history for the community served, is seen to be an important role for community radio. Thirdly, success in creating appropriate forms of artistic expression - a 'community' aesthetic - is meant to give further credence to the experiment. The recommendations made by the Brunel report included the creation of a network of media projects with consensus on clearly defined objectives, and the provision of state financing for a maximum of three years. These recommendations had an important influence on the development of the 1979 provincial policy in support of community media, as did Brunel's contention that community media ought to have an impact on social change.

Other analyses have been more critical about the role of community media in Québec. The same year as the Brunel report, Barbier-Bouvet, Beaud and Flichy published in France, Communication et Pouvoir - Mass Média et Média Communautaire au Québec (13). Based on research primarily on television and video projects The book argues that a policy of support for community media can be directly linked to the promotion of cultural nationalism by a bureaucratic elite, and therefore can function principally as a tool with which to create consensus at a community level for provincial policies in culture and communications.

Community radio, the authors argue, is simply the next step in the government's search for small media to subsidize for self-promotion. Depending largely on policy papers and available research, their study fails to account for the considerable conflict which such media strategies on the part of government have generated within the communities themselves.

A comparable critique by Sénécal (1982) also suggests that community radio in Québec is closely allied with the nationalist project of Québec governments (14). By subsidizing community radio to the extent of being an indirect owner (through signed contracts) and by prescribing criteria for programming and management through its funding program, PAMEC, the government is depicted as using the 'community' label to describe what, if better organized, could be a state educational radio network. Sénécal argues that the government has, through its criteria for funding, too easily associated 'community' with 'la collectivité' and with Québec nationalism, and as such has projected its own aspirations of political affirmation without due regard for the needs and potentialities of the community milieu. In reality, however, practices vary widely from one community radio station to another, and as the present study documents, often their only common characteristic is a high degree of dependence on the government for funding.

In Québec, then, the relationship between community media and government policy is crucial for understanding community radio. All research on community media in Québec, whether critical, administrative or promotional in design, acknowledges this link to government, and especially to government policy on culture. It is this highly developed support structure in Québec in contrast with the rest of Canada which

makes community media in this province unique. In the chapters to follow, the thesis attempts to locate the Québec experience within the framework of community radio in Canada (Chapter One), to differentiate the Québec experience with community radio with regard to the role of government/community relationships (Chapter Two), and finally, to analyze one instance of community radio development in Québec through a case study-case history of community radio in rural Pontiac County.

Summary of Chapters

The first chapter is introduced by a chart which demonstrates the coincidences between work in Québec and other parts of Canada. The scheme is meant to show the relationship of events which are conventionally perceived to have entered into the strategies and structures of community radio in Québec and elsewhere in Canada It is not the purpose of this chapter to undertake a broad historical comparison but to provide a context for the influences against which any analysis of community radio must be positioned.

This chapter examines both related experiments elsewhere in Canada, and historical antecedents of current community radio practices. A taxonomy of community radio is suggested which establishes axes along which one can identify community radio historically and regionally; community service radio, community-based radio and community-managed radio. Each approach to community radio is seen to have distinctly different notions of community linked to differing aims of programming. Whereas both community-service and community-based radio experiments were clearly closely associated with national public radio, community-

managed radio, of which the Québec experiments are an example, is seen to be a distinctly separate sector from either commercial or public radio - a third broadcasting sector.

The second chapter concentrates on a ten-year time period in the province of Québec, in which concerted experimentation in community radio was taking place. Efforts to establish in practice an alternative media forum, are seen to have some affinities with earlier notions of community service radio, but remain solidly attached to provincial strategies of cultural development. Both federal and provincial governments, and a lobbying group linking provincial policy and individual radio projects are seen to play important roles in defining the sector. It is argued that the emphasis on 'access' and 'animation' combined with the day to day demands of managing autonomous communication businesses has resulted in an essentially contentless notion of programming with high expectations placed on it.

Chapter Three consists of an in-depth look at one community radio project. It is not meant to be representative of practices province wide, but emphasizes the importance of seeing the relationship between a communications medium and the community context in which it operates. Based partly on a case study and partly on existing studies of media in the county of Pontiac, an attempt is made to understand how one community radio experiment grew from the various initiatives, proposals and activities of a number of groups and individuals, and how local people dealt with this project. The framework of analysis is based on Salter's model of perspectives in conflict (15). In Québec conflicts are seen to arise with respect to the organization, technical installation, programming and financing of the project. At least in the

case of Radio Pontiac it is argued that present problems of community radio result in part from its inability to utilize these conflicts in the constructive fashion Salter's model has suggested.

A Note on Method

Research for the thesis concentrated upon gathering basic data from three sources: interviews, a thorough search for relevant documents, published or unpublished, and a participant-observation study of one community radio project. The case study of Radio Pontiac was not assumed to be representative of community radio in the province, but reasonably representative of the relationship between government policy and the local context in which community radio operates. As an instructor, and subsequently volunteer with some responsibility for programming, I had a participatory role in the day to day life of the station for the last six months of the period covered in this thesis (from conception in 1978 to the end of 1981). It was known from the outset by the manager, employees and Board of Directors that I was also writing a thesis on the subject, and full collaboration was offered in terms of access to written materials and information through interviews. In addition, this participation enabled me to observe the experience of the radio project as lived by its users, and identify many of the less visible factors which had an important influence on the shape the project was to take.

Interviews were conducted using a nonstandardized or unstructured format (16). No attempt was made to standardize either the interview setting, or the format of the interview. Questions were neither asked

in a specific order, nor prespecified in content. This type of interview was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the information illicited was not quantitative but depended on a more exploratory approach requiring different information from different people. Secondly, the range of people interviewed was extensive - from unilingual french-speaking provincial civil servants, to english-speaking farmers - each with experience with different aspects of community radio undertakings. Thus, in order to interact with, or 'enter into the world' of each person interviewed, it was necessary to adjust language spoken, the type of language used, the question content and the interview setting to each situation (17). Ten people were interviewed for an average of one hour each.

Finally, documentation was important. Most resulted from a search of federal and provincial archives, and documentation centres in Ottawa, Montreal and Québec. These materials included: published reports, commissioned studies, and documents relating to the decisions of regulatory, licensing and funding agencies, and in the case of Radio Pontiac, funding and license applications, internal reports, minutes, financial statements and correspondence. All the most significant of these are noted in the text and included in the bibliography.

DEVELOPMENT OF NON-PROFIT COMMUNITY RADIO IN CANADA *

Date	Radio Project
1922	CFRC-AM, Queen's University goes on air (FM added in 1933)
1927	CKUA-AM, University of Alberta on air (FM added in 1958)
1930's	CBC's 'Yorkton' experiment
1941	'Farm Radio Forum' (CBC, CAAE, CFA)
1948	CJRT-AM, Ryerson on air (FM added in 1965)
1965	CJUS-FM, University of Saskatchewan licensed as non-commercial educational station
1966	
1967	Kenomadiwin, a small travelling native community radio station operates in northern Ontario, under CYC (until 1971)
1968	
1969	
1970	
1971	
1972	CKRL-FM, Laval licensed as non-commercial campus radio CBC launches Espanola experiment
1973	CKWR-FM, Wired World licensed as first locally-controlled radio DOC undertakes 'Northern Pilot Project'
1974	CINQ-FM, Radio Centreville, licensed as non-profit, limited commercial station serving a distinct local community in a city. CFRO-FM, Vancouver Co-op licensed as non-commercial, serving a large metropolitan area in its entirety Radio Co-operative, Chicoutimi, licensed (until 1977).
1975	CKCU-FM, Carleton University licensed as non-profit, limited commercial CJUM-FM, U. of Winnipeg " " " "
1976	AM Radio of Temiscouata Agro-forestry Co-op licensed (until 1978) CHOC-FM, Jonquière licensed as community radio CJRG-FM, Gaspé " " "
1977	
1978	CIBL-FM, Montreal licensed as community radio
1979	CHIP-FM, Pontiac licensed as community radio in Québec CKLE-FM, Rimouski " " " " CIBO-FM, Senneterre " " " " CHGA-FM, Maniwaki " " " " CHAI-FM, Châteaugay " " " " CFMF-FM, Fermont " " " "
1980	CFJO-FM, Gagnon " " " " CION-FM, Rivière de Loup " " " CFIM-FM, Iles de la Madeleine " " "
1981	

* (excludes native-managed and campus radio, except where policy overlaps)

Regulatory Decisions	Institutional Support - Ideology	Institutional Support Funding
	CYC begins supporting community media projects	CYC begins funding community media projects
CRTC moratorium on FM licenses		
CRTC Public Hearing on FM radio		
	CBC sets up 'Office of Community Radio' (until '78)	First of summer job creation programs
CRTC policy on student carrier current	CBC begins 'ACCESS' program	First of winter job creation programs
CRTC Public Hearing on FM radio	Sec. of State Task Force on Citizen's Communication report - 'Only Connect...'	MCQ begins funding community media
	Sec. of State Citizenship Promotion Branch report - 'Non-profit Community Radio'	Canada Council begins funding specific programs
		Vanier Institute funds specific programs
New CRTC policy including application for FM licenses		
DOC and CRTC create new class of FM licenses (under 50 watt)	Canada Council report - 'Electronic Media Program'	
	CBC Office of Community Radio publishes 'Community Radio in Canada - 1977'	
	Founding conference of ARCQ	
MCQ policy supporting community media	DOC publishes New Forms of Local Broadcasting	
	DOC conference on 'New Developments in Local Programming' - Montreal	Sec. of State provides $200,000 to hire animators in each community radio project in Québec
CRTC's 'Review of Radio'		
MCQ policy to withdraw from community media sector		

Chapter I - Community Radio in Canada

Community radio as it has evolved in Canada is seen to have gone through three distinct phases, characterized by different notions of community, linked to the aims of radio programming. Chapter 1 traces the three broad categories of community service radio, community-based radio and community-managed radio. These types of community radio are seen to occur generally, but not exclusively, in chronological order, and involve two institutions which have strongly influenced the direction all radio has taken in Canada - the CBC and the CRTC.

I. Community Service Radio

The mandate of the CBC defined since 1932 as providing radio programming in the public interest was a national mandate. Communities addressed by this mandate in the early years were, therefore, national communities - farmers, church groups, labour organizations, etc. A brief outline of the development of radio demonstrates the importance of the public service theme.

Early Radio

From the first Canadian radio broadcast in 1919 until the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act was passed in 1932, radio was unregulated in this country. The whole settled area of Canada was within regular range

of American radio stations and at least 80% of the programs listened to by Canadians were of American origin. Only six clear channels were available, and eleven others were shared with American stations which were often much more powerful (1). In 1928, the government of Mackenzie King appointed a commission 'to examine into the broadcasting situation in the Dominion of Canada and to make recommendations to the government as to the future administration, management, control and financing thereof' (2). Chaired by Sir John Aird, the committee presented its report in September, 1929.

Essentially their position, outlined in thirteen principal recommendations, was that the interests of the listening public in Canada could be adequately served only by some form of public ownership, operation and control of radio broadcasting (3). The report was temporarily shelved when R.B. Bennett won the 1930 general election in tight economic times, but the same year a group of young Canadians determined to hasten the implementation of the Aird Report formed the Canadian Radio League. Eventually supported by a wide range of interest groups including most Canadian press, farm and labour organizations, women's institutes, churches, and home and school clubs, the League formed a powerful lobby.

> Whatever the special emphasis of this wide variety of interest one theme ran through all their arguments: a system of public broadcasting would inform Canadians from coast to coast of the aspirations and problems of various regions and groups in the community and provide a forum for the discussion of national issues and a medium for the development of a national consciousness that was at present entirely lacking (4).

As Bennett's government began moving towards a decision on Canadian broadcasting, Québec, followed by Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba, objected to federal control over broadcasting. After the Supreme Court

of Canada decreed in favour of the Dominion, Québec took the matter to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, which on February 9, 1932, decided that exclusive control of radio lay within the federal government. The same year the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act was passed, establishing the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) whose responsibility was to act as 'a single national authority to control, for purposes of co-ordination, all broadcasting in the public interest' (5). The three-man commission, appointed directly by the government, was responsible for both determining policy and managing the national broadcasting system. With the resulting dependency on the government and limited financial provisions, the national radio network was only partly constituted and local private stations proliferated.

By 1936 the national network still reached less than half the population, and was handicapped by lack of money and its direct accountability to the government. A committee was appointed under parliament to report on the CRBC, the Broadcasting Act and the overall system. They recommended that a public corporation modelled more on the lines of the BBC replace the CRBC. On Nov. 2, the committee's recommendations took effect and the CBC was created, replacing the CRBC.

When L.W. Brockington, Chairman of the Board of CBC reported to the House of Commons Radio Committee in 1939, he described the CBC as the national network by means of a chain of high powered stations, and other 'low-power local stations (were) individually operated or co-ordinated in relation to the dominant system and fulfilling a useful local and subsidiary purpose' (6). The CBC still had responsibility for both

managing and regulating the broadcasting system, the latter considered as important a function by Brockington:

> It seems to me that anybody who's enjoying the right to operate a radio station is occupying the public domain; in other words he owns a franchise, because a franchise consists of the occupation of the public domain, whether it be a franchise to use the air or to use the streets of a city, or to use any other national or community property... The principle of public utility ownership is that it shall be highly regulated and that there shall be a limitation on its profits with surplus profits going back for an improvement of the public service (7).

From the fall of 1936 to the spring of 1939, CBC had increased its network coverage from less than 50% to 85% of the population. B.C. remained a problem area with one third of its population inhabiting mountainous regions difficult to serve with a radio signal. South-western Ontario, in proximity to a number of American stations, was subject to more interference than elsewhere, but the southern part of the country was covered from the Prairies to the Maritimes.

The purposes which a national radio would serve and its role as a democratic institution, were being developed and debated at the same time as its technical capacities. Again, Brockington outlines his conviction of radio as a 'subject for progressive development':

> I should personally like to see a greater opportunity for self-expression given to those classes of men and women who do not enjoy those privileges, and who perhaps may never expect to enjoy them (8).

The combined interest of producing educational programs and serving the 'common man' in the essential interest of the community culminated two years after Brockington's report in an experiment undertaken by the CBC in collaboration with the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) and the Canadian Federation of Agriculture (CFA).

Farm Radio Forum

Farm Radio Forum began its national broadcast in 1941, drawing heavily on the experiments dating from 1926 with radio station CKUA in Edmonton (see Ch.1 'Special Cases'). Farm Forum, broadcasting weekly except during the summer months for twenty-four years, attracted several hundred thousand listeners at its peak. Conceived as a method for organizing rural people to act in informed ways towards the improvement of rural living conditions, the operating motto was 'Read-Listen-Discuss-Act'.

Neighbourhood discussion groups were organized by a number of agencies - Departments of Agriculture, Federations of Agriculture, co-ops, universities. Written study material, prepared and distributed from CBC in Toronto, was mailed to these groups weekly, three weeks in advance of each broadcast. As well as material on upcoming broadcasts and news articles on various Farm Forum activites, reviews of books and films of interest to Farm Forum members were also included. During the peak years, about 15,000 packages were prepared each week. In the beginning, CBC and sponsoring agencies selected topics for discussion, but eventually this was done by means of questionnaires filled in by Forums.

The second stage of the motto, 'Discuss', began with the Monday night broadcast when the group would meet around the radio at the house of one of the members. A number of program formats were attempted at different times: dramatized broadcasts using actors; panel discussions with a chairman and up to three participants presenting different points

of view; a speech or interview taken from public events, or made especially for the program; review broadcasts presenting a round-up of Farm Forum views. While a single broadcast often combined formats, the mainstay was the panel discussion. The main portion of the broadcast lasted 25 minutes, with 5 minutes reserved for a report over a regional network by the provincial Farm Forum secretary based on views sent in the previous week. Once a month, a national review was broadcast based on a report written by the national secretary on receipt of provincial reports.

The broadcast covered a wide variety of topics all believed to have some relevance for rural populations, from local problems like rural electrification, to international issues such as the role of the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization. The organizers learned that the level of interest in the program was directly related to the local visibility or presence of the issue discussed.

Following the broadcast, a discussion took place to clarify opinions, ideally based on the written material studied, and the content of the broadcast. The discussion was meant to clarify opinions on specific questions. A secretary took notes during the discussion and at the end of each meeting, attempted to formulate a majority or majority/minority viewpoint. The minutes were then forwarded to the provincial secretary who tabulated province-wide responses. This process was repeated at a national level, where results in terms of positions taken to specific questions were also tabulated. Thus the Forum became a kind of lobbying group on rural issues, the opinions of hundreds of thousands of individual Canadians having been systematically

solicited. At the end of the evening of listening and discussion, there was often a social event - dance, game or euchre.

The final stage of the Farm Radio Forum process was 'Act'. At this point, the momentum gained through self-education, discussion and agreement was meant to coalesce group activities around action projects of local origin. Equipping libraries, documenting community history, organizing fairs, soil and forest conservation, rural electrification, building schools, hospitals, playgrounds and skating rinks, road-building and snow clearance, were among the types of projects undertaken.

While many such projects were realized on a local level, the Farm Forum organizers were hoping for a much greater impact on Canadian society:

> It was the hope of the founders of Farm Forum that it would do at least three things: a) restore the lost sense of community which in the past had been an outstanding characteristic of Canadian rural life; b) help people to realize that there was much to be gained from group discussion of common problems and in group planning to meet these problems; c) develop a type of rural leadership based on the confidence of the individual in his ability to do things for himself in society. To these observations may be added: d) the desire to foster what has been termed «the inquiring attitude», and e) the strong desire that the project should bridge with unifying effect, the geographically separate agricultural regions of Canada (9).

With such goals, organizers were also faced with the problem of evaluation; how to find 'a practical yardstick..to measure an increase in neighbourliness or self-confidence or an added understanding of the problems which face people 4,000 miles apart' (10). Opinions concerning the effectiveness of Farm Forum have ranged from, 'Farm Forum is the largest and most sustained effort in the history of adult education in Canada' to 'educationally speaking, Farm Forum is superficial in

content, largely social in character and ... the large turnover in membership still further minimized its effect' (11).

> In the opinion of some people Farm Forum was of little value. It just encouraged more talk while what was really needed was less talk and more action. Others saw value in Forums as a pressure group; they were regarded as a means of putting pressure on governments to change unfavourable legislation and to improve the lot of the farmer generally...The broader educational aims of Farm Forum interested only a few who were above average in education, or had had years of experience in farm organizations (12).

While Farm Forum promoted an active stand towards the socio-economic system, it did not openly advocate participation in militant farm organizations, a policy which would have made the CBC and the CAAE vulnerable to charges of bias. Still, some criticism was received from the Canadian business community, accusing Farm Forum of promoting socialism over capitalism, and favouring the farmer over other interests, resulting in an investigation by an independent committee in 1951. This committee found the Farm Forum participants to be 'performing their duty as intelligent members of a democracy' (13).

After 1950, the program went into decline, concurrently with a general increase in prosperity for the farmer, higher mobility through improved transportation, and an increase in rural communication services, notably telephone and television. It left behind however, a greatly strenghtened CBC, CAAE, CFA and a number of other farm organizations which had matured simultaneously with the project, not to mention some very strong euchre groups.

Programming in the Farm Forum example was completely centralized. Production of both the radio program, with the exception of the provincial wrap-up, and reading materials originated from Toronto. Through a decentralized administration, however, down to volunteer community groups, it was meant to illicit a strong local response.

Program content, guided by listeners suggestions for topics was structured and produced by media and adult education professionals. Educational in the broad sense, programming would, through both content and a structured response to it, instill in participants the 'lost sense of community'. 'Community' was clearly a value rather than a specific neighbourhood (although this was the arena in which 'community' would be realized), and closely related to the nationalist policy of the CBC. The value of community that the organizers hoped to instill in the participants based on self-education, neighbourliness and co-operation, was to be the link between individual productivity and the national good.

II Community-based Radio

In the early 70's, the CBC came to experiment with a different kind of community radio. This time, programming would be originated and produced within the community, the content too localized to warrant wider distribution. National and regional broadcasts of interest to larger aggregates of people would continue to be produced in centralized production studios by media professionals. This model, known as CBC Access with only one precedent in the late 1930's, was tried in an Ontario town once in 1972. It was judged to be a failure in Espanola, but found to have applicability in the north.

The access model is similar to that of affiliate stations, where CBC national and regional programming is switched on part of the time, and the rest is locally produced. The difference in the access model is that CBC programming has clear priority, the corporation determining

which programs must be broadcast locally, and when the local supplementary service can be on air. Also, the local access programming is run by non-professionals, local people personally recognizable to listeners. While the facility for this type of community radio is based in the community, and programming is clearly locally-oriented, it still operates within a centralized corporate structure. A brief description of the two precedents in the south is followed by an outline of northern access radio.

Yorkton

It was in its dual capacity as manager/regulator that the CBC first experimented with community radio. Brockington describes the experiment carried out in the late 30's as follows:

> Application was made, in circumstances which were such that the Board desired to refuse it, for an increase in power at Yorkton in Saskatchewan. The reason we wished to refuse it was because of the unsatisfactory manipulatory history of wave lengths in that district. On the other hand, however, the Yorkton Board of Trade and a large number of neighbouring boards of trade within the coverage of that station joined together and came before the Board of Governors of the CBC, asking us to establish what they called a community station. We were able to bring together the people who wanted to put the station in and the local interest represented by the boards of trade. We made a new arrangement which we think is unique, and one which we should like to see followed in some measure throughout Canada. The arrangement, briefly, was that the equipment should be up-to-date; that the board of directors of the new company should include two representatives of the local boards of trade; that there should an undertaking that at least four hours broadcasting a day should be for educational community purposes, particularly having reference to the needs of the agricultural population; that there should be the most complete fairness as between political parties in the expression of opinion, not only during election times but also between election times; that there should be no concentration on the advocacy of any particular form of grain marketing; and that owners of the station guarantee to pay to the Yorkton Board of Trade in trust $300 a year for the first five years and thereafter $500 a year for the establishement of scholarships at the University of Saskatchewan for deserving young men and young women in that neighbourhood. While that arrangement is by no means perfect, we were pleased to try it as an experiment

> in what we considered the new consciousness and the new conscience of the idea of community co-operation which we think should underlie all broadcasting in this country (14).

Regrettably, assessments of this experiment appear to be unavailable.

Espanola

Another attempt at community-based radio was made in Espanola, Ontario in 1972, a small northern pulp and paper town. A small studio was attached to the CBC rebroadcaster transmitter for community use and the Corporation provided a professional animator for a year. Brainchild of Doug Ward, now Director of Northern Services, local access in Espanola was seen to be an important forum for community dialogue:

> Our hope was, here is a pulp and paper town; we'll get community access going and people will start to do programming like the programs they hear on CBC. That is, some people report the sports, and others will go and 'get' stories in a journalistic way and if there are issues at the mill between union and management, maybe union will come and say something and management will come on and say something else. Those were our kinds of aspirations. There was quite a gap between our aspirations and the reality! (15)

An article in the Manitoulin Espositor from December, 1972 under the heading 'Espanola Community Radio: A Community Revolution' illustrates the hopes held out for this new model of public broadcasting:

> What is community radio? It is both a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation policy, and a community project. It is an invitation to revolutionary change in Canadian radio broadcasting, and a risk at inferior and mediocre programming...
>
> The idea of community radio, is to permit communities served only by CBC Low Power Relay Transmitters to talk to themselves, develop their own programming and in effect stimulate a community consciousness through the use of a mass medium...
>
> Espanola is the first Community Radio station of its kind in the world, and has created world wide interest. Any future community radio stations will bear the stamp of the Espanola experience.

After the CBC animator left, community involvement with the radio dwindled to nothing. Doug Ward explains that what they then realized was that, although the mayor and a few organizations in Espanola thought that the radio was a 'good idea', there was no issue or cause that needed that kind of medium for expression. From this experience, they learned that a professional animator was not nearly as effective in community radio for maintaining an organization as community need:

> For example, you don't go in with a paid organizer and say 'Hi, how would you like community radio. I'll organize you and then leave'. What that person will leave will be nothing. If there's nothing the community wills into existence, there's nothing you (CBC) can support. Since then, the only community radio we have is community radio that is a response to a community that says 'yes', we want this kind of local access for information exchange and we will organize it (16).

Northern Access

If the experiment in Espanola failed, at least the precedent was set within the corporation's bureaucracy, and decentralized access to a highly centralized public communications system became possible in principle. Twelve such operations now function in the far north and 10 in the mid-north. La Ronge, Saskatchewan, is one of the ten, and although Ward insists that no one sound is typical of all uses of northern community radio, a description of La Ronge provides an example of one community's use of the service:

> Every day around 4 p.m., CBC programming is cut off. Intotumuk radio takes over. First they broadcast in Cree, then in English translation. The sound is decidedly 'unprofessional'. You hear the names of everyone in hospital in La Ronge, what is playing at the movie theatre, when you can visit the library. There might be a pre-taped legend or story in Cree, an interview with a visitor from another community, a commentary on the fishing. You hear Blondie and Ann Murray and certainly Saturday Night Fever, lots of background noise & traffic, people walking by and a telephone ringing. Local politics is the main programming...
>
> The announcer, operator and sometimes the producer are one and

> the same person. He juggles the tape cassettes, the pile of records, the phone and the announcements to produce a broadcast. The programme always starts exactly on time. It has its own style, of course, but the producers know exactly what they are doing (17).

Any community that receives CBC programming on radio from a local rebroadcaster transmitter can apply for access to the transmitter for local programming. This facility is seen by CBC to provide a more comprehensive programming service, as the Corporation's ability to cover local matters in native languages is limited (18).

The conditions attached to CBC Access are threefold. Firstly, interested groups must organize as independent radio societies under the N.W.T. ordinance for societies, and be supported by their band or community councils. Secondly, the society signs a contract with CBC agreeing to the amount of local use, time of day used and assuming responsibility for broadcast content, although legally, CBC remains responsible for all programming. Any changes in the original agreement have to be approved by the CBC. Finally, the community provides a small place for the studio with heat, light, power and security, and assumes the organization of the volunteers.

In return, the CBC provides and maintains a small studio package - a console, turntables, cassette recorders, microphone and telephone patch - a durable kit designed by CBC, small enough to fit on two table tops and be transported by a small bush plane. While serving largely native populations, it is used by a few white communities, the latter obliged to raise funds locally to pay for the equipment.

The number of hours of local programming ranges from 15 hours a week in Indian dialects out of Yellowknife, to 10 hours a day in the eastern Arctic, half in Inuktitut and half in English. Once the system is working, Ward finds that the community radio becomes a fairly low

profile part of the community. It acts as the community bulletin board announcing news of a dentist coming, or baby clinic at the nursing station and occasionally as an emergency centre, to round up a posse to search for a missing hunting party. It also is used for local entertainment, like playing country and western music. Often the radio is organized to have a teenager on partial salary who plays records until someone phones up and asks to be switched on air to say something. There is no real program planning.

The minimum funding necessary to pay an operator, buy records, or do special programs is raised in the community through bingos or membership or sometimes through government work grants. If a community is ever obliged to go off the air due to equipment or organizational failure, regular CBC programming simply continues. The access policy is not extended to communities where CBC has production facilities operated by professional staff.

With the move into the north, 'community' became a far less ambiguous notion, since communities are distinct, visible entities of finite numbers of people. The practice of community broadcasting lost some of its nationalist orientation as the notion of access was introduced. Programming of this nature would be originated and produced within the community with content too localized to warrant wider distribution. 'Community', while defining a clear group of people and neighbourhood, had not, however, lost all of its original connotations as a value to be instilled. In Espanola, hope was still held out that the radio would inform and mobilize the community to concrete social actions. Only subsequently did community access radio within CBC come to be accepted to mean access to the air waves to call kids home, hear

popular country music or mobilize for an emergency. While the programming content of community-based radio was completely locally-oriented, it's structure was still quite centralized.

CBC maintained an interest in community radio after beginning its Access program, but limited itself to clearinghouse activities. An Office of Community Radio operated in Toronto from 1972 until it was disbanded in budget cuts of 1978. The Office, while not directly involved in community radio practices, published a survey of activities in Canada in 1977.

III Community-managed Radio

The third type of community radio discussed is classified as community-managed, a relatively recent phenomenon in Canada. It refers to a kind of radio operating outside of either a private/commercial, or national public radio context. It is really a third sector, meant to provide a programming service unavailable in public or private radio. Such radio projects are run as non-profit, community-based, autonomous organizations. Some have limited commercial and occasionally full commercial privileges, but most depend heavily on exterior funding, especially federal and provincial governments. All such projects depend on community resources, in the form of volunteer labour and listener sponsorship.

Programming in community-managed radio is related in both content and organization to social development goals. With similarities to the Farm Forum model in its goals of mobilizing listeners to engage in social change, an important corrective is seen to be in linking program

producers to a listenership. The process of planning and producing programs is considered at least as important as audiencing them. Programming came to be oriented towards local communities, or distinct cultural communities (native peoples, disenfranchised francophones, gays, urban social action groups, etc.). This type of radio was to become most popular among native populations and in Québec as part of an orchestrated plan of cultural development. In all cases, the role of the federal CRTC, and to some extent DOC is important in defining the sector.

A resumé of the development of native community-managed radio is followed by a description of three 'pioneer' projects in Vancouver, Kitchener-Waterloo and Montreal.

Native Radio

The first work using communications media with native groups began in the mid-60's when the Indian-Eskimo Association hired Alex Sim, a sociologist, to propose an experiment. Sim, having considerable experience with Farm Radio Forum, suggested a Farm Forum approach in the north using radio as a tool for social development. At the same time, a Cree Indian, Eugene Steinhauer, began working in Edmonton interviewing Cree and broadcasting these tapes over CKUA, Edmonton, where the prototype for Farm Radio Forum had also been developed. The project initiated by Sim and carried out by Paul Lumsden in Inuvik eventually fizzled out, but Steinhauer went on to form the Alberta Native Communications Society, and Lumsden, to work at Secretary of State which came to fund Native Communication Societies.

A couple of years later, in 1967, Kenomadiwin was launched by some Company of Young Canadian workers as an experiment in small mobile radio technology for Ojibway in northern Ontario. The goal was to produce local programming in Ojibway and broadcast it from a mobile van equipped with a transmitter which would visit each community on the circuit every two weeks. The process of licensing such an operation took three and a half years, by which time many of the original members had moved elsewhere, and the impetus behind the project had faded (19).

In the early 70's, DOC launched a carefully planned pilot project, also in northern Ontario, which developed into one of the first communication societies.

The growth of native radio in Canada since, has been rapid, and a range of models have been used. Only a brief description of those aspects relating to the development of community radio policy in general will be mentioned.

Native Communication Societies

The growth of such societies in Canada over the last decade, now numbering eleven, has depended financially on the Secretary of State, DOC, DIAND, and some provincial funding (20). Some have been initiated by native groups (Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.), and others by government agencies (Wa-wa-ta). The concept supported by the federal government, modelled on the Alberta Native Communication Society, is based on the following characteristics: the organizations are native led and managed; they respond to both status and non-status native peoples; they plan communications services required by the constituency served; the

services offered form an integral part of a process of social development in the area served.

Such societies are involved in newspaper operations, High Frequency (HF) inter-community radio stations and HF trail radio systems (21). Some have also developed installed low power FM community broadcast stations, and produce and distribute radio programming for both native owned and non-native owned transmission facilities. Some communication societies produce video programming for both native owned and non-native owned broadcast video transmitters (22). Two groups, in Alberta and Québec, have also run experimental projects using satellite transmission facilities.

While the specific priorities and projects vary widely among the societies, most are grappling with the same two-step problem: the planning of an integrated and rational media system involving telephone, radio, and television technologies, responsive to the linguistic and cultural needs and administrative capacities of the groups served. A discussion paper prepared by Paul Lumsden for the Cabinet Committee on Northern Communications, stresses the importance placed on community radio in working with this problem:

> Perhaps no other activities undertaken by the communications societies have had such profound impact at the community level and such unlimited success in implementation as community radio operations. In a growing number of native communities, the local community radio station is the glue which holds the community together...
>
> Viewed with hindsight, the reasons for this phenomenal growth appear obvious. It is often forgotten that in the more northerly regions of the province live native people who are largely unilingual. Given this fact, it follows that such persons find completely without value all English and French language newspapers, magazines and books.. all English and French language radio and all audio signals associated with television reception. It should be equally obvious that these communities yearn for information, yearn to know what is happening in the community next door, in their province, in their country, or even within their own

> community. The community-based radio station fills this need...
>
> There are certain conditions which have contributed to the success of the community broadcast stations. One of these has been the development of low-cost, reasonably reliable FM equipment and a relaxing by the C.R.T.C. for northern and remote areas of the regulations which approve the type of equipment for radio broadcast transmitters. The relaxation of these standards has meant that a community can install a low-power FM radio station for approximately $5,000 (23).

Two Societies have been particularly important with regard to the development and use of community-managed radio; Wa-wa-ta and TNI.

Wa-wa-ta

Cree for 'northern lights', Wa-wa-ta was formed in northern Ontario at the instigation of DOC in September 1973, initially to manage an HF radio network which was part of the Department's Northern Pilot Project. The project was launched as a short-term experiment in 1973 to test recommendations and establish priorities for northern communication. The positive results of the DOC project, and the subsequent strength and popularity of Wa-wa-ta, have informed community media experiments, particularly among native populations since (24). The purpose of the project, to enable users to communicate among themselves and receive and contribute to information outside, depended on a high degree of implication within communities served. DOC involvement was specifically kept short-term - 12 to 18 months, in order to launch a trial, evaluate it, and make the information available for future development of northern communications. The project was based on a field-work approach where DOC-paid personnel helped involve users in all aspects of the project from design to implementation, 'to overcome the hazards of projects being run by centralized agencies out of touch with their clientele' (25). Training, an important aspect of the plan from the

initial stages, included use of radio, operational procedures, log-keeping, a basic understanding of the parts and functions of the radio and antenna system, and simple maintenance.

Interestingly, one of the results of the project considered important was the increased co-operation generated within DOC between technical planners and social planners, and among agencies involved (26). After terminating the research and evaluation stage, DOC pulled out, leaving behind a solidly organized Wa-wa-ta, with a community-managed FM radio station in Baker Lake.

Native Community Radio in Québec

There are essentially two divisions of native community radio in Québec; Inuit radio which is highly organized in the far north, and Indian radio, a more recent phenomenon in the mid-north and southern areas of the province. Co-ordinating the development of Inuit radio has been an established Native Communications Society in the north, Taqramiut Nipingat. In the south, the Institut Educatif Culturel Attikamek-Montagnais co-ordinates some of the programming for eleven of the fourteen stations licensed to broadcast in Indian languages.

Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.

TNI, like the present study, is situated in Québec, and perhaps merits a more detailed treatment. An offspring of the Northern Québec Inuit Association (NQIA) which since 1972 had been researching communications possibilities for Inuit in Northern Québec, TNI was formed as an independent organization in 1975. The mandate for TNI grew out of a report published by NQIA in 1974, based on a survey of the

populations served. In October of the same year, the NQIA requested and received funding from Indian and Northern Affairs, Secretary of State, and DOC, to launch an association to: 1)establish High Frequency and trail radio system in 14 permanent Inuit settlements; 2) install 11 community radio stations; 3) create a radio production centre for Inuktitut language programming; and 4) improve communications in the north.

With $131,000 from Secretary of State, the association began its work in 1975. Although TNI was initiated in order to integrate the planning of all communications in Northern Québec, the involvement of the provincial government in installing 5 low power and one high-power FM radio stations precluded this happening. However, in June of 1977, delegates of radio committees acting outside of TNI decided to work with the society. As well as installing radio systems and a production centre, TNI plays an appreciable role in all questions relating to communications in Northern Québec. The director until 1981, Josepi Padlayat, at a CRTC hearing in 1973, contested the CBC application to provide television service to Northern Québec. Objecting to the lack of regional and Inuit language programming, Padlayat succeeded in stalling the decision until a task force studied and reported on the situation of communication in The Northerners (1974). TNI and CBC later came to collaborate on some projects and the Corporation presently will not initiate a communications project without a clear mandate from TNI or a community media group.

Considering it essential that communities receiving communications systems have a say in their planning and use before the technology arrives, TNI is composed of the founding members, and representatives

from each of the communities served. Twenty-one members in all elect a 7-person Board of Directors at each annual meeting, who are responsible for deciding the orientation, co-ordinating installation, and evaluating TNI programs. As well, they monitor contact with other Inuit organizations and government agencies.

The priorities of TNI over the last 7 years have followed the original mandate closely. The first project was the installation of HF radio systems in 14 communities, providing the equipment and a paid operator. Maintained in a public building by community councils, the radio was usually on 4 hours a day, 6 days a week. As well, each of the 14 settlements has 2 trail radios capable of transmitting a signal 400-500 miles by a low power transmitter with portable antenna designed by TNI. Like HF radio, trail radio is managed by community councils.

Community radio stations were the next priority for TNI. Cost for stations is shared by TNI and the communities, the latter raising money through the sale of membership cards, bingos and other community functions. Community radios are on air from 12 to 14 hours a day with usually live programming, music, messages and reports of community interest. There is no real program planning in the communities, but volunteers run the stations on an informal basis. A radio production centre in Salluit (Sugluk) does produce 5-6 hours of programs of regional interest per week in Inuktitut, which it duplicates onto cassette tapes and mails to each community. They also produce a half hour of community news per week for the CBC. There is no publicity on community radio.

Commenting on the importance of community support for the success of this type of radio, Paul Lumsden, currently employed by TNI, stresses the importance of scaling the system to community needs:

> The fact is, the equipment is the cheapest thing. The problem is in running it. The only thing that will run it is strength of community support and if you don't have the community commitment, it will not run. Among the community stations, the one we've had the most trouble with is in Sugluk where TNI is based. The reason for it is, we have there about 35 employees running around making television programs, we have the radio production unit and everyone in town says, 'that's TNI's radio station, what do you mean we have to raise money? Look at all these people running around. Why don't you raise it?' (27).

Both the TNI model in northern Québec, and the CBC model in other parts of the Canadian north have stressed two important conditions for community radio: 1) demand for the radio originates in the community and responsibility for local content and organization rests with the community after installation; 2) the physical equipment is scaled to community resources in terms of cost and resources required for use and upkeep.

Another important factor for the two Native Communications Societies, which is pointed out in the literature, is the extensive consultation procedures with eventual users, which preceded implementation, and the results of which were incorporated into actual projects (28). Carried out by outside field-workers in the case of Wa-wa-ta, and by Inuit from NQIA in the case of TNI, this process was seen to effectively match user expectations with equipment used, contributing significantly to the success of the project in each case.

Indian Community Radio

A more recent phenomenon, most of the Indian community radio stations have been licensed since 1980 (see Appendix 2). Eleven

stations make up a network of Attiquameques and Montagnais radio stations which share programming in two ways. The Institut Educatif et Culturel Attikamek-Montagnais, based in Québec City has a production centre which produces tapes which are subsequently purchased by CBC and carried on their short-wave network. The eleven stations, in the manner of affiliates, pick up these programs from CBC short-wave and rebroadcast them locally. A second method of program-sharing is the circulation of cassettes produced locally from one station to another.

The three other stations, broadcasting in Naskapi, Algonquin, and Mohawk, operate independently. All community radio stations are eligible for funding support from the Québec community media program.

In southern Canada, where the boundaries of a community, especially in urban areas, are not so clearly identifiable as in the north, community-managed radio experiments have taken different forms.

The Pioneers

The final example backgrounding community- managed radio in Canada is a brief look at the 'pioneers' of the format of community radio most closely approximating that of present day activities in Québec. All were created within the last decade and are still broadcasting. One is situated in Quebec - Montreal's Radio Centreville and the other two, in Ontario and B.C.

Radio Centreville

> Local community radio means closeness, involvement in media, popular control (29).
>
> We need more information as to whether...the CRTC would see fit to help us in developing our community into a place where all citizens have the freedom to communicate with each other, and have the necessary tools at their disposal to amplify their voices into a chorus...
>
> We would appreciate your assistance in making our community a more viable and a more productive one. We would like to see our community radio as a possibility for social progress and the development of a more unique culture (30).
>
> The CRTC is forcing concerned communities into radio by refusing to regulate the broadcasting industry in terms of citizen's rights of access and the regulation of advertising policies...The CRTC must make frequencies available now, and open radio to communitiies in the same way that cable television has been forcibly opened... the CRTC must commit the broadcasting industry to supporting alternatives to itself, wherever communities require access (31).

'Forced' into existence by virtue of being ill-served by existing radio, Radio Centreville was incorporated as a non-profit corporation and began broadcasting in 1972 with the collaboration of Radio McGill. The student radio gave over part of it's weekly broadcast time on CFQR-FM and shared it's space on cable 91.5. Originally funded by the federal LIP and OFY programs, and animated by a CYC member, Radio Centreville saw itself as part of a social movement using radio as a means.

> La majoritié d'entre eux sont des anglophones bilingues qui travaillent déjà à un projet communautaire dans ce secteur... Ils tentent de canaliser les préoccupations des résidents de ce secteur à l'égard des problèmes socio-économiques qui les affectent (32).

Operating in a multi-ethnic district of Montreal, the radio planned to broadcast in Greek, Italian, and Portugese, as well as French and English.

> Elle sera profondément ancrée dans le mileu auquel elle s'adresse. Ses objectifs seraient notamment d'aider à développer, sur une base locale, les interactions nécessaires entre divers groupes d'une même collectivité, d'annoncer des actions urgentes et indispensable, de renseigner les auditeurs sur les services, de souligner les inégalités existant dans la collectivité en matière de logement, de loisirs, de service policier etc. afin d'en permettre l'élimination (33).

One of the motivating forces for the organizers was the belief that the mass media related little that is congruent with life experiences, and one of the means to restore credibility to radio was to put it in the hands of those it was meant to serve.

> Une radio communautaire se définit d'abord par les services qu'elle offre et le type de programmation qu'elle présente... Elle a de plus une fonction d'animation culturelle. Une radio communautaire se définit en fonction de la participation des citoyens à son fonctionnement, d'où les notions d'accès, et de contrôle, et une nécessité de politique spécifique d'acèss et de contrôle pour cette radio communautaire (34).

One of the biggest problems facing Radio Centreville organizers when they began the procedure of applying for a licence in early 1972, was that there were no precedents for the type of operation they envisaged. They noted that the CRTC was very sympathetic, 'but they haven't yet worked out a policy for multi-lingual stations, for FM, for low-powered antennas and for community broadcasting. These are four points the CRTC is considering separately. But for our purposes they are one and the same' (35).

On February 19, 1973, Radio Centreville finally applied for a low power FM licence after considerable negotiation concerning technical specifications with DOC. It was heard on April 23, and a licence was granted on October 21, 1974 'on an experimental basis' with permission to broadcast sponsorship messages but no commercials.

> This is the first time the Commission has approved an application for an FM licence to serve a distinct local community within a large urban area...

> The Commission was impressed with the energy and enthusiasm demonstrated by members of the applicant organization, and with the action already taken and planned to respond to the informational, cultural and entertainment needs of the community to be served (36).

One of the reasons for the long delay between licence application and approval (20 months) was due to protracted negotiations with DOC over technical matters. At the same time as mounting training programs and facilities for the radio station during the waiting period, originators of Radio Centreville were also actively writing policy documents, hoping to clear a path through the regulatory institutions for future experiments of similar type. In the summer of 1972, 'Towards a Community Radio Policy for Canada' was distributed, referring to the work of the Pacifica Foundation in the U.S., community radio experiments in Espanola and Kenomadiwin in Canada, the goals of the Broadcasting Act and the limited opportunities for achieving these goals. Both 'community' and 'community radio' are defined in a variety of ways but the premise that communities have something of their own to say, and that organizing to say it is a community-building process, underlay the discussion.

> The CRTC attempts to regulate Canadian content ratios and to bring Canadian stations back into Canadian hands are important regulatory moves. But they are a mere tinkering with the mechanism. What is called for is the establishment of community stations where people may interact directly with one another, where they can communicate what they feel is vital to their lives, where they can determine not only the content of what is communicated, but play an active role in determining the structure of the media outlet that they themselves have constructed (37).

At the same time, the role of the station is seen as community mobilizer.

> Notre programmation met l'accent sur l'information et l'education...L'information se fera sous forme de bulletins de nouvelles, documentaires, tables-rondes, discussions sur des sujets nationaux et internationaux, laissant en même temps, une place

> importante à la nouvelle locale. L'information locale portera sur la vie du quartier à tous les niveaux et sera le plus souvent en direct...En matière d'education, nous voyons deux aspects principaux: 1) la vulgarisation des connaissances scientifiques, 2) la valorisation de la vie socio-culturelle de la population locale (38).

CINQ's license was renewed in 1977, and again in 1980, the decision noting that 'the licensee intends to sustain its role as an open-access, non-commercial, community radio station, and expects it to strive to maintain the programming objectives for the community which formed the basis of the original application' (39). The station continues to broadcast in Montreal a decade after the idea was conceived.

Wired World

In the early 60's a radio club at the University of Waterloo produced programs which were then broadcast on local radio stations. In 1966, they began closed circuit operations on campus, and in 1970 went public via cable. Programming was aimed primarily at the university community, and produced by students. A group of students in the early 70's proposed to the student federation to become a community oriented FM station rather than student-oriented (40). When the suggestion was rejected, the proponents moved off-campus to establish CKWR - Wired World. A campus station, Radio Waterloo, eventually began FM broadcasting in 1977.

The Wired World group, with the support of OFY funds in 1971, extended its efforts to develop community awareness of the possibility for participation with audio and video media. Video programs were shown on the community cable channel and audio programs aired one hour a week on a private radio station. The early work was politically oriented,

the group uncovering a story about a property development agreement between Kitchener City Council and a development corporation in Alberta, and later supporting striking workers at the Dare cookie factory. By the summer of 1972, the group decided to apply for its own FM, non-commercial licence, a move unprecedented in Canada by urban groups not affiliated with a university, but concurrently with Radio Centreville's deliberations.

A license was granted in August, 1973, and Wired World went on the air in March, 1974. The station sought to operate without government grants, raising funds instead from listeners, local organizations and businesses as charitable donations. It intended to keep paid staff to a minimum, maintaining daily operations on a volunteer basis. Technical problems and break-downs cost the station dearly in community donations and program participation, resulting in a period off the air and consequent tension with DOC over poor use of an allocated frequency.

By January, 1977, none of the original people remained, but a new group determined to resolve operational, technical and financial problems of the station took over and by January, 1978 it was once again operating. However, rather than the programming mixture of the early years of information, entertainment, drama, local concerts and current affairs, much of the programming in 1978 was ethnic and religious programming responding to a new rule requiring self- financing at $10/hour for a program to get on the air. The station no longer undertakes any program production itself as there is no program staff. Volunteers look after house-keeping tasks, and co-ordinate the groups appearing on the program schedule.

Vancouver Co-op Radio

Originally an organization called Neighbourhood Radio, the Vancouver group sought to develop production skills in a wide constituency of people, eventually hoping to develop a unique community radio sound capable of attracting an audience in an urban area. Before having their own radio station, the group produced programs that were 'highly polished, including music, drama, sound effects and script' and were broadcast on existing stations or sold to the CBC (41).

> Neighbourhood Radio offered production training and access opportunities to any citizen or labour group that wished to use radio. The offer was made quite widely, but few groups accepted and those who did wanted a single public relations type programme. It appeared that although, in time, a series of public relations programmes for every group in Vancouver might be produced, this kind of programming, no matter how well produced, could not sustain a radio station. Thus, people from Neighbourhood Radio discovered the limitations of access radio (42).

Concurrently with Neighbourhood Radio, another group called Muckrakers, a research group meeting to analyze current news became interested in using and creating alternative media. In 1973 both groups, with some crossover of membership were encouraged by the CRTC to apply for a broadcast licence. Deciding to go ahead with the idea of a community radio, the groups made programming their priority, designating only two people to do fundraising and administration. The goal was to have most programs produced by volunteers with a core staff acting in supporting roles only. Vancouver Co-op Radio, a non-profit society incorporated under the B.C. Co-operatives Act, 'was formed for the purpose of seeking an FM radio station licence and operating the station as a listener-owned, non-commercial station with access available to any Vancouver area group or individual' (43).

Funded by government grants and selling airtime, the group managed to pay cash for all equipment. While much of the original organizing work was in collecting together interested groups to prepare radio documentaries, this was to change after licensing:

> Of course, when the station went on-air and certainly since, programming changed. Producing documentaries is a luxury that can only be supported by grants and without a heavy daily schedule of broadcasting. The station did develop some new formats for broadcasting, however, and carried the documentary style programming until it ran out...News was cut first to a half hour daily and now to an hour long public affairs programme twice a week. Of the original programming, only the Books Show (reviews and interviews), a late night talk show and a specialized music show (Rock Talk) remain. The rest was simply too labour intensive (44).

Co-op Radio was the first non-commercial community FM radio station in Canada to obtain a licence to broadcast to a large metropolitan area in its entirety, receiving its license in May, 1974. CFRO-FM broadcasts from a 3.7 KW transmitter and is carried as well on cable around Vancouver, and via microwave to a number of small communities on both Vancouver Island and in the interior. Subsequent curtailment of government grants has led the group to depend more heavily on membership fees, program sponsorships, and donations, for survival.

While the organizers held a range of perspectives concerning their role and the project itself (often conflicting), there emerged a reformulation of the concept of community. 'Community' was replaced with 'constituency', 'viewing constituency as people sharing multiple overlapping relationships in a system of power' (45). Individual interests were seen to overlap in full, in part, or be in conflict with others. Programming, from this perspective, begins to resemble some of the earlier notions of public or educational programming. It attempts to provide critical information and entertainment that can stimulate,

challenge and involve the audience crystallizing affiliations that spark political activity (46). The recognition that the notion of 'community' became inappropriate for a media experiment determined to act as a critique of existing public and commercial media systems is an important point to which we return in Chapter 3.

In all three cases described, the role of the federal regulator and licensing agencies CRTC and DOC, has had some impact on the development of the sector. Community radio, like all radio in Canada, comes under the jurisdiction of these agencies regarding a number of elements, from technical standards to program content. The influence of these agencies over the sector is the subject of the following section.

CRTC and DOC

Since all community radio stations receiving licences within the last decade, or currently considering making application, are dealing with the FM spectrum, some background on FM policy is relevant.

One of the first actions of the CRTC after its establishment on April 1, 1968, was to place an immediate moratorium on new FM licence applications, both commercial and educational, in order to first develop a policy designed to complement rather than duplicate existing services. FM frequencies, open since the 30's, but with specific regulations only since 1964, are the last available broadcast frequencies. The AM spectrum has become increasingly congested and prone to interference, particularly in the night-time hours. In addition, FM has superior sound transmission characteristics, and can cover large areas with considerably less power than AM (47).

Two public hearings were held, one in June, 1969, another in October, 1973, and an interim document 'A Proposal for an FM Radio Policy in the Private Sector,' was released in April, 1973. Concerns from the first hearing included technical considerations of development of the FM band, and recommended new FM licensing policies and program content of FM, in light of objectives of Canadian broadcasting as set out in the Broadcasting Act of 1968 (48). While some community groups objected to the very short time period for preparation between the public announcement in May of 1969 and the hearing, one month later (at which only four or five oral submissions were made), the Commission met informally with groups from Kitchener-Waterloo, Montreal and Ottawa on February 11, 1972 (49). On this occasion, the Commission was chastised for having already waited four years without implementing a 'community-originated' broadcast policy, the mandate to act being inherent in the Broadcasting Act. The group was critical of the CRTC's interpretation of Section 3a of the Act which guarantees radio frequencies to be public property. Whereas this would imply that Canadians have the inherent right to own the radio frequencies 'as they would a public park', in fact, the frequencies were found to be limited in number, allocated on a regional basis according to DOC's requirements and international treaties, and on the basis of efficient technical facilities and financial stability (50). Since the Commission had expressed the need for local programming in 1969, the community groups urged the regulatory body to tone down its role as credit-rater and begin to offer more support to community radio projects such as their own (51). In late 1972, Radio Centreville submitted to the Commission a 40-page document in French and English, 'Towards a Community Radio

Policy for Canada,' complete with bibliography outlining major developments of public broadcasting in the U.S., and stressing the philosophical orientations of community access to media, as well as specific policy suggestions.

While no new commercial licenses were granted before 1975, six applications for non-commercial FM stations were approved, including four community stations (Kitchener-Waterloo, 1973; Vancouver, Montreal and Chicoutimi in 1974), and two student run stations (Université Laval, 1972 and the University of Winnipeg, 1974). The outcome of this period of research for the Commission was its FM policy in 1975, followed by the FM broadcasting regulations of October 9, 1980. The essential aspects of the policy were to outline the priority of ensuring that FM radio was distinct from AM, and to provide a set of content and format categories which more precisely identified this distinction. AM radio with it's familiar rolling format was seen to be designed for an audience 'on the go', using radio as background for other activities. FM, on the other hand, had the opportunity and the responsibility to provide at least some programming of a more engaging format, demanding closer attention on the part of listeners, and providing in return a more 'involved' listening experience, be it concerning information, entertainment or enlightenment (52).

In its policy statement of 1975, the Commission also introduced a new application for FM broadcast licenses including a 'Promise of Performance' requiring the broadcaster to make detailed commitments regarding the nature of the broadcasting service proposed (53). Broken into ten categories, each dealing with a different facet of broadcasting, some sections called for general statements of intent, and

some for specific commitments. The news and information programming was considered of particular importance and in this category the Commission regulated to include community involvement in regular commercial FM radio (54).

When interviewed in 1980, Sjef Frenken, one of the architects of the FM radio policy, admitted that the access requirement was hardly used at all by community groups, many of whom who had chosen to develop parallel radio services.

> Now if you look at the promise of performance, it is very difficult to define what is meant by community access. I mean does the Junior Chamber of Commerce have the right to get in. By all definitions that I can think of, yes. And yet, it is the very anti-Junior Chamber of Commerce-type establishment that has sprouted the concern for access and tried hard with the fair and balanced treatment of particular issues to exclude them...One of the problems, I think, is that amongst many activist groups, there was a reluctance to have their voice mixed with the voice of commerce. You want to roil and rave and rant against «them»...But get the message across in the best way, and get it across when most people are listening. Make use of the tendencies of the system (55).

As well as providing for access opportunity in commercial FM, the Commission, based on the early experience of Kitchener-Waterloo fostered collaboration between students and community access groups. As Frenken describes:

> By 1979 when the Carleton student radio decision came out, the Commission had already realized that there were some vagaries affecting the lives of community stations which perhaps could be solved in another way. So it said, normally the sector that is involved with community access has the same broad thrust as that which you find at a well-agitating university. The university is an institution which has the history of change, but the institution keeps moving with the change. Was there a possible way in which you could mate the two sectors? I mean of course, you can not have 126 hours of community programming; you could not do it. So what you inevitably find is that you start doing minority entertainment programmes too (56).

He emphasized the importance of providing for a diversity of voices across the FM spectrum and not 'ghettoizing' alternative voices into one

channel so as to be 'preaching to the converted' (57). In the event that a community group still wished to develop an independent radio station, the 1975 policy left open the opportunity of applying for a special licence with no particular requirements other than compliance with FM policy in general. Considered experimental, each request would be dealt with on a case by case basis.

The CRTC has used the occasion of license renewals of student FM to draw out its policy on both student and community radio. The most comprehensive statement appears in the decision granting Carleton University a licence in 1975. Here, the Commission noted that one of its concerns was 'to see that different 'voices' in the community are served... different sectors of social life (who) cannot find a place on the national service or private commercial outlets' (58). The examples of CKWR Kitchener-Waterloo, CINQ-FM Montreal, and CFRO-FM Vancouver were brought to the attention of the student licensees as three different models for community access stations in urban areas. Carleton and Winnipeg (cable) were seen as two more varieties of the same type of radio - non-profit, of limited commercial activity, and allowing some community access.

Both the Commission and campus radio organizations are in agreement over the community access orientation of this type of radio, but whereas the CRTC also stresses limited commercial activity as an important defining feature, campus broadcasters insist on their obligation to produce alternative programming with whatever means available, including commercial sources. Except in a very few cases, this third sector of radio broadcasting is enjoined by the Commission from raising money

through commercial advertising except through limited sponsorship-type messages.

The current policy repecting commercial revenue of community radio was originally developed with reference to student carrier current activities. Provided such activity did not 'become a major concern of such broadcasting undertakings', nor 'have an appreciable effect on the revenue of local commercial stations', it was permitted (59). Once campus radio began moving into FM, joined by a few community radio stations, the policy on limited advertising stood although the reasoning changed. The Commission now warned users that commercial activities had to be restricted in order to preserve the integrity of alternative programming. First defined publicly with the decision for CINQ-FM, a Montreal community station, the policy on limited sponsorship for broadcast radio read as follows:

> The obligation of a community station to ensure satisfactory operation should not lead it to consider profit-making as its main objective or to try to offer complete competitive services... Although this application is for a non-commercial station, the Commission in line with previous decisions on similar applications, will allow simple statements of sponsorship of an institutional nature, but such statements must not specifically promote or mention a sponsor's products or services (60).

When asked by CINQ-FM for clarification of this definition in 1975, the CRTC responded as follows in a letter to the station:

> The Commission will permit simple statements which identify the sponsors of a program or the station. Such statements may incorporate the name of the sponsor, the business address, hours of business, and a brief general description of the types of services or products which the sponsor provides, without reference to brand names. Such statements must not contain language which attempts to promote particular services or products; for example, such statements may not refer to price, quality, convenience, durability or desireability, or contain other comparative or competitive references.
>
> The Commission will also allow such stations to accept payments for classified advertisements on behalf of organizations engaged in community affairs and activities of a non-profit

nature (61).

This definition was subsequently used in the 1975 decision for Carleton's CKCU-FM and Winnipeg's CJUM-FM. The decision earlier in the year concerning Calgary carrier current undertakings had established a maximum time for such commercial activity to four minutes per hour (62). This time limit has since become the standard rule for community broadcasting and campus broadcasting, where permitted. By the time the policy on limited advertising had been refined to the above definition, the Commission had shifted emphasis to protecting programming rather than avoiding competitive broadcasting. In the same decision for Carleton University of 1975, the Commission noted that:

> Competitive pressures of the market place have a direct or indirect influence on the nature of programming. It is precisely because it wishes to safeguard the special nature of programming of the student sector that the Commission is reluctant to permit such stations to become involved in conventional commercial activities (63).

When CKCU-FM tested the interpretation of this policy, the Commission responded by refusing to approve their licence renewal application of 1977:

> The Commission's aim is not to protect commercial radio from competition, but is rather to protect student and community radio from the pressures exerted by commercial imperatives (64).

At most licence application hearings and public hearings, the question of financing through advertising is raised anew. At the November 20, 1979 hearing considering application from eight community radio stations, all raised the issue of advertising as did the Association des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires du Québec. The 1975 decision with respect to CKCU-Carleton and CJUM- U. of Winnipeg refusing advertising as a 'safeguard to the special nature' of this kind of programming was reiterated, and requests for the right to advertise were

refused, except in those circumstances where the community radio is also a first local radio service.

While the FM moratorium on commercial radio was also lifted with new regulations in 1975, another freeze was announced in April of 1979 in order 'to allow the CBC sufficient time to develop its plans regarding the utilization of FM frequencies, and (CRTC) stated that it would issue no further calls for private FM radio applications...before the end of 1979' (65). This freeze was modified somewhat in a public notice of July, 1979, excluding stations planning to broadcast under 50 watts. Since out of six community radio groups in the process of application at the time, three were proposing to broadcast well beyond the 50 watt limit (Pontiac, Rimouski and Upper Gatineau), they were encouraged by the Commission to reduce their broadcast power to 50 watts in order to be heard in the fall of the same year (66). All refused and succeeded, along with a member of the ARCQ, in meeting with CRTC President, Pierre Camu on August 2 to 'sensitize' him to the diliterious effect an added six to twelve month wait would have on the momentum of the community radio projects (67). The following day, the Secretary of the Commission telephoned ARCQ headquarters in Montreal with the news that all the community radio licence applications would be heard in the fall.

This seeming change of policy from the April 18th announcement was explained by the Commission, following an intervention by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, by virtue of the fact that the applications had already been received before June even though public hearings had not yet been scheduled. Clearly, there was an interest in accommodating this new form of radio.

The addition of a second class of FM license in July, 1976, in conjunction with DOC was an important concession to the development of small FM stations broadcasting under 50 watts. Suitable especially for urban or northern areas where the target audience lives close to the antenna site, this mode of broadcasting is less useful in the case of rural areas where a sparse population is spread over greater distances. It was for this reason that Pontiac, Upper Gatineau and Rimouski refused to change their licence application to 50 watts. The application process is greatly simplified for low power FM in that the technical study can be done by anyone with some technical ability, following the CRTC handbook. The decision is usually rubber stamped without even a public hearing. For a regular licence, the procedure is considerably more complicated. Firstly, a licence application kit obtained from the CRTC is submitted, detailing proposed programming and proving long-term financial stability. A consulting engineer is hired to do a technical study based on which DOC will (if acceptable) issue a technical construction and operating certificate, if channel space is available. The applicant then gives public notice, and appears at a hearing defending the proposal to the Commission. If it is accepted, and a technical certificate obtained, a channel is assigned, construction undertaken, and the installation inspected by DOC on completion.

The point of detailing the application procedure here is to illustrate the complexity of the task, the number of different types of criteria to meet, and the number of different steps entailing a substantial amount of correspondence, planning, and co-ordination. This is an important factor to consider in Chapter 3 during the discussion on

the internal organization of a community radio group, where many of these tasks are undertaken by volunteers.

Responsible for all technical matters pertaining to an FM licence application, DOC too, has evolved policy especially directed at community media since 1970. It was here that Radio Centreville encountered one of its first obstacles in 1972. Already broadcasting in collaboration with Radio McGill over cable, the Montreal station sought its own licence for a mini-station.

> The stumbling block is not so much the CRTC, the federal licensing body, as it is the Department of Communications, says Hyman Glustein, a director of the project. The DOC must first make available a frequency before a station may apply to the CRTC for permission to broadcast on it, and so far the DOC has shown no inclination to take the first step. 'They say there is no allowance in their set-up for low power - less than 5,000 watt stations', Glustein says. 'We'll be broadcasting on 10 watts, which will reach 150,000 people in an area with a 10-block radius (68).'

In 1970 there were no procedures for applying for either low-power FM or AM broadcasting licenses. There was a complete freeze on FM, and AM required a minimum power of 100 watts to have a recognized coverage area. When Kenomadiwin approached the CRTC for a low power AM licence in 1968 they were encouraged by the Commission but told by DOC that they could not be licenced under existing regulations (69). DOC suggested applying for FM but the group refused on the grounds that everyone in the area had only AM radios and they wanted to use readily available technologies. They were eventually licenced on an experimental basis to broadcast at 40 watts, but when referred to as a precedent by the Montreal group seeking its own low power AM licence in 1971, DOC reminded them that Kenomadiwin had only experimental status and did not prejudice the policy requiring a minimum of 100 watts for AM broadcasting (70). Further, DOC insisted that low power AM was

impractical in an urban area and encouraged the Montreal group to apply for an FM licence (71). This they eventually did, as previously outlined, and were finally licenced in 1974 also on an experimental basis as the first low-power FM urban station (72).

While low power FM proved a popular model in northern communities, and for some campus broadcasting undertakings, most southern organizations seeking licence after Radio Centre-ville, while using a comparable organizational model, have applied for regular FM licenses. Nevertheless, the Department has continued to support the application for low power FM by creating the LPFM standard in 1976 (73).

While responsible for technical matters through the Telecommunications Regulatory Service of DOC, the Department has undertaken a number of different research projects over the last decade aimed at developing a policy to ensure a place for broadcasting innovations in the Canadian system. In 1970, the Socio-economic Planning Branch organized a number of inter-disciplinary seminars around the issues of computers and telecommunications, resulting in a report, 'Instant World', in 1971, laying the groundwork for policy development in the social uses of communications technologies.

> These conditions of imprecision about the relationship between technology and the social order, and of uncertainty about the specific as well as general effects brought about by the particular technologies clearly complicates the task of devising a sensitive and sane social planning structure for the development of communications systems... Those discussions (of 1970) and continuing studies have served to identify several concepts or broad principles which together form a foundation for the social planning of communications (74).

At the time of the study, concurrent with the N.F.B.'s Challenge For Change experiment using video and film for social change, these media were more commonly present in community experiments than radio.

Some of the broader concepts, however, that are not media-specific were developed at the time.

> It may therefore be a necessary response to the communications explosion to develop the concept of a 'right to communicate' as an essential human right, and to recognize that without such a right, individuals may no longer be able to exercise their full responsibilities and opportunities as members of a society- just as today we cannot be full members of a society without an unimpeded right to assemble (75).

By 1979 with the trend toward regular FM licensing for non-commercial radio growing in Canada, especially in Québec, the department organized a policy seminar in collaboration with Concordia University on 'New Developments in Local Programming Within the Canadian Broadcasting System,' based on the results of a research project commissioned by DOC in 1978 (76). The three-day conference attended by community broadcasters and policy-makers from across Canada generated a list of 51 issues relating to broadcasting policy, culminating in three resolutions for consideration by policy-makers. Firstly, it was proposed that support be given for more workshops and meetings of the same type; secondly, that there be institutional recognition of the legitimacy of non-profit, public broadcasting; and thirdly, that DOC fund research into the study of 'community access' and 'alternative programming' as it is currently evolving in Canada (77).

The McNulty report made public in June, 1979, and tightened up and synthesised into a 7-page document six months later, along with the conference resolutions, was followed a year later by research commissioned by DOC through the Association des Radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec, 'Radio Com 80' (78). Since 1980, the department has undertaken no new research specifically related to community media policy, but is awaiting direction from recommendations of the Federal

Cultural Policy Review Committee, which DOC established with the more general mandate of making recommendations on Canadian cultural policy.

Special Cases

There are two examples of radio projects which are distinct from, but related to, community-managed radio in Canada. Both educational and campus radio are comparable models and indeed treated in a number of policy statements by the CRTC as the same sector. Distinguishing these two types of radio from community radio are two factors: an educated labour pool in the university community, and substantial financial support from their institutional base.

Although campus radio run by students is a relatively recent phenomenon, most having been licensed after the CRTC lifted its moratorium on FM licenses in 1975, four universities held educational broadcasting licenses prior to 1970; U. of Alberta, Queen's, U. of Saskatchewan and Ryerson (79). A distinction can be made between campus FM and educational FM - not as mutually exclusive categories - but in describing the general orientation of the stations. Of the four universities originally holding educational broadcasting licences, two now maintain their status as a non-commercial, educational service no longer connected to a university. CKUA in Edmonton, which is now managed as an educational network by ACCESS Alberta, and the Ryerson station, are independently incorporated. CKUA's present service, described with a supplemental 'Taxonomy of Educational Objectives' in its license application, perhaps seems far from the discussion of broadcasting designed with a specific community in mind but this is only the most recent stage in the evolution of a radio station that has been

in the past the nucleus of a number of important community-based experiments. A joint project of the Visual Aid Department and the Department of Extension, CKUA began broadcasting in 1927 'with a simple, yet significant assignment... to take the university to the people':

> Through the intervening years, CKUA has consistently abided by the aspiration of its sponsors, a forward looking group of University people who saw in radio broadcasting a unique opportunity for public service (80).

As Liora Salter describes in Community Radio:

> Throughout the years, CKUA has been a combination community-educational station, a maverick in the world of broadcasting. The station's conception of community and of education was not traditional however, at any time. Community broadcasting might mean a series of documentaries produced by someone who walked in off the street with some tapes from Indian communities. It certainly included the taped broadcasts of Eugene Steinhauer. Educational broadcasting occasionally included a lecture from the University, but more often than not also meant any kind of programming that was stimulating or educational to a general audience (81).

In 1934, CKUA also collaborated in organizing a prototype for Citizen's Forum (the short-lived urban equivalent to Farm Forum), originally called Round Table, with prominent citizens taking part in discussions. Alberta Government Telephones took over CKUA from the university in 1945, although the licence continued to be issued in the name of the university until 1974 when Access Alberta took it over (82).

The station has established a loyal listenership over the years providing, in the words of Access president, Larry Shorter, 'a unique broadcasting format, heavy on classics, jazz, some education and a catholic disregard for shallow popular taste' (83).

Saskatchewan's CJUS-FM, originally licensed in 1965 as an educational non-commercial FM broadcasting station, saw itself 'in an excellent position to serve the public by informing, educating and stimulating public opinion' at the same time as providing experience for

'students. CJUS-FM uses the expertise of the university community to produce lectures, drama, debates, classical music, opera, folk etc. and also rebroadcasts material from CBC 'Ideas', the New Zealand broadcasting corporation, BBC, and Deutsche Welle. The station still allows limited access to the airwaves to community groups 'to encourage and promote the skills and talents of local people'. One hour per week is set aside for local groups 'to present information and instruction in their particular interest' 84

Ryerson's CJRT, originally conceived as a training centre for students, eventually became a non-profit corporation with high broadcasting standards, known for some of the finest music programs in Canada. The station caters to 'minority' tastes - classical, jazz and folk in music - some credit courses, and emphasis in the news is on 'quality of life' stories that have social relevance 85 .

Queen's CFRC, originally a project of the Electrical Engineering Department also proposes to 'provide listeners in the Kingston area with programming alternative to that available on the commercially operated stations (86).

Educational stations are specifically not open-access radio stations inviting listeners to take part in production activities. Listeners are invited instead to become more active listeners as programs are planned in view of engaging the attention of the audience, and are more broadly characterized as in the public interest rather than in the 'community' interest.

Campus radio, initiated and run by students and now referred to by the National Campus Radio Association as campus/community radio, places a much greater emphasis on access, and participation of

non-professionals in program production (87). Some stations which identify themselves more closely with community radio, also allow for representation by members of the community outside of the university on their administrative boards. In the case of CKRL Québec:

> 'Les structures corporatives proposées par le requérant permettront aux étudiants, aux membres de la communauté universitaire et à la population du Québec métropolitain de participer au sociétariat, à la direction, à l'exploitation et à la programmation de cette station de radio' (88).

While in most cases campus radio stations have a core staff for continuity in the day to day operations, all are dependent on a consistent supply of volunteer labour for both on-air programming and administrative decision-making. The words 'different' or 'alternative' and 'access' with respect to programming are common features in campus radio applications and CRTC Decisions.

> 'Le type de programmation qu'il projette est tout à fait différent de ce qui est présenté à l'heure actuelle à la radio MA et à la radio MF de Québec' (89).

> 'At the hearing the applicant stated that the purpose of the new station would be to provide the university and the city of Fredericton with an innovative and complementary radio service' (90).

> Radio Fanshawe offers 'to provide an alternative programming service to the community including community access programming credit courses, and experimental programming' (91).

CKCU Carleton bases its programming on a philosophy of alternate radio, offering minority programming often directed to narrow interest groups especially in the area of music listening. As well, the station stresses accessibility by members of the public who have a desire to participate in community broadcasting, and hours of open-access programming are made available each week.

While the design of programs varies widely from credit courses to specialized musical programs, from community access to promotion of

local talent, an important qualifier of campus radio, like educational radio, is that it provide alternative listening to that which is already available in a community. As well, open-access to the airwaves by non-professionals is considered the key, linking campus and community radio. The strongest statement of the identification of campus radio with community radio appears in the July 1981 submission of the National Campus Radio Association to the CRTC's Review of Radio. Once a campus radio station moves into FM broadcasting, it is referred to as a 'campus/community' radio station.

> The experience of campus/community broadcasters has consistently proven that we are more than student to student communicators... In many areas of the country, the campus/community station is the only source of local community access, multilingual and alternative music and spoken word programming... The campus/community station is directly in tune with the wishes of the local community, because of the extensive community access we allow and encourage 92).

The submission suggests that an appropriate definition for campus/community radio include not only the communication of campus concerns and interest to the community, but also the promotion and exposure of local culture and performing arts, the provision of educational programming, and the production of alternative programming directed towards the general public, using resources of both the university and community.

According to the NCRC Report, an average of 72% of the funds required to operate campus radio stations originate from the university community through student unions, direct student levy, and university grants and allocations. The remainder comes in the form of provincial and federal government grants, fund raising drives, listener donation campaigns, and in two experimental cases (Carleton and Winnipeg), 'limited commercial activity'.

A report published in 1979 by the Ontario Radio Campus Organization is critical of this position and argues that the non-commercial status of campus radio prevents it from providing innovative, community-responsive programming.

> Generally speaking, a station's budget determines the quality and size of it's facilities, resources, staff and efficiency... Without adequate funding to oil this complex machinery, a campus station has a very difficult time presenting consistently listenable (never mind creative, original or alternative) programming... The easiest and cheapest type of program to do is programming which is an imitation of commercial formats (93).

Other sources of funds available to campus radio such as student union support, government grants, university support and listener donations are all seen, in the ORCO, report to have their shortcomings. The report argues that the vast inequality of resources between large and small universities when supported largely by the student population discriminates against the smaller ones. Further, relying on government grants is seen to place campus radio in competition with important community service groups who could not possibly generate any commercial revenue. While university money may be available on a project-oriented basis for 'enrichment' programming, ORCO did not expect this funding source to maintain the high level of entertainment programming which serves audience needs. Finally, the report admitted that while listener donations were an important part of funding and audience feedback for a number of stations, they represented a small return for the work invested in co-ordinating the collection of donations. Like community-managed radio, the problem of revenue return on time invested was common to all these sources. The ORCO report points out that every hour spent researching, writing and lobbying for grants, organizing

campaigns and soliciting funds, was time not spent preparing radio programming (94).

Institutional Support for Community Radio

The development of community-managed radio over the last decade has in important ways been the result of efforts of local groups and individuals, but it is important to add that without the institutional support the sector has received in Canada, it could not have attained its present status. This support has come at three main levels - support for the ideology of community radio, support for the production of specific programs and support for day to day operations.

Both the CRTC and DOC have been shown to be supportive of the ideology of local radio produced by its listening public, but other institutions also publicly supported the sector. The Company of Young Canadians, a federally funded organization oriented towards citizen participation in social change projects was among the first to promote the community media sector. Both Kenomadiwin (1968) and Radio Centreville (1972) were initially CYC experiments. As late as 1979, when Secretary of State had taken over responsibility for CYC, it was funding community radio projects. That year, the CYC funded 14 salaried workers to work in separate community radio stations across Québec at a cost of $200,000.

The CBC set up an Office of Community Radio in 1971, which was to act as a clearinghouse for community radio activities in Canada. Although this office did publish a report on community radio in 1977, it retained a fairly low profile and was eventually disbanded in budget cuts of 1979.

The Secretary of State, through research, and a special Task Force on Citizens Communications has also provided substantial support for the ideology of community media as well as direct financial support for operations through job creation programs. It's OFY Program, later taken over by Employment and Immigration, funded the initial stages of a number of community radio projects. In 1973, a Task Force on Citizens Communications jointly sponsored by Secretary of State, DOC and the NFB, was asked to identify ways in which the federal government could best encourage 'community development, citizen's participation, and opportunities for creative self-expression, by providing the human and social potential of communications technologies' (95). An extensive examination of citizen's communications projects across Canada was conducted. Admitting the difficulty of defining a phenomenon that covered so many different types of media aimed at so many different publics, the Task Force Report described citizen's communications as 'highly innovative, still groping for form, still setting its own rules' (96). Some of the first cable projects were seen to have peaked early, making way for other kinds of experimentation:

> Cable television was seized on suddenly as the new Jerusalem, its limitations obscured by a blizzard of rhetoric - 'access; demystification of the media'; 'participation'; 'process not product' - until it seemed that everyone was talking and no one acting, still less anyone actually watching the earnest community-made programs that sometimes flickered over spare channels of CATV systems.. More recently...groups across the country putting less emphasis on rhetoric and more on organization and action, and demonstrating a born survivors instinct to sniff out one funding source after another, have started to build up a critical base of experience...and community support (97).

In spite of numerous documented shortcomings, the Task Force reported that this nebulous experiment with communications technologies had important implications for Canada:

> More profoundly, citizens communications techniques can also play a part in the most important component of all in community development: the process of developing a new social consensus based upon individual self respect (98).

In consequence, the federal government was urged to give it serious consideration:

> Government assistance to citizens communications (in terms of either funding or support services) should be directed towards groups which have developed non-profit programs and are able to demonstrate broad community support. These programs should involve the use of communications techniques in relation to community development, citizen participation and self-expression (99).

In 1974, the Citizens Promotion Branch released a report, 'Non-Profit Community Radio: A Local Autonomous Public Communications System'. This report too, encourages further support for community radio:

> The Department of the Secretary of State, responsible for social and cultural development should take an active role in encouraging local, autonomous public communications systems which generate innovative volunteer activities and have reasonable financial input from their community. Non-profit community FM radio stations can provide such a communications system (100).

The Vanier Institute for the Family in Ottawa, also became interested in community radio in 1976 when the institute brought together for the first time representatives from five separate community radio projects across Canada with the goal of sharing experiences and information resources. They collaborated with DOC in organizing the 'New Developments in Local Programming' conference in Montreal, 1979, and support for specific programs was provided by the Institute to two community radio projects. Vancouver Co-op Radio was funded to do a series on the family in 1974, and the Jonquière community radio to do a series on the problems of single parenting in 1976-77.

The Canada Council, under its 'Explorations' program also provided funding for specific programs as did many other agencies such as CMHC,

Health and Welfare, and the Ministry of Urban Affairs (101). Since each radio station had many programs over the year subsidized by different sources, it is difficult to evaluate the extent of support for specific programs except to acknowledge that it was an option for many.

In 1977, the Canadian Council on Social Develoment conducted a Canada-wide study on the use of media to promote social change (102). Interviewing community groups and organizations across Canada (including community media groups), the study sought to establish the extent to which the use of media facilitated or deterred efforts towards social change. The report notes that many organizations felt they had been 'burned' by their experience with both community and commercial media in that energy and funds invested on making a particular program did not provide an equivalent return (103). However, in comparison to cable and broadcast television, radio was seen to have greater potential in that it was the 'least expensive communications channel capable of reaching a large audience on a regular basis' (104). In considering the relative advantages of community and commercial media, the report concluded that although commercial media do reach a wider audience, they are often patronizing, or misunderstanding towards the issues to which such groups wished to draw attention. The report recommended that:

> What is needed in this country is a truly public broadcasting system - one that would guaruntee access to community, citizen and self-help groups and organizations at the national level, and provide them with the means to broadcast their ideas and propositions (105).

The CBC is seen to be potentially useful in this light, but demands are also made for more community media resources. Funding by government agencies for community media is seen to be 'essential in the interests of the country:

> The future of community media is tied closely to the future of community, citizen and self-help groups and organizations, as these will be their primary supporters... community groups and media projects will likely have a more difficult time putting forward their case, but if they are denied, we will lose a dynamic source for social change in Canadian society (106).

Probably the most important source of support for the continual survival of community radio was the federal job creation programs which were the mainstay for almost all projects. During its first year of operation, 1972, the Local Initiatives Program (LIP) alone spent $3.2 million on 119 separate media projects (107). The same year, Opportutnities For Youth, a summer job creation program gave $3 million to media projects (108). Neither of these programs were particularly interested in 'communications', their goal being essentially to reduce unemployment. Thus, grants were short-term, providing assistance for employing personnel rather than capital investment. The Secretary of State also provided such funding through its social development and multicultural programs.

Concluding remarks to Chapter One

The community radio sector, especially the more recent community-managed model, along with campus broadcasting curiously seems more easily defined by what it is not rather than by what it is. Regarded by the CRTC as 'other' than private/commercial or national/public, the community radio sector is dealt with on a case by case basis and has only experimental status. Although all examples are non-profit, some are non-commercial, most are limited commercial, and a few are commercial with respect to their right to advertise.

Organizationally such projects are characterized by a dependence on sponsoring agencies for financial support and local populations for volunteer labour (and some financial backing).

Community radio even tends to define itself by that which commercial or public radio is not. It is meant to serve the community, not the sponsor, by organizing, animating, and providing an outlet for local interests unavailable on other channels, all of which leads to focus on programming policy. Programming is the one area where community radio must be seen to do things differently. It cannot imitate commercial or educational formats, but must create its own original programming format, which it seeks to do by stressing the process over content in linking the audience with the means of production. Programming produced by its own consumers would hopefully provide the locally relevant content missing in other formats, but necessary to a plan of social development.

This is the context in which community radio has evolved in Québec. From the single Radio Centreville experiment that began in 1972, there are now 14 operating FM stations (excluding native radio), seven more in the planning stages, and an umbrella organization co-ordinating development. The model of community-managed radio is that employed in the province, as all stations have incorporated as non-profit, community-based communications organizations.

The important difference between the sector in Québec compared with other examples is the close involvement of the provincial government in planning, organizing, and financing the sector. It has been indicated that this type of radio is dependent on provincial and federal funds for survival in all cases, but outside of Québec,

financial involvement is largely limited to disbursing funds for specific purposes, especially employing personnel. The extent of government involvement in the planning, promotion and organization of the sector is unprecedented outside of this province. An overview of the sector in Québec, including the regulatory and political context is the subject of the following chapter.

Development of Non-native Community Radio in Québec

1969	Creation of Ministère des communications with immediate mandate to reclaim jurisdiction over cable from federal govt.
1970	N.F.B. begins community television experiment in Normandin.
1970-1972	Local offices of Communications-Québec actively promote community communications.
1971	MCQ publishes 'Towards a Quebec Communications Policy'.
	Company of Young Canadians (CYC) projects begin in Québec (ie. BLOC).
1972	CKRL-FM, Laval, licensed.
	MCQ 'Service de développement des média' given mandate to support community media sector.
	MCQ hosts provincial meeting of participants in community media projects.
1973	MCQ begins funding community media projects - 93% are video, t.v. and clearinghouse activites, 7% are radio.
1974	MCQ staff visits most operating projects and reports on development of sector.
1975	CINQ-FM, Radio Centreville, licensed. Chicoutimi Co-operative Radio, licensed.
	Community radio receives 31% of annual community media budget from MCQ.
1976	AM Radio of Temiscouata Agro-forestry Co-op licensed. CHOC-FM, Jonquière, licensed. CJRG-FM, Gaspé, licensed.
	MCQ conducts an evaluation of their program.
1977	Chicoutimi Co-operative Radio folds.
	First informal meeting of representatives from community radio projects.
1978	Temiscouata Radio folds. CIBL-FM, Montreal, licensed.

1978 Provisional committee of a provincial community radio organization elected.

MCQ commissions Brunel study, 'L'Avenir des Média communautaires au Québec.'

1979 CHIP-FM, Pontiac, licensed.
CKLE-FM, Rimouski, licensed.
CIBO-FM, Senneterre, licensed.
CHGA-FM, Maniwaki, licensed.
CHAI-FM, Chateaugay, licensed.
CFMF-FM, Fermont, licensed.

Founding of the Comité de concertation which will become the Association des radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec (ARCQ).

DOC sponsors conference in Montreal on 'New Developments in Local Programming within the Canadian Broadcasting System.'

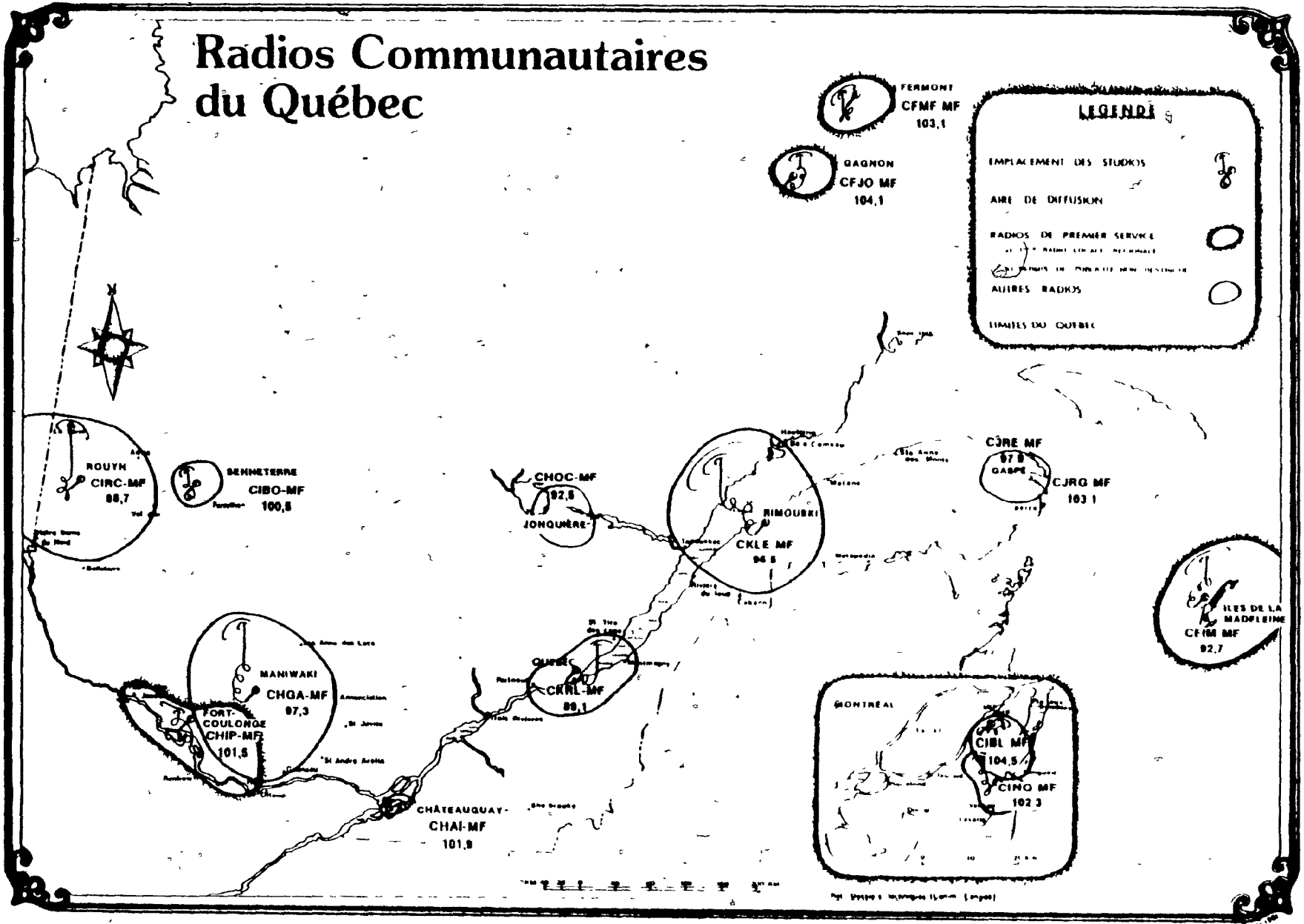
New policy of MCQ announced expressing strong support of community media development.

1980 CFJO-FM, Gagnon, licensed.
CION-FM, Rivière de Loup, licensed.
CFIM-FM, Iles de la Madeleine, licensed.

1981 40% of community media budget goes to radio.

New policy statement expressing government's intention to withdraw from community media support.

MAP PREPARED BY THE ASSOCIATION DES RADIODIFFUSEURS COMMUNAUTAIRES DU QUEBEC



FINANCIAL STATISTICS FOR THE 1980-81 YEAR OF OPERATION (Source: Ministère des communications du Québec)

STATION	DATE OF INCORP	DATE ON AIR	PUBLICITY RESTRICT	INCOME										TOTAL	EXPENSES					TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES	OPERATING REVENUES	OPERATING PROFIT (DEFICIT)	EQUIPMENT EXPENSES	TOTAL EQUIPMENT EXPENSES To date	TOTAL PROFIT (DEFICIT) To date	Years
				SUBSIDIES						LOCAL					SALARIES		OTHER		AMORTIZATION							
				Québec				Other		Publicity		Other														
				Operation		Equipment																				
				$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	$	$	$	$	$	
CKRL FM Laval U	September 1972	February 1973	Prestige	36,000	22	3,500	2	25,000	15	62,547	38	34,744	22	161,791	66 291	38	55 782	43	6 798	6		128 871	158,291	29 420	19 401	123,442	14 541	8
CINQ FM Montreal	April 1972	January 1975	Prestige	45,000	34			41,779	31	28,095	21	18,324	14	133 191	90 030	36	52 495	36	1 840	1		144 365	133 191	(11 174)	3 245	25 464	7 650	6
CHOI FM Esquire	February 1975	April 1977	Prestige	48,000	35			67,065	49			22 028	16	137,093	78 000	63	39 326	32	6 090	5		123 424	137 093	13 669	8 583	69 393	18 824	4
CIRL FM Rouyn Noranda	May 1977	September 1978	Prestige	58,000	40			27,966	19	38,537	26	21,712	15	146,215	97 185	54	72 425	40	9 870	6		179 480	146 215	(33 265)	1 333	98 744	(48 887)	3
CJRG FM Gaspé	January 1976	December 1978	Commercial	48,000	16			2,860	1	234033	76	22,177	7	307,070	180 051	66	75 145	28	17 468	6		272 664	307 070	34 406	25 343	187 203	1 276	3
CIBL FM East Montreal	May 1978	April 1980	Prestige	55,000	25	54,000	24	66,101	30	7,832	3	39,973	18	223,106	90,974	53	81 281	47	663			172 918	169 106	(3 812)	8 417	89 318	(3 812)	1
CFMF FM Fermont	January 1978	June 1980	Commercial	34,000	27					53 462	43	37,594	30	125,056	70,360	50	57 316	41	11 777	9		139 455	125 056	(14 399)	43 453	104 911	(14 399)	1
CKLS FM Kimoustaki	March 1978	September 1980	Prestige	58,000	21	75,000	27	81,955	29	48 251	17	19,218	6	282,424	123 660	56	79 854	36	18 853	8		222 367	207 424	(14 943)	35 696	120 708	(14 943)	1
CHAI FM Chateauguay	February 1977	October 1980	Prestige	60,000	26	85,000	37	3,344	1	36,294	16	47,927	20	232 565	112 574	63	65 719	37				178,293	147 565	(30 728)	51 763	92 408	(30 728)	1
CFJO FM Lagnon	August 1977	October 1980	Commercial	20,000	18	60,000	53	12,870	11	10,317	9	11 049	9	114 236	30 534	66	12 396	27	3 060	7		45 990	54 236	8 246	31 018	46 878	8 246	1
CHOA FM Manitwabi	January 1975	November 1980	Prestige	63,000	20	112500	35	71,757	22	72,428	22	18,315	5	338,000	138,228	50	119 501	43	17 400	7		275 129	225 500	(49,629)	100 315	167 324	(49 629)	
CHIP FM Pontiac	June 1978	May 1981	Commercial	48,000	39	4,800	4	41,338	33	22,208	18	8,051	6	124,397	126 963	73	48 099	27				175 062	119 597	(55 466)	289 619	290 318		
CIBQ FM Senne terre	May 1977	October 1981	Prestige	34,000	37	42,000	45	8 092	9			8,601	9	92,693	27 315	59	15 240	33	3 240	8		45 495			50 022	57 204		
CFIM FM Iles de la Madeleine	September 1975	November 1981	Commercial	48,000	20	112500	48	42,693	18			31,608	14	234,801	68,126	60	42 861	38	2 986	2		113993			23 324	23 324 (Unfinished)		

Average of total equipment expenses of eleven stations excluding Radio Pontiac 102 345

Chapter II - Community Radio in Québec

In Quebec, three government agencies have responsibility for community radio. The federal agencies discussed in Chapter 1 cover legal aspects, and provincial agencies the operational side. The CRTC grants licenses based on a station's promise to provide a service complementary to existing services and to comply with FM policy. The federal Department of Communications grants permits for technical installations related, like the CRTC, to all radio activities in Canada. The Ministère des Communications du Québec, through its policy on community media, provides guidance, funding, and technical assistance for community radio projects within the province, as well as co-ordinating the implication of other provincial departments in the sector.

An examination of the role of the provincial Ministère with respect to community radio, following the previous discussion of the CRTC and DOC, delimits the parameters within which such projects can take form. In addition, it can be shown in Québec that the development of community radio has been closely related to the earlier promotion of community video, with roots in turn in provincial strategies of social intervention. Firstly, a broad portrait will be provided of current community radio practices in the province looking at program content and orientation, funding and licensing, and internal organization. Secondly, relying heavily on the interpretation of the process by

Barbier-Bouvet, Beaud and Flichy, a brief background of the development of community media in Quebec is provided, beginning from the cable and antenna television experiments of the early 70's (1). Finally, the role of the provincial government in funding, promoting and planning for community radio is described, as well as the government-sponsored co-ordinating body for community radio.

Overview

Since the first launching of a community-based radio station in Québec less than a decade ago, the number has grown in the southern part of the province (excluding native community radio) to 14 on-air projects with seven more in the planning stages (Appendix 1). The radio projects have regrouped under an organization representing their interests, the Association des Radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec, and hold annual conferences as well as interim training sessions where members share ideas, problems, and sometimes radio programs. Chart #3 provides a summary of project initiation dates, licensing dates and funding for the 1980-81 fiscal year.

Program Content and Orientation

The problem of providing an overview of community radio practices is that they are characterized, if anything, by diversity. A series of interviews recounted in Le Temps Fou with people involved in different groups indicates the range of approaches (2). Comparing the development of this medium with a game of snakes and ladders, the author relates the description of one community radio representative from the Gaspé:

> Les échelles: le mouvement des radios communautaires québecoises est en pleine croissance. On est passé en 2 ans de

quelques expériences isolées à une quinzaine de stations regroupée à l'échelle du Québec et pouvant rejoindre potentiellement un Québecois ou une Québecoise sur trois.

Les serpents: les radios communautaires demeurent marginales, diffusent une programmation inconstante et poursuivent des objectifs ambigus. Et elles éprouvent des difficultés à concilier l'ouverture de ses micros au «monde ordinaire» avec la qualité radiophonique indispensable pour rejoindre le public qu'elle vise.

Pire: au moment d'écrire ces lignes, pas moins de 5 radios communautaires se heurtent à de graves problèmes financiers qui menacent, dans certains cas, leur survie (3).

A second 'pioneer' in Québec (contemporary with CINQ in Montreal), CKRL-FM Laval, while a campus community radio station, had close ties with the other projects and, in the province, is considered one of the 14 community radio stations operating. Being located at a major university however, has provided both a financial base, and an extensive pool of labour not available to most community-based projects. This leads to its own particular blend of programming broadcast city-wide:

> Ce sont surtout ses programmes culturels et musicaux qui lui ont créé un public de fanatiques. Un mélange hybride et fascinant de toutes les musiques engagées, et non-commerciales jumelé à une priorité accordée à la vie culturelle régionale. Une radio intellectuelle? «Dans un sens, plus que les autres radios communautaires», précise Danièle Bilodeau, «on veut d'abord se créer un son, puis élargir lentement notre public». Une radio à peine écoutée par l'auditoire des quartiers populaires de Québec, et qui a amené des militants à envisager la mise sur pied d'un second projet, Radio Basse-ville (4).

In Montreal, two smaller stations broadcast to specific neighbourhoods. Besides Radio Centreville, CIBL-FM serves the east of the city:

> A cheval entre le militantisme, l'exploration culturelle et une sorte de populisme local, CIBL, la radio communautaire de l'est de Montréal, en est à faire le bilan de sa première année de diffusion. «On opère sur une sorte de consensus pas très bien défini: une sorte de socialisme smooth, teinté de nationalisme et d'écologie» m'explique Pierre Fortin, un des pionniers de la station. Pour l'instant, CIBL s'adresse à des publics variés: l'hiver dernier, on pouvait entendre dans la même journée une émission sur la consommation, le témoignage intime d'une femme, un bulletin de sport local et 3 bonnes heures d'informations générales et communautaires, sans compter un choix de musique très

diversifié.

Juste à côté, au centre de l'Ile, CINQ-FM diffuse en 7 langues, et avec des équipements dignes d'un musée, une programmation qui s'adresse avant tout aux groupes ethniques et aux «minorités» (3ème âge, gai-e-s, marginaux). Dans les 2 cas, le défi est de taille et la viabilité d'une radio de quartier en milieu urbain est loin d'être prouvée (5).

The Secretary-General for the Association representing community radio broadcasters affirms the diversity of content:

Il est vrai que la radio communautaire n'est pas facile à définir et qu'il y a souvent un monde d'une radio à l'autre... Regle générale, la radio communautaire ne prêche pas le statu quo, mais il est évident que son implication est très différente selon qu'elle opère dans un milieu urbain ou dans une région éloignée (6).

In Rimouski, CKLE decided to go for a big audience, in the belief that a handful of listeners could never accomplish important social changes. An unprecedented 14 full-time people were hired.

On veut se donner une radio où la qualité du «son» et l'efficacité administrative font bon ménage avec l'information critique et la musique de qualité.

Plusieurs des 150 bénévoles de la station voient les choses d'un autre oeil. On craint la domination absolue des travailleurs et ravailleuses sur le fonctionnement de la station et on refuse l'idée de se faire dire quoi faire. Le conflit est latent, et risque de s'amplifier d'autant plus qu'aux dernières nouvelles CKLE a dû mettre la hache dans les salaires à cause de graves problèmes financiers (7).

Funding and Licencing

The sources and proportion of funding is best summed up on Chart #3, which breaks down the income for all stations for the year 1980-81. The comparison between stations in one calendar year is not reflective of the over-all economic breakdown for one station over a number of years, since the tendency is for stations to receive the most subsidy and carry the heaviest debts in the beginning of their project. The older and more established a station (ie. CKRL), the less likely to run

at a deficit and the more money is generated from the local milieu, whether through fund-raising or sponsorship-type advertising. Also funds would generally be received for equipment, only in the early years of a station's existence. The chart does indicate an overall average of 41.8% of funds coming from the Quebec government and 18.8% from the federal government through various community projects compared to 39.3% generated locally for the eleven on-air stations. Four of the fourteen radio stations have been granted commercial privileges by the CRTC by virtue of their being a first radio service in the region not competing with commercial stations, and are thus able to generate substantially more revenue through selling advertising.

Funding, considered a perpetual problem, nourishes one of the many federal-provincial debates over communications:

> Community radio stations are searching for stable sources of financing. The CRTC has stated that radios must survive essentially on local resources, prestige sponsors and provincial government support. On the other hand, the Government of Québec has stated on several occasions that the community radios must quickly become self-sufficient on financing from local resources and from advertising (8).

The CRTC, reluctant to grant commercial privileges to stations already heavily subsidized by the government has been actively lobbied by radio groups to open up commercial sources of revenue. However, it is not clear that this is the only block to financial stability. In the two cases where a full commerical licence has enabled an important percentage of revenue to be generated locally, there is no other competition for radio advertising. This avenue has not been attempted in bigger markets. As one representative from the community radio association adds:

> Si jamais les subventions s'arrêtent et que la commandite ou la publicité n'est pas à la hauteur de nos prévisions, je ne

connais pas beaucoup de radios qui pourront s'en sortir avec l'appui de milieu...(9).

The conditions of licensing of community radio stations, except for commercial restrictions, are vague. This type of radiophonic venture along with campus broadcasting still has an 'experimental' status, according to the CRTC. Defined largely in terms of examples rather than specific criteria, community radio stations are granted a licence on a case by case basis if they can prove community support and some reasonable guarantee of long-term financial stability. Letters of support from individuals and organizations are sufficient evidence to answer the first criteria, and to date assurances from the Québec Ministère des communications have been an important consideration for the second.

Only four stations have been around long enough go through a second hearing with the Commission, and the licenses have been granted without request for modification.

Internal Organization

Virtually all 15 present stations are incorporated as non-profit organizations according to the provincial statutes. This administrative format was designed by the Ministère des communications in order to facilitate disbursements of funds. Each station is governed by a Board of Directors elected at annual public assemblies, and ultimately accountable for decisions taken by the station. All management decisions must be generated or approved by the Board of Directors (Conseil administratif). As well, a number of committees are normally formed to concentrate on programming, recruiting volunteers, hiring and firing personnel, etc., and the public is meant to show its support for

the local stations by purchasing annual membership cards (about $5.00). The MCQ developed this formula over others (ie. a co-operative) in the belief that the listeners or consumers should 'own' the station through shares, rather than the producers. It was felt that if the whole community each owned shares in the station, and elected its own Board of Directors to manage the venture, it would more solidly 'belong' to them. In practice this formula has been somewhat less appreciated:

> Cette difficile recherche d'une viabilité financière est au centre de tous les problèmes des radios communautaires. Concilier les dures nécessités de pain et de beurre avec une orientation de changement et une structure ouverte de participation tient du prodige! Et on a parfois l'impression d'une immense roue qui tourne sur place...
>
> Rares sont les stations qui ne se sont pas trouvées empêtrées dans de longs conflits internes. Délicat apprentissage de la démocratie qui a mené certaines radios à deux pas du gouffre. La structure administrative de plusieurs d'entre elles est d'ailleurs tellement lourde qu'on y passe autant de temps en réunion qu'à faire de la radio. Comme dans beaucoup de groupes du même genre, on manque de modèles de gestion démocratiques, capables de combiner l'efficacité à la prise collective des décisions.
>
> Résultat? La qualité radiophonique reste souvent le parent pauvre de la participation à tout prix. Ce qui a donné à certaines radios communautaires une image pas toujours enviable. Dans ce château fort de la «démystification du médium», le meilleur voisin avec le pire! D'excellentes productions et des émissions originales, souvent supérieures à ce qu'on peut entendre ailleurs, côtoient de lamentables navets où la rigueur est loin d'être de mise.
>
> En toile de fond des différentes «crises», une foule de débats: l'orientation politique de la radio, les rapports de pouvoir entre salariés-~~e-s et bé~~nevoles, et une question cruciale: quel genre de public veut-on rejoindre et quelles sont les implications de ce choix sur le genre de radio qu'on fait? (10)

This brief introduction to community radio in the province points to a number of factors which set this example of community-managed radio apart from the others mentioned in Chapter 1: the existence of a province-wide program of support for individual stations; the existence since recently of a number of similar stations, and an umbrella organization co-ordinating development of the sector, and; the relative

isolation, at least linguistically, of these projects from other related experiments in North America, precluding any direct program exchange, and much indirect communication (exchange of ideas).

Current community radio practices having grown out of earlier experiments using cable, video and broadcast television, an account of the origins of these experiments sets the scene for the present study. The research of Barbier-Bouvet, Beaud and Flichy, in turn suggests that the development of community media in Quebec is closely related to the recent social/political history, the development of an integrated network of state intervention in social action, education, culture, and communication, and the presence of a centralized communications industry largely inaccessible by other than 'media' professionals (11). The following represents a brief synopsis of their study.

The Barbier-Bouvet, Beaud and Flichy Study

The study argues that in Québec, community media operate as part of the ideological apparatus of the state. The concept, derived from Althusser and Gramsci refers to the manner in which a minimum of consensus is maintained in the society relative to the objectives of the state through largely symbolic means - internal sanctions, selection, exclusion (ie. school curriculum) (12).

> En effet, il apparaît rapidement à l'observateur que les diverses expériences québecoises en matière d'audio-visuel s'inscrivent dans le cadre d'une politique générale d'intervention de l'Etat dans des domaines qui, on l'a vu, échappaient jusque-là à son contrôle (enseignement, action sociale, etc.) et constituent des moyens d'action privilégiés dans la mise en place de l'appareil d'intervention (13).

To deal with problems facing the new administration of the 60's - rural-urban migration, rapid industrialization, an antiquated educational system, seasonal unemployment, and regional poverty - the government had to quickly create a set of 'politiques d'intervention'. Some experiments were tried, a state apparatus created where none had existed, and an administration created to apply the government's programs. The government intervention programs of the 60's manifested themselves most evidently in the domain of symbolic goods - education, social animation, culture, and communications, all of which except communications were undisputed provincial responsibilities. Two main axes came to characterize most experiments in the three sectors of social animation, community information, and adult education in the province. Firstly, an attempt was made to change individual priorities in order to create consensus around the notion of development, in the belief that economic disparity was caused at least partly by lack of education. Secondly, programs were launched to create local 'leaders' who would multiply the actions and ease acceptance of changes in 'mentality'. This latter point is seen by the authors to be one of the constants in Québec animation projects - centralist action of the state meets and supports itself on traditional power networks, sometimes contradicting its expressed intentions of responding to 'local' initiatives.

In 1969, with education and social animation policies drafted, the Ministère des communications was created with an ambition both to oppose Ottawa and its legislative monopoly over communications, and to regroup under its jurisdiction, all Québec information services. Bill 87 gave the new Ministry the mandate to propose a policy of communications to

the government, to watch over communications media, to establish communications services for other departments, and to co-ordinate the services of public corporations in the domain of communications. Two years later in 1971, the Communications Minister, Jean-Paul L'Allier, presented 'Towards a Quebec Communications Policy', setting the tone for state intervention in the communications sector:

> Communications are irreplaceable in that they are definitely one of the main guarantees of a society's particular characteristics: its language and culture, its personality and its customs. In fact, a government's communications policy reveals its ultimate goals. A government reveals its attitude towards the collective expression of the human community for which it is responsible by the use it makes of this instrument which is both an agent of change and a means of establishing community relations.
>
> First and foremost, it is up to Québec to elaborate a communications policy. Such a policy cannot be dissociated from the development of Québec's education system, from Québec's culture, from all that belongs to its very character (14).

The state would act to ensure communications in the public interest, by interpreting community wishes:

> (The Public Service Board, under the Ministry of Communications) will ... be able to devote its time entirely to the vast field of communications and give increased attention to translating the demands of continuous social evolution into terms of the common good and the public awareness.
>
> True crossroads of the many sections of the public which, sometimes confusedly, express their communications needs, and the producers of equipment and services who claim they provide satisfactory solutions, the Board will try to bring about a fairer representaion of the community's wishes as regards communications. It will obviously take into account the economic imperatives of those who produce equipment and provide services, but its first concern will be for social priorities (15).

The 'Service du développement des média' was given the mandate to support community media in 1972, a move contemporary with efforts elsewhere in Canada promoting citizens communications as a means of adapting the populace to the pace of social change. This includes the National Film Board's 'Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle'project,

including in Québec, a project with salaries paid by the CYC and Société Nouvelle, 'BLOC' (16).

The theme of animation as the 'technician' of social adaptation, became as present in government texts, sociological analyses and leftish critiques of both of these. Once the theme of Québec nationalism was added to the ethic of progress and development, and manifested itself in the affirmation of a Québec cultural identity, the state ideology concerning communications took shape. Social progress and national independence were linked in the efforts of a very young administration (most having graduated from the new educational system since the 60's, and at least those trained in the humanities and social sciences, reabsorbed into the state) to reclaim sectors seen to be subordinated by anglo-saxon capital. The Barbier-Bouvet study claims that an almost universal belief in the pre-eminence of cultural factors in social organization, hence the importance of the communications sector, led to the rapid development of a program of intervention through community media prior to any real conceptualization or co-ordinated planning of the sector. The nationalist climate of Quebec then, originating in the cultural rebirth of the 60's and characterized by an affirmation of the 'specificité Québecoise' was seen to be much more a mobilizing of the intelligentsia than a working class movement.

> L'indépendance devrait en principe résoudre la question nationale. Néanmoins elle repose sur une grave illusion qui est que la priorité politique doit être accordée aux problèmes culturels, qu'en resolvant ces derniers on résoud les autres contradictions...
>
> Le corollaire de cette ideologie est que les contradictions de classes sont secondaires par rapport à la contradiction culturelle: face aux Canadien anglais, tous les Québecois sont solidaires (17).

Alongside the socio-political context within Québec, cable television emerged in Canada providing both the technological capacity

to become a community media, and the focus of federal-provincial disputes. Cable lent itself well to the struggle of the 'petite bourgeoisie intellectuelle' largely within the provincial administration, to promote cultural nationalism, as it was a new and flexible medium. The possibilities of the medium were still being formed, and ownership not yet concentrated. Cable was also considered, by virtue of its closed-circuit technology, to come more clearly under the jurisdiction of the provinces than the federal CRTC, consequently it had a symbolic importance outside of actual uses made of it. While the Bill to create the Ministry of Communications was being debated in 1969, the Premier of Québec, Jean-Jacques Bertrand, emphasized this aspect of cable undertakings:

> ...dès que les entreprises d'antennes communautaires font du circuit fermé, elles tombent, de l'aveu de nos conseillers juridiques au ministère des Affaires inter-gouvernementales, pour cette partie de leur activité, sous la compétence du câble...
> Or, le circuit fermé deviendra beaucoup plus important que la retransmission de programmes radiodiffusés. C'est pourquoi il est important d'occuper ce champ qui est le nôtre..(18).

Amendments to the Public Service Board Act of 1939 would make it a 'real Communications Board':

> In the first stage of legislation, which will soon be carried out, its powers will be increased considerably and its human and financial resources increased accordingly. Its jurisdiction will be extended to include the public agencies belonging to communications services which are known to be 'public services', and particularly the cablecasting industry, so that the public can profit as soon as possible, and at the most economical rates, from the fruits of technological developments and State regulation of services known to be essential to community life (19).

The Barbier-Bouvet study designated the turning point for community media in Québec to be 1969-70 prior to which there were only a few isolated experiments, and following which local and community t.v. projects regrouped, an ideological discourse was launched, a legal

system initiated, and modes of finance planned. From this moment, claimed the study, community media became part of the ideological apparatus of the state. In the early 70's, the only public funding available for such projects was from federal programs such as OFY and LIP. By 1973-74, it came about half and half from federal and provincial programs (some local t.v. groups financially profiting from the rivalry between the two governments), and by 1975-76, Québec financing was twice that of federal sources.

The hypothesis was put forward that while community media may not represent a radical alternative to the system of mass communications, they do represent a certain social reality taking form, complete with its own set of conflicts, a new dynamic of social relations, and a language describing the world. The authors argued that opposition to an anglo-dominated media system did not necessarily produce locally controlled media. Although the notion of an 'alternative' media was invoked, the study resumes, the 'monopoly' to which it was an 'alternative' was either the Canadian or American media in general. This situation of 'local' control over media in Québec was in fact seen to establish the monopoly over media with the state.

Curiously, the models on which the new community media were based were heavily dependent on the experience of the NFB's 'Challenge For Change/ Société Nouvelle' - a project in turn firmly anchored in the english Canadian 'War on Poverty' project of the 60's, subsidized by half a dozen federal departments. The practices of the NFB film-makers sought to reunite their film discourse with the establishment of a local consensus, and a search for new local leaders. The experimentation, for example, of Fernand Dansereau with 'social intervention cinema' in St.

Jerôme was meant to provide a vehicle for 'le monde ordinaire' to have their say. This film discourse was to heavily influence community video experiments in Québec beginning with the Société Nouvelle's own experiments in community television in Normandin in 1970.

The community television discourse that grew out of the Normandin experiment, interestingly is seen to be based, not only on the animator's descriptions, but a detailed analysis conducted by two sociologists on the experiment (20). The research, a 'justification idéologique' for community television, rather than an analysis of its public, its programs or its processes of production, launched three ideological currents which were to characterize community media discourses.

The three currents traced out in the Barbier-Bouvet study, were characterized by different logics, with different 'authors' and different practices. The distinction between them in practice is not so clear, as often those involved would skate from one to another, but it is important to provide the parameters of each, as they are partially contradictory and thus a source of tension within community media projects themselves. The first approach assumed that there was an 'official' or 'traditional' mass media, centralized and one-way, and a corollary belief that mass media play a principal role in the power mechanisms of social relations. The role of community media then, was to counter-balance the 'mass' aspect of 'traditional' media, and in so doing change the power relationships at a local or community level. This basic raison-d'être of community media was seen to have persisted in spite of an absence of research on audience numbers in the beginning, and more recently, research pointing to the very limited audience

actually attained. This perspective, heavily medium-oriented, tended to be that of the media professionals, especially the early 'social intervention' film-makers.

The second ideological theme was the creation of a public place where the milieu could interact, instigating both a local communications network, and a dialogue between the administration and the public - an electronic 'parvis de l'église'. This symbolic meeting place recreating the community was also a constant theme of community media in spite of research indicating relatively small numbers of actual 'participants' in community media projects (the policy of 'open-access' and pluralism is usually referred to, rather than an analysis of actual practices). Thus, even in situations where actual participation was weak (ie. of 54 various organizations in La Pocatière, only one participated in the local television project) the pluralist discourse was kept open.

The vision of reconstituting the public place inevitably depends on the confirmation of a local consensus, and was most ardently argued by local 'notables' ie. the cable operator, local organizations, and politicians. This group tended to discourage controversial ideas or material deemed to be detrimental to the community spirit in favour of local sports and official events which valorized the 'unity' of the local community.

The third distinctive ideological approach was that of the media militants whose primary focal point was social animation for which the community media served as a tool.

> La t.v. communautaire doit viser des objectifs précis de changement, sans quoi on tombe dans le panneau de l'improvisation et de la platitude (21).

The practices of this group, characterized by the study as a kind of 'boyscoutisme', tended towards actions which were more politically defined and less 'unanimous', even if this redefinition of objectives contradicted in part the object of representing 'le monde ordinaire' or even 'les défavorisés'. It was hoped that the process of mirroring the community on the screen would coalesce and amplify participation in a broader project of social/cultural development. This approach is heavily dependent on the belief that social/cultural problems not already explicit must be made so, and that doing so is a first step towards their resolution (a point questioned by the authors on the basis that many economic decisions controlling Québec are made not only outside of the local area but as far away as New York). In all three approaches, the theme of cultural nationalism, linking the development project with the promotion of a distinctive Québecois identity is seen to be more or less present.

If community television practitioners were seen to represent differing and sometimes contradictory approaches to t.v.c., the regulatory context in which they operated was no less ambiguous. While the CRTC regulated that cable companies must provide a community channel, the Québec Régie des Services Publics further required that at least 10 hours per week be consecrated to production for the community channel, not including educational programming. The nature, content, and intended participants of such programming was vague - only that the content must be 'different' and reflect the interests of the community. The cable operator retained the right to define the equally vague terms, 'citizens', 'groups', and 'community' as he remained legally responsible

for programming content. Practices varied widely from one cable company to another.

Aside from these three approaches promoting community media, the study found other motivations for participating in projects. The production of community video, often by students (the average age of producers in the Tremblay-Landry study was 24 years), was sometimes seen to be experience for a career in the mass media, or as a means of personal expression as a video artisan.

The ways in which these differing ideologies clashed in practice were unlimited. The study describes one example among many, where the 'traditional local elite', reticent about social animation projects of the 'bourgeoisie moderniste' controlled programming by simply not allowing filming of local council or school meetings and by putting pressure on the local M.P. to carefully survey allocation of community project funds.

The successful examples of the Barbier-Bouvet study based on authentic local demand were rare. Even in one town, uncharacteristically homogeneous as almost everyone worked for the same mining company, the substantial local support for the community cable television project did not resolve the problems of financial dependence on the state, selective penetration of cable, and continued competition with mass media for viewers of the community program. More often than not, the study found, actions were undertaken in the name of the same 'determined and ethnocentric ideology': the search for 'l'homme québecois de monde ordinaire'. The failure or simple disappearance of many of these projects has ultimately led to questioning both the possibilities of the medium and its institutional situation, and the

role of the animators behind the project. Some projects, weighed down by the contradictions of media production, abandonned A/V to redefine animation in terms of socio-political goals. Food and agriculture co-ops, for example, replaced video as a focal point.

The study concluded that the financial and legislative support for community television at both the provincial and federal levels, as well as the easily accessible technology of cable television, provided the material basis for the development of community media in Québec. In addition, the existence of state-sponsored cultural nationalism in a province without a social consensus during a time of rapid transformation, encouraged a general policy of interventions to regroup the 'la collectivité'. A/V provided a convenient forum in the absence of the 'parvis de l'église', and, peopled by teachers, students, social animators and media professionals articulate in the vocabulary of social development and collective action, was firmly established as part of the ideological apparatus of the state. That many experiments failed or simply faded away, was evidence to the authors, of the contradictions inherent in the projects themselves. Their trepidation was in how it would be analyzed to inform future related actions. At the time of the research for the study - 1975-76 - and it's compilation in 1978, only two community radio projects were visible in the province.

However, the authors predicted that in the face of failures in video, the likely conclusion would be to find new media, rather than examine the nature of the intervention itelf. Indeed, the study noted, radio did promise the possibility for autonomy - no dealing with cable companies, far lower costs for equipment and operation, and audience potential much higher, as everyone has an FM radio. However, the

question remained - were the problems related to the medium itself, or the ideological assumptions surrounding it's use in the community?

> Les tentatives se suivent et se ressemblent: quand une institution ou une technologie s'avèrent inefficaces, le système en invente d'autres, sans plus s'intérroger sur les raisons de cette inefficacité. Après la télévision et la radio, la press écrite paraît avoir maintenant le vent en poupe et va être promue au rang de médium communautaire et financé... L'administration Québecoise en est à rechercher quel nouveau secteur de la communication elle pourrait encore subventionner (22).

Critical of the high failure rate of community media projects undertaken in the province, the study suggested that problems associated with the sector were far more complex than simply technical, organizational or economic ones. Political considerations, as the following synopsis affirms, were an important consideration in the development of the community radio sector.

Ministère des communications du Québec

The beginnings of a community media program, rooted in federal-provincial jurisdictional debates over cable, were in evidence in the early 70's in the Québec Ministère des communications (MCQ). In 1971, the 'livre vert' was published, Towards a Québec Communications Policy. The policy stressed both the importance of claiming and exercising authority over cable, and made provisions by which individuals and groups had some access to communications tools in order to provide feedback to the government (23). In December, 1972, Bill 35 placed cable under the jurisdiction of the Régie des Services Publics and in September, 1973, legislation on cable required licence holders to provide at least one channel, free of charge, to the community to distribute programs of a community orientation, prepared by members of the community (24).

During the period of 1970-72, a number of regional offices of the MCQ were also active in promoting community communications. Using local cable channels, open-line radio shows, setting up a community television station, and loaning equipment to community groups, the regional offices were involved in three types of activities. Some produced government information programs. Others organized training sessions and loaned equipment. Some MCQ agents helped community groups organize to use their local cable for community programming (25). When an evaluation showed that few people watched the government information programs, this role was dropped. As this was a time of heavy activity in film and video as promoted by the N.F.B., in 1972 a member of the Board's Challenge For Change/Société Nouvelle program was hired by the Québec government to do a policy study on community communications. Under the auspices of the study group, an inventory of all ongoing projects in Québec was made, (largely federally-funded OFY, or NFB projects) and two provincial meetings were held during the summer of 1972 to bring these groups together. Following the first meeting, a report from the deputy minister's office recommended that the government intervene in the community communications sector in order to assure control of the community channel by community groups. Community television was seen:

> Comme un mécanisme d'animation et de promotion de l'individu, du «gars ordinaire», à l'intérieur d'une communauté, afin que celui-ci participe activement à la vie, et aux problèmes de son entourage immediat et apprenne à communiquer avec cet entourage par le canal des média électroniques (26).

The report also recommended forming a committee to study the relative advantages and disadvantages of other types of media for community communications - radio, community antenna television, and video. Alternative funding arrangements were strongly urged, as most

available funding came on a seasonal basis from federal job creation programs. Such a committee was formed, publishing the results of its recommendations in September of 1972, leading to the commitment of Treasury Board funding the following year (27). Again, the focus was on television, both cable and independent community television stations (co-operatives). The authors presented community television as being an implicit critique of mass media, and made clear their own orientation to social development through access to the production facilities, and accountability to audience preferences.

> Les auteurs insistaient pour montrer que la télévision communautaire doit se comprendre en termes de développement socio-culturel des communautés plutôt qu'en termes de radiodiffusion. Même s'ils notaient au passage que la télévision communautaire s'appuie sur une critique des media de masse, ils la considéraient surtout comme un instrument de changement socio-culturel en fonction de ses caractéristiques propres: soit d'instaurer un nouveau réseau de communication, de permettre une différenciation des auditoires, de favoriser l'acces des non-professionnels aux moyens de production, et de mieux tenir compte des préférences des auditeurs dans la diffusion (28).

If communications media were under the jurisdiction of the federal government, clearly 'community' was not. Tying them together and stressing the social/cultural development function over broadcasting provided a strong argument for provincial support of community communications. Also, there did appear to the government to be a real 'problem of communication' in disseminating information and getting 'feedback' from the population, which at least in the beginning, seemed to be addressed by community media. With these two objectives behind initial support of community media - a wedge in federal control over communications and a means of more direct government contact with the population, it remained to establish the mechanism. Regular broadcast media and educational media were already regulated through the CRTC.

Community media, still in an experimental stage had more flexibility for innovation.

By tying community media to very general notions of 'social change', and 'cultural development', programming content was left non-specific. What was precisely specified was the programming process - access by non-professionals to the means of production.

As well as a financial subsidy program, the Deputy Minister's 1972 report recommended that the MCQ support research and experimentation in community communications, and loan equipment to potential producers. The first subsidy program identified five main problems of community media which it aspired to address: long-term financial stability, lack of training in both technical production and social animation techniques, lack of equipment, lack of evaluation of ongoing projects and lack of co-ordination among similar projects (29). The initial subsidy program recognized Videographe, a Montreal-based community video group begun in 1971, as a kind of clearinghouse for such activities in the province and allotted almost half of the 1973-74 subsidy, or $170,000. The rest was distributed amongst other projects, and co-ordinating activities (30). The program then, sought to encourage the development of individual projects in different localities as well as to establish some lines of contact between projects. The program also hoped to evaluate the process in terms of the relationship between objectives, means and organization. The definition of community communications, formulated for the purpose of disbursing funds for the first program, implies the production and exchange of messages among citizens using a variety of media:

> Un ensemble de projets ou des citoyens se donnent des moyens de communiquer entre eux, c'est-a-dire d'echanger des messages qu'ils

> ont eux-memes produits, dont ils ont eux-memes décidé le sujet et dont ils assurent la distribution en utilisant differents moyens (cable, radio, t.v., en circuit fermé, journaux, diapo, film, etc.) (31).

Community media become the mechanisms by which messages responding to local needs are produced and distributed:

> ...des «méchanismes de communication» auxquels (les citoyens) participent activement, tant au niveau de la definition des contenus qu'au niveau de la production et de la diffusion de messages, repondant aux besoins et aspirations de leur milieu (32).

These definitions introduce the notion of representativity with respect to the community served. The needs and aspirations of the milieu had first to be ascertained, and then responded to, through the media. Before granting funds, MCQ attempted to 'test' the representativity of the project at a number of levels by examining the stated objectives, the composition of the organizing group, financial support of the milieu, and general level of public participation in using the medium (33).

By 1974, most of the projects subsidized had been visited by MCQ personnel and three main problems were identified. There was still a lack of technical training specific to each medium used, lack of permanent co-ordinating personnel, and lack of equipment. Videographe again received a substantial, but diminished percentage of the program (about 40%, or $163,000 out of $390,000), but its role as clearinghouse was ended in order to lend more support to the diversity of projects operating (34). By 1975-76, Videographe received 12% of the annual appropriation for community media, which had remained a stable $390,000 over four years. The rest was distributed among the other projects.

Aside from direct subsidy to projects, two other services were developed within the MCQ by 1975, which were more oriented toward radio.

Preliminary technical studies were done for four community radio stations, and one television station, as well as a detailed technical study for Radio Gaspésie for the purposes of acquiring a broadcast licence (35). As well, three market studies for radio stations, comparing potential revenue from advertising to the costs of construction and operating a new radio station, were undertaken.

The problems to be addressed by the Department's program in 1975 were seen to be again the question of training and financing of community media, all of which remained dependent on government subsidies, except radio, which could count on some revenue from publicity. As well as some possibilities for self-financing of radio the medium had two other advantages (36). A community radio station could establish itself as a completely independent entity unlike community cable which depended on the cable owner's interpretation of his community obligations. While establishing independent television stations was theoretically possible, the start-up and maintenance costs were prohibitive (37). Secondly, the CRTC had established a complex set of categories regarding content, in order to regulate FM radio, but had barely addressed the issue of the programming process. Expressing support for the notion of community involvement in the programming process, the Commission had contented itself with providing licenses on an experimental basis to support such operations, leaving a great deal of room for interpretation of programming content. Some of the general orientations of the content were, in fact, established by the MCQ in its policy on community radio (38).

By 1976, the orientation of the MCQ program had altered in two important ways: firstly, the objective of the program was now firmly

anchored in community media as opposed to community communications and secondly, the objectives of the media projects themselves were more firmly oriented towards cultural development of a milieu, than the exchange of messages within the milieu.

> ...les media utilisés (sont) sans but lucratif, dans un cadre de participation non restrictive des citoyens tant au niveau de la propriété que de l'orientation et de l'utilisation du medium dans un but de développement educatif, social, culturel et économique d'un milieu (39).

While the program oriented itself toward 'development' through media use, the specific objectives were: facilitating access and collective ownership of community media; supporting research and exchange of ideas among user groups, and; developing a 'critical consciousness' with respect to traditional media structures. Gone was the task of ongoing evaluation of actual projects in terms of the relationship between goals, means, and organization.

Between 1973 and 1976, the percentage of funds allotted to community radio groups over television, video production centres or clearinghouse activities grew from 7% (1973-74) to 31% (1975-76) of a stable annual allotment of $390,000 (40). By 1976, there were three community radio stations operating, all having begun prior to the government program, and seven others were in the planning stages.

The election of 1976 brought in a new government, but it was clear that community radio would continue to be supported. As early as 1972, the Parti Québecois had affirmed their intention of promoting community media. Jacques Parizeau, member of the Bureau de Direction at the regional conference that year had announced:

> Après l'indépendance la plupart des postes de radio seront confiés à des organismes communautaires. Selon lui, pour chaque région du Québec l'on compterait un poste de radio d'Etat, les autres étant gérés par des organismes communautaires. La ville de

> Montréal avec ses 14 postes de radio serait la seule exception puisqu'il serait difficile de trouver 14 organismes communautaires différents.
>
> Tout en souhaitant que les communications s'opèrent par des moyens de diffusion communautaires, M. Parizeau a souligné qu'il y aurait trop de danger de contrôle gouvernmental de l'information pour que tous les postes soient dirigés par l'Etat (41).

At year's end an evaluation was conducted on the community media funding program (as opposed to the radio projects themselves). In order to better understand the 'social phenomenon' which the government was supporting, a three part study was undertaken of the 'processes of community communication' based, according to the report, on Shannon and Weaver's 1949 communications model (42). The production of messages was studied by looking at the participation of groups and individuals in the production of community media. The messages were studied by way of content analysis, and the impact of the messages was studied through an audience analysis. The research was undertaken on community media globally, and hardly touched on the newer phenomenon of community radio.

The evaluation indicated a number of weaknesses in the program: limited resources in both personnel and financing, lack of a real policy for the development of each medium, political interference in mounting the jury which decided the allocation of resources, and lack of any solid research in the sector outside of technical or feasibility studies.

> Aucun rapport de recherche n'a été rendu public de sorte que la fonction critique ou pédagogique qui aurait pu être ainsi assuméé ne l'a pas été. On utilise beaucoup l'expression 'communication Etat-citoyen' mais on n'aide pas les participants dans le secteur des communications communautaires à prendre conscience des faiblesses et des priorités possibles pour le développement (43).

As well, the in-house evaluation complained of the use of the community radio sector in federal/provincial relations. In many

respects, however, the goals of the program had been attained. A/V equipment had been lent to a number of organizations, technical and marketing studies had helped some groups determine the feasibility of their projects, cable companies had been forced to make the community station more accessible, and several community media projects had been initiated, largely due to MCQ funding.

Placing Québec in the larger context of Canada, the Evaluation noted that while the province was attempting through its community media program to fulfull the 'social mandate' the provinces held in communications, the governments of other provinces had elaborated programs with 'more muscle'. The objectives of the Québec program were seen to have a potentially greater impact, but the limited means appeared to preclude this possibility. Finally, the following recommendations were considered among the priorities for the Ministry: continuing the program and increasing the resources, clarifying the criteria of the program and improving the selection process of the jury; undertaking research on the basis of social rather than technical priorities; and seriously considering the notion of accessiblity. The last point was believed to be of such importance that consideration was given to replacing direct financial aid with legislation guaranteeing accessiblity to the means of production, transmission, and reception in all forms of community media.

In 1977, the MCQ commissioned research from the Université de Montréal to advise on the development of the sector. The resultant report, 'L'Avenir des Média communautaires au Québec' classified the community media experiments in Québec not as failures, but as relatively unsuccessful to date (44). The problem was seen not to be the idea of

community media, but the ambiguity of the term 'community'; 'le terme communautaire véhicule une utopie à réaliser' (45). Different projects were seen to have failed to crystallize the potential in terms of clear objectives. Brunel presented two 'irreconcilable' theses. The first was that new media had broken the monopoly of the bourgeois intelligentsia, and the other, that a critique of mass media was not possible until there existed a situation of exchange without the constraints of official models. If one accepted that community media could not produce social change in the present circumstances, Brunel explained, it remained to discover how they could contribute to social mobilisation - mobilisation seen as a process where a group in conflict is able to amass resources towards social change. The report outlined three important areas that community media were obliged to address in order to mobilize their milieu, thus legitimating their own practices. Firstly, the media would have to be able to galvanize a group into specific action around issues of conflict. Secondly, they would have to play a role in preserving 'social memory' through the documentation of labour, popular movements, regional history, and other interests outside of 'official' history. Finally, community media would have to develop an appropriate form of artistic expression rather than relegating the artistic dimension to a secondary priority - after social mobilisation.

Assuming these four issues to be related to the legitimacy , and thus survival of community media, the report made specific recommendations concerning the development of a policy of support. It was recommended that media projects regroup according to the technology used and form a consensus on specific objectives. Further, a special democratic structure was recommended with workers having a major role on

local Boards of Directors. Finally, it was urged that financing be divided between governments (for a maximum of three years) and local sources, and that permanent animators be hired to do a continual analysis of regional and local issues.

Whether or not there was agreement within MCQ on the problems presented by the report, the 1979 policy did incorporate many of the recommendations.

By 1979, a new policy for community media was released, based on a 'long period of reflection' which included considerations of nationalist policy on cultural development (46). Accessibility to the media was considered essential in the public interest, and community media was one form of accomplishing it. Québecois 'parmi les premiers au monde à s'attaquer à la démystification des moyens de communications et à trouver des solutions originales à la situation' were promised a mass media system, strongly reminiscent of that proposed by Brockington in 1939.

> Les objectifs du média, ne sont plus la simple rentabilité économique, mais la satisfaction des besoins de communication des citoyens d'un milieu et particulièrement des besoins de la majorité de la population qui n'a pas accès au controle et, à l'utilisation des médias...
>
> Au même titre que l'eau, l'air et le sous-sol, les ondes sont une richesse naturelle collective et limitée dont l'appropriation ne peut être faite à des fins personnelles au détriment de l'ensemble, pas plus que la richesse économique inégalement partagée ne doit déterminer qui a le pouvoir de contrôler l'offre des médias de masse. Parce qu'ils sont absolument essentiels au fonctionnement de la société démocratique en favorisant le droit du public à l'information, les médias doivent être considérés comme des services publics (47).

The dimension particular to Québec of the late 70's was the nationalism/development angle solidly behind all state intervention.

> La promotion du développement culturel est un principe qui guide l'action de l'Etat québecois tout entier. Etant donné l'importance capitale des médias pour la vie culturelle d'une

> société, le ministère des Communications doit contribuer d'une manière particulière à la concrétisation de ce principe... ils doivent en outre faire connaître les caractéristiques et manifestations culturelles propres aux autres régions et à la collectivité québécoise (48).

If the CRTC had purposefully left flexible the programming content of community media, the MCQ delimited it much more precisely. Tied to the disbursement of Ministry funds, community radio stations had to guarantee programming reflecting the aims of cultural development in Québec (49). The stated objectives of individual radio projects applying for MCQ funding mirror very closely the province's funding criteria.

Community media were explicitly defined as mass media, run by a non-profit corporation, the model for which was prepared by the MCQ. The budget for community media increased from the late 70's average of $390,000, to almost $2,000,000 in 1981, at which time about 40% was going towards the development of radio. Three full-time MCQ personnel were overseeing radio projects, leaving one on television and the press, and another 'just doing figures'. Financially, the community radio sector was the cause of some worry, as the earlier feasability studies were found to be 'optimistic' in light of the real financial contribution of the milieu. Expenses were rising, the cost in the most recent projects of the technical installation alone approaching $400,000. The technical service of the Ministère had set certain standards of equipment to ensure good quality and long life, in some cases leading to stations better equipped than private stations in the same region, but also incurring substantial debt.

The practice of administering the program within MCQ has proven somewhat more complicated than the policy allowed for. Firstly, the

Director of the Service de développement des média sees no homogeneity in this type of radio. Twenty stations (14 already on air) have 20 different definitions of community. Some are barely distinguishable from Radio Canada, others '80% like local commercial radio'. Abstract concepts such as 'appropriation collective' has not necessarily meant anything either particularly 'community' about programming, or led in a demonstrable way to catalyzing cultural development in the milieu (50).

Complicating the lack of common understanding among media groups, there has been a rapid turnover of personnel within the MCQ from the level of Minister (5 in five years) to the individual 'agents de développement'. Agreement on objectives and links with community projects had to be re-established each time. The present Director of the Service des média describes problems raised by the radio projects, aside from financial, as often related to credibility. Sometimes two community media groups (ie. radio and newspaper) both claiming to represent the community, refuse to work together, forcing the Québec office to arbitrate problems at the other end, at the same time questioning the real representativity of each group.

Both the 1979 and 1981 policies stressed the role of community radio as forging a connection between local culture and 'la culture québecoise'. By late 1981 however, the capacity of media organizations run by non-professionals to achieve this goal was seriously in question.

The community media sector is once again under study, and in collaboration with ARCQ, the organization regrouping different projects, the MCQ is examining the financing, structure, management, personnel and the rationale of community radio itself to consider all the alternatives. The 1981-82 'Program d'aide au développement des médias

communautaires' announced that the MCQ was 'researching the means' to gradually withdraw its financial support from the sector, while respecting the needs of each media project, 'in keeping with its initial objectives' (51).

The MCQ, by virtue of the types of activities it has undertaken - creating policy, legislation and funding programs - has consistently centralized most of its activities in Québec. For keeping in touch with individual projects and co-ordinating the sector, it has relied heavily on the association regrouping local projects.

L'Association des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires du Québec (ARCQ)

The Association grew to its present status from the initiatives of a few volunteer producers at the new community radio of Rouyn-Noranda in the fall of 1977. Inviting representatives from all community radio groups in Quebec, many not yet on air, the purpose of the first encounter in Quebec City was to identify some common ground for community radio. Funded by the Quebec MCQ, about 60 participants collected to exchange information on programming, technical equipment, financing, administration, training and most importantly, possibilities for collaboration. Considered useful by participants, a more structured conference was held the following year, but this time, with workshop time set aside for discussion on programming, financing and the possiblity of regrouping for concerted action. Attended by 53 members of 18 community radio groups, the decision was made to formally elect a co-ordinating committee to suggest policy for the development of community and educational radio in the province. In just over a month,

the committee had lobbied the Premier to reduce the 2% publicity sales tax on radio for community radio projects, and begun the following tasks: studying the implications of the Rocher study on educational radio for community radio; preparing recommendations concerning the provincial funding program for community media, and; planning a series of documents outlining priorities of community radio stations to act as a basis for discussion for the 1979 provincial meeting (52).

The committee asked for, and received $2,000 from the Quebec MCQ in early 1979 to help cover travel and office expenses. Two years later, the provincial program awarded the same organization $90,000 to continue their work of co-ordinating, lobbying for, and advising on community radio in the province. Clearly, it was advantageous for the Ministère to have one body co-ordinating all activities in the province. As the Association has been active on many fronts at once, only a brief outline of key areas that contribute to the form community radio has taken in the province will be mentioned: externally directed promotion and lobbying and internally directed co-ordination of the sector.

Externally directed activities represent an important proportion of the organization's work. Promotion and lobbying have been undertaken primarily with the intention of increasing resources for the development of community radio. The lobbying function has, from the beginning, been a clear mandate of both ARCQ, and its precursor, the Comité de concertation. The first general meeting of the provisional organization on October 13, 1979, mandated the Association to act as a promotion and pressure group, as well as a point of consolidation of services to radio groups (53). Between 1979 and 1982, the group prepared statements and appeared at: the Parliamentary Commission on educational radio (Québec),

the federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (Applebaum-Hébert), and the Public Hearing on the Review of Radio (CRTC). As well, they arranged and reported on meetings during the summer of 1980 with the federal minister of Communications, Francis Fox, two provincial ministers of Communications, Clément Richard and Jean-François Bertrand, the president of Radio Québec, Gérard Babin, the Chairman of the CRTC, and numerous deputy ministers at both provincial and federal levels. The purpose of each meeting was to generally promote the ideal of community radio and demand specific concessions. An example of the latter included recognition of community radio as a distinct type of broadcasting undertaking beyond the 'experimental' stage, receiving government advertising contracts, and obtaining the right to raise funds through publicity.

It must be noted that even in activities not directly related to lobbying, the promotional tone is evident. For example, in a 1980 research study on community radio in Québec undertaken by ARCQ members, funded by DOC, community radio was seen as:

> ...increasingly...establishing its credentials as a dynamic agent of cultural development for separate neighbourhoods, districts or communities through the unique variety of local programming such stations provide (54).

The documented results of community radio in the report ranged from having an 'immediate effect of training resource persons, arousing competition among the other radio services, and finally, provoking or encouraging a new sociocultural vitality', to providing 'a sort of 'open school' with several thousand students sitting in on lectures ' (55).

The Association has consistently viewed the development of community radio in the province as a unique and unprecendented form of citizen communications. Acknowledgement is made of the other two

community radio pioneers, Vancouver Co-op Radio and Wired World, and sometimes campus/community radio, but usually, these examples are seen as past their prime or still in their infancy.

> Ten community radio projects are currently operating in Canada; eight of these are located in Québec (56).
>
> Hors Québec, la radio communautaire s'est développée beaucoup plus lentement. Outre les stations autochtones au nord du pays, on n'y retrouve que deux radio communautaires (57).

At the same time, the CRTC is encouraged to reserve frequencies for similar types of broadcast undertakings that may emerge:

> En plus des radios communautaires, pensons en particulier à des radios coopératives, étudiantes ou à toute autre forme susceptible d'émerger en ce sens (58).

Community radio also had to be promoted within the province, as the organization's work on educational radio illustrates. From the beginning, ARCQ sought to align the community radio 'movement' in Québec with educational radio. The alignment is expressed in terms of the Association seeing community radio as already meeting criteria defined by the preliminary report of the Task Force studying educational radio (59). This position is partially explainable by the fact that the Minister had just put forward a bill proposing subsidy of radio stations for educational radio programs and was thus a potential source of funding. The Bill passed final reading in late 1979, defining in broad terms educational programming (60).

A letter was sent by ARCQ on behalf of its members to the Minister of State for Cultural Development responsible for the committee on educational radio, requesting recognition as an organization implicated in the milieu of educational radio, in order to qualify for earmarked funds. Each radio station was asked to prepare a document outlining their 'position' on educational radio and submit it to ARCQ, where a

synthesis was made in order to outline a consensual position (61). The paramaters of the discussion, suggested by the co-ordinating committee, identified a possible structure for forming regional educational programming committees and funding mechanisms, and were formulated primarily in response to the bill on educational programming under consideration. The notion of traditional educational evaluation procedures was put into question, favouring community participation as a more important defining feature (62). The committees within individual radio stations who took up discussion of the educational radio theme elaborated on these proposals. The very act of producing radio programs by the general public was seen to be educational in 'demystifying' and learning the production process.

> La nature même de notre action est liée à une auto-éducation: en voulant démystifier le média en brisant le monopole des grands médias... Il nous importe dans ce débat de faire ressortir et faire reconnaître le caractère éducatif de l'entreprise communautaire qui s'est développé par l'action de différents groupes et individus de notre milieu (63).
>
> La radio-communautaire comporte, de par ses structures participatives et démocratiques, des mécanismes potentiels d'auto-education qui lui sont propres (..).
>
> Ce travail (de l'implantation) est éducatif en ce que 1) il rejoint l'ensemble de la population...2) il permet à la population de prendre conscience de la situation des communications dans le milieu et d'exprimer face à cette réalité sa position...3) tout ce «feedback» reçu du milieu a servi et servira à modeler l'outil de communication dont la population se dotera (65).
>
> Il est indubitable que le travail d'implanter est éducatif. Car implanter une radio communautaire, c'est d'abord expliquer à une communauté un nouveau concept de radio; c'est lui apprendre à prendre le medium en main en devenant membre, administrateur, bénévole; c'est amener chacun des membres de la communauté à s'interroger sur sa participation puisque en théorie, du moins, le medium lui appartiendra (66).

When the sub-committee of the Task Force on Radio Québec had looked earlier at the situation of educational radio in the province,

ARCQ was consulted as one possible source of educational programming, but community radio was not considered the only possibility. This had led the Association to suggest the Province was intervening in what was essentially a local, and 'popular' issue.

> ...Presque tous les délégués des radios communautaires qui ont assistés à cette rencontre ont souligné le fait que les radios communautaires répondent dans la plupart des cas à la définition proposée dans le rapport. On déplorait cependant le fait que les recommendations proposent à l'Etat de mettre sur pied une structure semblable mais parallèle à celle qui s'est formée instinctivement par la population (67).

As apparent from this quote, the ten-year history of community radio was described as the result of popular demand by citizens to take the tools of media into their own hands and to organize themselves in such a way that programming responded to their own needs (68). The dossier on educational radio is one of the many undertaken by the Association illustrating its adaptability to visible means of support. The parameters of discussion parallelled the criteria for funding, and the consensual position generated after consultation with radio stations was a proclamation that the criteria were already being met. The role as 'tool of animation' through programming, providing critical information and popular education, is taken for granted as the community radio's role is seen as promoting and analyzing the social, economic, and cultural development of the community. Whereas the idea of community radio as educational radio is developed largely as a response to provincial interest and funding for educational radio, it is the notions of citizen access to the management and production of programs, and the radio's role as animator of the milieu, that were to define the nature of community radio in itself for both the Association and the MCQ.

Based essentially on these two criteria, representatives of the Association, in a meeting with federal Minister of Communications, demanded that community radio be recognized as the 'third sector' of the Canadian radio broadcasting service, after state and private radio, a designation originally from the 1979 policy on community radio (69). They saw themselves as a clear alternative to existing media by virtue of their social involvement and consequent experimentation in different radio broadcasting formats. These admittedly idealized functions of community radio formed the basis of a number of documents created primarily for the purpose of lobbying for community radio.

Internally directed tasks, especially related to clearinghouse activities and co-ordinating the sector, were also important to ARCQ. Troubleshooting/counselling services were offered to stations whereby ARCQ employees (all ex-community radio workers) travelled to radio stations and worked with them on location for short periods of time. A small documentation centre/tape library was set up for circulation, training sessions were organized, and a bimonthly newsletter written and distributed to all member stations (part of which was devoted to describing lobbying activities). The annual conference organized by the Association, attended by three or four members from all the community radio projects, was an important focal point for information exchange. It was here that radio groups, along with the Association developed a 'definition' of community radio:

> La radio communautaire est un organisme de communication indépendant, à but non-lucratif, à propriété collective, géré et soutenu par les gens d'une communauté donnée. Elle est un outil de communication et d'animation qui a pour but d'offrir des émissions de qualité qui répondent aux besoins d'information, de culture, d'éducation, de développement et de divertissement de la communauté

spécifique dont elle est issue (70).

The notion of access was further elaborated in the outline of the main objectives of the Association:

> 1) S'assurer la participation (tant à l'orientation, à la gestion, au soutien financier qu'à la production d'emissions) d'individus et de groupes du milieu qui adhèrent aux objectifs de la station, en favorisant l'accès aux ondes particulièrement aux citoyen-n-s qui n'ont pas accès aux média traditionnels (71).

An important issue for the Association in its efforts to establish community radio as a distinctive, recognizable presence in the province has been defining the medium by the related notions of access and animation, the paradox around which much of the conflict within the sector turns.

In a different form altogether from public position papers, that of reports on in-house training workshops, the problems and contradictions posed by the access/animation definition are raised and discussed. Four training sessions were organized during 1981 by the Association; on publicity and marketing, planning and development, programming, and democratic management. It was in the session on programming where the participants admitted that there was often a wide gap between the objectives of community radio and the tastes, needs and desires of populations served. The lack of resources for training volunteers and producing quality information programs was noted, but the contradiction between a policy of open access to the community and providing quality programming was felt to be a 'vicious circle from which escape was difficult' (72). The role of programming committees, formed of volunteers, whose job it was usually to build a programming schedule reflecting the Promise of Performance to the CRTC, was also seen to pose some problems. Many stations found the task of evaluating

programs of paid employees somewhat tricky, and often the balance of programming was difficult to achieve if volunteers for rock programs, for instance, outnumbered those for public affairs. If the programs proposed by members of the community didn't meet the stated goals of the community radio station (based on which a licence had been granted and funds committed), how was content to be decided? One invited speaker, a community radio veteran, warned of the dangers of sliding into 'vulgar' programming:

> La radio communautaire devra éviter de «tomber dans la facilité et la vulgarité» (entre autres en ce qui concerne l'usage de la langue). (L'invité) croit également que la «montée» de ce nouveau type de radio sera longue et que son implantation effective prendra plusieurs années (73).

Suggested actions arising from the admission of such contradictions ranged from developing a proper training program for volunteers and identifying priority target audiences, to exchanging documents and programs illustrating different approaches to solving these problems. The idea of creating a community radio program network was enthusistically discussed. Again, the lack of resources for even these kinds of activities was cited as a drawback (74).

A similar theme was taken up during the subsequent session on 'democratic management':

> L'idéale «coûte cher»: lourdeur du processus de décision, instabilité... Il faut concilier l'idéal démocratique et le service à rendre à la communauté. La communauté doit faire partie de la décision dans la mesure où le service à rendre n'est pas compromis (75).

A policy of open access to community media hasn't automatically solved the problems of training people to make listenable programs, or even programs promised under licensing agreements. Nor has it provided a structure of management necessarily committed to MCQ policy goals. As

for animation, the 'definitions' of community radio as a tool for animation has not resolved the question of what the local needs for education, information, and development are, how they are determined, or how a policy of open-access to a community medium can hope to achieve them.

This very brief description of the many activities undertaken by the Association over a short period of time serves more to illustrate the style of operation rather than list projects undertaken. One type of activity, notable in its absence from any of ARCQ's activities, has been evaluations of community radio projects comparing the degree of correspondence between programming output to local policy objectives.

Concluding Remarks to Chapter II

In Québec, the community radio experiment has been shown to be the result of the concerted actions of a provincial government department and a small sector of the population to establish an autonomous media system. With roots in earlier experiments involving video and cable technologies, much of the discourse surrounding community radio has been borrowed and adapted to the newer medium. 'Accès', 'animation', and 'demystification' are the terms describing the means used to accomplish an agreed upon goal of cultural development.

Provincial support for community radio, peaking during 1979-1981, is seen to be the result of a range of promotional and administrative research corresponding to provincial policies promoting cultural development. At an operational level, the fourteen on-air community radio projects, while bureaucratically linked through an association

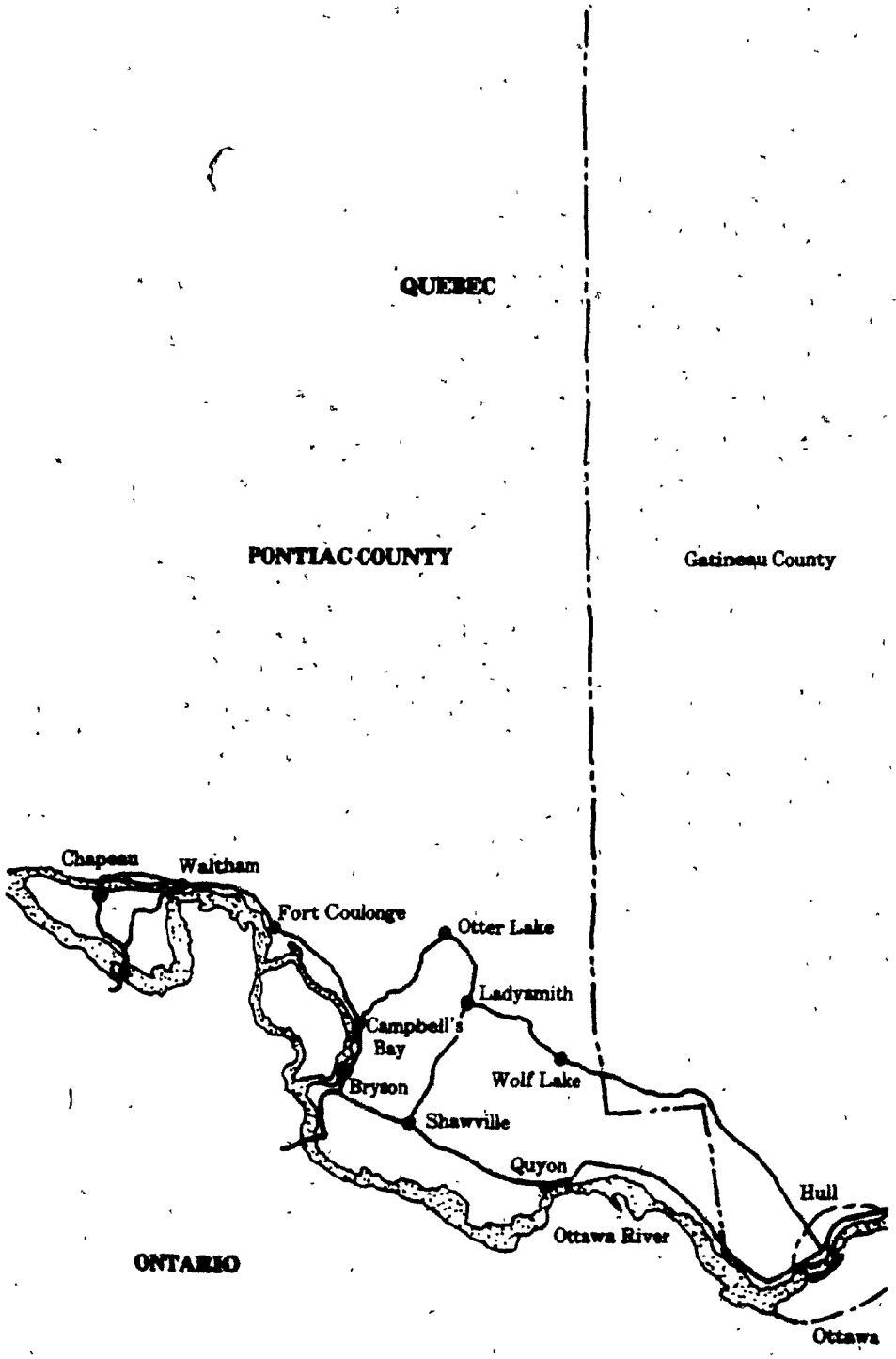
representing their interests, are found to be diverse and autonomous organizations with no particular commonalities in programming practices. Concerning practical problems for community radio practitioners, however, agreement has been reached on the unsolved problems faced when an administrative structure open to non-professional participation tries to create a product which will nourish the cultural development of the province. Since programming is meant to reflect popular expression, content is left to the discretion of individual stations and producers. General assurances must be given, however, especially to provincial funding sources, that programming will reflect policies of cultural development (76). Even the provision of this guarantee delimits, to some extent, which local programming will be considered 'acceptable'.

Chronology of a Community Radio Project - Radio Pontiac

1977	Communications-Québec prepares a study on mass media in the Pontiac, showing lack of french service.
1977	A number of municipalities and organizations in the county support idea of local bilingual radio project.
August 1977	The Commission Scolaire Régionale de l'Outaouais (school board) obtains $27,000 from the Ministère de l'education to support a community radio project. Communications-Pontiac is born.
December 1977	Feasibility study ordered from the Université de Québec, community service centre.
May 1978	First public meeting in Fort Coulonge.
June 1978	MCQ contracts a private firm for technical study on region. Estimates costs at $221,577 for tower and transmitter for maximum coverage from preferred location.
July 1978	MCQ conducts technical study on studio equipment. Estimates costs for two studios, newsroom, record library and reception room at $52,651.
July 1978	CSRO decides to locate station in Fort Coulonge.
October 1978	Decision by provisional committee to broadcast 66% in french and 44% in english.
December 1978	Founding meeting of Radio Pontiac, a non-profit corporation in Fort Coulonge.
December 1978	MCQ announces grant of $50,000 for operating expenses.
December 1978	Commission scolaire withdraws from project having accomplished its objective.
February 1979	Full time animator/researcher hired to co-ordinate radio project.
April 1979	CRTC license application submitted.
April 1979	Office de planification de développement du Québec grants $175,000 for equipment at the request of MCQ.

June 1979	Société d'amenagement de l'Outaouais provides feasibility study projecting revenues of $315,000 annually in advertising.
August 1979	Successfull meeting with C.R.T.C. to plead case for a fall hearing.
Fall 1979	Radio project embarks on intensive membership drive.
September 1979	MCQ grants $32,000 for operating expenses in 1979-80.
September 1979	MCQ provides detailed construction plan for radio studios and offices.
January 1980	Project moves into permanent quarters and begins construction of studios.
March 1980	Grant obtained from OSE-Arts for hiring 6 employees.
May 1980	Radio Pontiac contracts private firm to provide list of equipment necessary for broadcast, negotiate contracts and supervise installation.
June 1980	Project co-ordinator decides not to renew contract and leaves.
July 1980	Decision to cut planned rebroadcaster transmitters in face of projected budget deficit.
August 1980	MCQ awards $48,000 for 80-81 operating expenses.
August 1980	New director hired under title Directeur-général.
Fall 1980	Discussion of problem of how to form Programming Committee.
December 1980	Decision to form Programming Committee with sub-committees in 6 zones.
March 1981	Meeting with MCQ representatives and Board of Directors regarding projected budget deficits, programming content, recruitment of volunteers and technical problems.
April 1981	Projected deficit of $19,000 in light of $12,000/month running expenses.

June 1981	Eleven-hour meeting of Board members to attempt to resolve budget deficits, employee complaints, breakdown in internal accounting procedures.
August 1981	Finance committee announces operating deficit of $40,000 and construction deficit of $65,000.
August 1981	Special assembly is called by members accusing Board of incompetence and demanding reinstatement of fired Directeur-général.
September 1981	A second special assembly is called. Two Board members resign in face of no confidence.
October 1981	Bank account is dry and staff is laid off - most continue as volunteers to keep station on air.
October 1981	Fund-raising 'Radiothon' nets $6,500 from the community.
October 1981	Emergency meeting with MCQ agent to create development plan without which MCQ refuses to provide further operating grants.
November 1981	Unsuccessfull attempt by remaining Board members to create a development plan acceptable to MCQ.
November 1981	MCQ hires a management consultant to work full-time with the project to put it in order and prepare an acceptable development plan.
December 1981	Consultant's plan elicits $62,000 from MCQ for the 1981-82 fiscal year.
December 1981	Annual general assembly elects a completely new Board of Directors, none with radio experience.


QUEBEC
PONTIAC COUNTY
Gatineau County
Chapeau
Waltham
Fort Coulonge
Otter Lake
Ladysmith
Campbell's Bay
Bryson
Wolf Lake
Shawville
Quyon
Hull
Ottawa River
ONTARIO
Ottawa

Chapter III - A Study of Radio Pontiac

The following analysis of one community radio station is based on a participant-observation study of one project over an 18-month period. The study cannot detail all the dynamics of one community radio project, but is meant to illustrate the experience of one local group in bringing together a conceptual world involving 'community', 'communication', and 'media' with both the external influences as outlined in Chapter 2, and the local dynamic of interracting people in practical situations.

A brief description of Pontiac County is followed by a resumé of a study by Communications-Québec on local media resources; a study which led to the initiation of the Pontiac project. After an account of the origins of the project an analysis based on Salter's notion of perspectives in conflict is presented. Vancouver Co-op Radio, on which Salter based her analysis of community radio has a number of similarities to the Pontiac case, justifying the utility of applying this analytical tool. Both were non-profit corporations, funded in part by governments and in part by the community. Both were owned and managed by the communities in which they operated, and both experienced ongoing internal conflicts as the project evolved.

In each of four elements of the Pontiac project; organization, installation, financing, and programming, a major source of conflict is seen to be originating from differing perspectives on the objectives. The perspectives outlined represent more poles on a range of approaches

than mutually exclusive positions. By perspective, it is not meant the positions taken by different groups involved - ie. the 'government', the 'local volunteers' - but the more general point of view that includes some image of the community served, a commentary on the role of media, and a prescription for programming and organizational structure. What is interesting is the range of perspectives within each group. Among different government 'agents de développement', among the members of the local Board of Directors, among employees, and among volunteers there are varying and often conflicting perspectives concerning the radio station. One perspective could be shared by both government personnel and some local volunteers. Often one person would shift perspective at different times. It must also be noted that with very few exceptions no individual or group maintained involvement with the project for longer than a year, so the relative importance accorded to different perspectives would vary from one month to the next.

The notion of perspective is similar to Barbier-Bouvet's use of the term 'ideological theme' as traced out in Chapter II. He identified three such themes applying to community media: media as chief agent of social change, media as public place, media as tool in a larger process of social change. That study admits that the distinctions were not always clear between different promoters of community media, but the term 'ideological' does imply a developed system of beliefs and values which would naturally extend to include some of the radio's practices, and exclude others. The term 'perspective' seems more flexible, and more appropriate for a discussion specifically on community radio. People were not asked, nor was an attempt made, to divine how community radio entered into the entirety of their lives.

Referring back to one of the main sources of conflict pointed out by ARCQ in community radio practices, the contradictory themes of 'access' and 'animation', it can be shown that at the level of one project these two perspectives guided practices too divergent to find much solid common ground. I call the perspectives outlined here then, 'access' and 'animation'.

An 'access' perspective tends to regard the community served as that geographic zone able to tune in to the station's broadcast signal. The community is defined more in territorial than socio-cultural terms, and seen as collectively sharing certain fates - a relationship to external planners, organizers, politicians etc., as well as sharing certain resources and community history. Existing media are seen to be lacking in the information the community obtains about itself and its relationship to a larger political unit, so the role of community media is to fill this need. Programming will both call on local talent to make itself known, strengthening the community's self-impression, and provide information from a local perspective not covered in existing media, which is important to its understanding of its own political reality. This perspective depends heavily on an organization which makes the tools of broadcast easily accessible and understandable to those who already have something apart from radio to offer the community. In this perspective, the quality of the finished product - radio programming - is less important than the process involved in collectively owning and sharing a tool of communication. The act of co-operation on a specific project is seen as having a value outside of the results produced.

The perspective of 'animation', in contrast, is linked to the notion of consciousness-raising. The community which the local media is to address is seen to be 'défavorisé' in terms of economic and cultural riches, and in need of some kind of stimulus to mobilize in order to overcome these conditions. It is an underdog community, whose time for development has come. Traditional media are seen to be essentially profit-oriented and purveyors of information which uphold and sustain the power relations maintaining a situation of economic and cultural weakness. Community media therefore become the custodians of the community, responsible for its welfare, and acting as a delivery system for information that will expose, and therefore alter, existing power arrangements. Programming, it follows, is critical and even militant in content, designed to expose the power relations which would otherwise remain invisible, and also to be promotional of the appropriate cultural goods - as much musical as political. The organization of community media in this perspective depends upon appropriately educated people, able to both transform ideas of social animation into a product not only palatable, but energizing to the community served, and respond to the daily operating tasks of the station with reasonable efficiency. The decision-makers in the organization have to be both aware of, and sympathetic to, the image of the minority community served.

The County

The Pontiac has a stable population of 20,000 having changed little over the past decade. About 55% consider english as their mother tongue, 41% french as their mother tongue, and 4% 'other', mostly

german (1). This language ratio has also remained relatively constant over the last decade (2). About 64% of the french-speaking population and 11% of the english-speaking population consider themselves bilingual (3). Since the Pontiac was opened up by the forestry industry in the early 1800's, followed by agriculture, these two sectors have continued to play an important role in the local economy with 75% of the working population attached to either the forestry industry (including pulp and saw mills), or cattle and dairy farming. The remaining 25% are either merchants or provincial or federal public and para-public employees. The rate of unemployment is almost twice the Canadian average - 20% in 1982. The level of education is lower than the national average, with 65% of the population with 9 years of schooling or less compared with 38% in Canada, or 46% in Renfrew County, the Ontario County on the other side of the Ottawa River (4). The two largest villages in the county are Fort Coulonge, predominantly french-speaking with a population of 1,616, and Shawville, predominantly english-speaking with a population of 1,608 (5).

The economy is fragile, given both the high dependence on the fluctuating resource industries of forestry and agriculture, and the commercial attraction of urban centres in Ontario for shopping. There is no commercial centre in the Pontiac, and both Renfrew and Pembroke close by in Ontario offer a wide selection of merchandise and commercial services, attracting Pontiac residents. Recently, the price differential in gasoline between Ontario and Québec has meant that people can go to Ontario towns where shopping is better and cover the cost of the trip with a fill-up of gas. An estimated 30% of all purchases of Pontiac residents are made in Ontario (6).

Mass Media in the County

A study prepared by Communications-Québec in 1977 on the availability of mass media in the county found that 44% of homes in the county received one of the three daily newspapers from Ottawa (The Citizen, The Journal, Le Droit). The only french newspaper, Le Droit accounted for 19% of the market, and was delivered to 8% of the households in the county. One local english newspaper, with one to four pages in french, was published weekly with a circulation of 3,800. Since the study, a monthly french newspaper, Le Reveil du Pontiac, subsidized by the MCQ under its community media development program, has also begun publishing.

Five televison signals were received in the area, four in english and one in french - Radio-Canada from Ottawa. The same year, 1977, Radio-Québec also began broadcasting in french from Hull. Radio signals during the day were received from almost all Ottawa and Pembroke stations, with strength and clarity depending on one's location in the county. This amounted to about ten stations in english, and five in french. In the evening, all signals except the more powerful english stations disappeared. In practice, the county received very little french radio programming during evening hours.

The interpretation of these findings formulated one of the arguments for a 'french first' radio station:

> Subordonné à des impératifs socio-économiques dictés de l'Ontario et desservi en grande majorité par des média de masse anglais, le Pontiac, à vrai dire, ne pouvait longtemps résister aux tentatives de l'anglicisation...(p.14) Dans le Pontiac, les francophones sont minoritaires depuis longtemps, et très majoritairement orientés vers l'Ontario dans tous les secteurs de leur activité (7).

The study further notes that the closer communities were to Montreal following along the north side of the Ottawa River, and consequently the farther they were from Ontario, the less the tendency towards 'anglicisation' persisted. The phenomenon of anglicisation was measured by comparing the total number of people who declared french as their mother tongue against the total number who affirmed speaking english in the home (8). This phenomenon is explained by the pressures exerted on the individual by the social and work milieu, which were predominantly english, and were found to affect all age groups of the population. The study further suggests that part of the population declaring english as their mother tongue were in fact descendants of francophones who had raised their families in english.

New means of communication, particularly radio, it was suggested, would help balance the anglicising influence of media already in place. A problem, however, posed itself according to the provincial study. The inhabitants of Pontiac, abandonned for so long by the Québec bureaucracy, were seen to be distrusting and even aggressive towards everything sent from Québec. Therefore, it concluded, the only chance for survival would be a project originating from the milieu:

> Il nous semble évident que seules auront une chance de réussir les initiatives originales du milieu lui-même et entièrement vouées à son développement (9).

Origins of Radio Pontiac

From the mid-70's, all public and para-public organizations working within the Pontiac had agreed on a common problem: a chronic 'lack of communication' (10). Whether this lack was felt between agencies, or between agencies and the population, is unclear, but by the summer of

1977, there was support from both organizations and a number of municipalities for a radio project. Most municipalities offering their support in writing attached it to the condition that the project be bilingual (11). During the summer the Service d'education des adultes (SEA) of the regional french school board took the initiative, and obtained a $27,000 subsidy from the Ministère de l'education to fund a committee of three to work towards the goal of implanting a community radio station in the county. Two university students from Hull and one secretary from Fort Coulonge were hired, launching 'Communications-Pontiac' with a mandate to both collect information respecting the possibility of creating a community radio station, and to 'sensitize' the public to such a possibility (12). The person designated responsible for the committee's work, newly graduated from Ottawa University with a B.A. in Communications, began his work in June, 1977. He felt it was important to 'involve' as many local people as possible in the project, so immediately began a tour of each village, speaking informally with local residents. He met with some resistance, especially in english communities, but francophones also expressed fears that this was 'une affaire des séparatistes'. After all, he explained, they were 'selling a product' of the MCQ, making clear from the beginning that it was firstly a basic french service (13). But if the population seemed hesitant, the Regroupement des Organismes du Pontiac, representing most service organizations supported the project one hundred percent.

In the fall of 1977, the committee applied directly to the Ministère des communications for a further $30,000 to pursue their work. The position of the Ministère was that firstly, the group should seek

affiliation with a french station or network already broadcasting, with the goal to produce some original programming from the Pontiac. In addition, the MCQ required that french be the language of work for both the staff and the Board of Directors; that english not exceed 49% of the total local production with priority going to french language programming during the evening hours; that a Board of Directors composed of representatives from both radio organizers and the general public be elected at a public meeting; and that a feasiblity study be undertaken. The requirement that the project be oriented toward a french service was clear:

> Nous croyons qu'il y a un grand potentiel culturel, social, économique, et politique pour une radio communautaire francophone ouverte aux groupes culturels anglophones dans la partie communautaire de sa programmation (14).

Radio-Canada was approached without success respecting affiliation, and the group soon resorted to promoting a project for an autonomous radio station. A feasibility study was ordered from the Université du Québec in Hull and the first public meeting held in May of 1978 with the goal of electing a provisional Board of Directors. The Service d'education des adultes provided some background regarding its interest and commitment to the project, centering on 'cultural promotion'. As community development is considered a part of the mandate of the adult education service, it was anxious to build a 'cultural centre' within the county, replacing the influence of Ontario and making the 'realities' of Québec more apparent. A means of communication as far-reaching as radio would equip the milieu with the tools necessay to realize its economic and cultural potential (15). The Service felt that since the radio was to be managed by the community, the decision concerning language should be made locally. However, they added, if MCQ

was going to block the project over this issue, they would leave the decision to the Ministère (16).

Representatives from the MCQ assured the general public at the same meeting that a community radio station belonged to the community, and was controlled by the population. MCQ wanted to assist, not manage, the project (17). The turnout of about 50 people elected a Board of Directors with a mandate to incorporate the radio organization as a non-profit venture, seek financing, begin procedures for a radio licence application and prepare the next general meeting which would found the new corporation (18). In order to prepare a licence application, a decision respecting language of broadcast had to be taken.

The results of the feasibilty study conducted by the U. de Québec had indicated that 91.6% of the population of Pontiac was favourable to implanting a community radio station, with 70% favouring a bilingual radio station where neither language predominated (19). With these results, and in keeping with the percentage of language distribution in the county as a whole, the provisional committee decided unanimously to have 52.5% of total programming in french (66 hours per week), and 47.5% in english (60 hours per week) (20). However, when members of the committee met with the Deputy Minister of Communications in Hull a week later, he informed them of his 'disapproval' while withholding any official position. Shortly thereafter, the Ministry approved a $50,000 grant to continue the project pending approval of Treasury Board, but still provided no official 'approval' of the language question. Anxious to secure this approval in order to proceed with license negotiations and assure long term financing, the committee modified its proposal regarding language of broadcast on October 25, 1978. With 28

'considering that...' clauses, the committee voted to provide 66% of programming 'Quebecois' in origin (21). Two weeks later another unanimous decision designated daytime hours to be 50-50 french and english and evenings to be consacrated for french programming 'afin de respecter le service de base pour les francophones' (22).

As well as language of broadcast, another institutional decision was the location of the radio station. Regardless of geographic centrality or technical efficiency, the school board promoting the project had decided to locate it in Fort Coulonge, the largest french town in the county, and their own base of operations. Thus two important decisions had been taken before the community ever 'appropriated' the project.

The founding meeting of Radio Pontiac Inc. was held on December 6, 1978 at which time notification that the Treasury Board had approved the $50,000 grant the week previously, was given. In addition, the MCQ expressed its intention to support part of annual operating costs. The Ministère had also approached the regional Office de planification et de développement du Québec for subsidizing initial construction costs (23). While the latter agency supported the project, they were reticent to commit themselves, given that the radio station planned to sell advertising in Ontario, a policy conflicting with the OPDQ campaign to 'shop at home' (24).

Five individual members of the Board of Directors were elected, the other four places to be filled by two employees of the Corporation and two representatives of member-organizations. Radio Pontiac was now an independant, non-profit corporation gearing up to hire employees, apply

for a broadcasting license, and oversee the construction of the studios. All Board members were volunteers, with outside jobs.

At this point, the school board pulled out, satisfied that it had accomplished its goals. In a congratulatory letter in the Shawville Equity of January 3, 1979, the Hull office of the CSRO commended the work of the Service d'education adultes of the Pontiac:

> Les autorités de la Commission scolaire régionale de l'Outaouais tiennent à faire savoir que le service de l'éducation des adultes de la CSRO a accompli la tâche qui lui était confiée dans le projet de création d'une radio communautaire dans le Pontiac.
>
> La Commission scolaire régionale de l'Outaouais a entièrement accomplie la mission éducative qu'elle s'était donnée; cette tâche consistait à offrir son support à l'action communautaire du milieu dans le but d'établir un moyen de communication pour les francophones de comté de Pontiac...
>
> Grâce à la persévérance des employés de la CSRO, en collaboration étroite avec les gens du milieu, le Gouvernement du Québec a accepté de verser une subvention de $50,000 afin de compléter la phase pré-implantation...
>
> La CSRO se réjouit d'avoir accompli la mission qui lui avait été confiée par le Gouvernement du Québec et tient à formuler ses meilleur voeux de succès au Conseil d'administration qui est responsable de la mise en onde de cet important outil de communication pour la population du Pontiac.(My emphasis)

When the new Board of Directors began the arduous process of putting a new radio station on air with the goals of promoting participation, communication and development, two important decisions had already been made: the proportion of programming to be broadcast in each language, and the site of the studio. These were the objectives of the new corporation:

> 6.1 Outiller le milieu pour favoriser la participation des citoyens dans l'exercice de la propriété, de l'orientation et de l'utilisation d'un moyen de communication.
>
> 6.2 Susciter la créativité et la participation des citoyens du Pontiac par la diffusion de l'information dans les domaines politique, économique, social, educatif, culturel et des loisirs.

6.3 Favoriser l'accès à des contenus d'origine québécoise pour la population du Pontiac.

6.4 Encourager la concertation des intérêts de la population du Pontiac.

6.6 Contribuer à l'épanouissement de la collectivité du Pontiac (25).

One and a half years after it's conception, the radio project had ammassed a solid network of institutional support; the MCQ, the OPDQ, the regional school board, most local governmental organizations, and even the support in writing from a number of municipalities. However, there was by no means a wave of popular support. The number of people actively participating either as volunteers or simply buying membership cards remained very small. The project pressed ahead regardless, stimulation of the population simply being added as one more task to accomplish.

One of the original three hired to animate the project attribted this lack of popular support to the important role played by external agencies in originating the project:

> Il y avait une crainte des gens de l'extérieur. C'est un peu la caractéristique du projet finalement. Même s'il est parti de R.O.P. finalement, c'était implanté par l'education des adultes. C'est venu en fait un peu de l'exterieur du Pontiac (26).

Organization

The legal structure which most community radio stations have adopted, including Radio Pontiac, is that designed specifically for community media by the MCQ, a structure meant to give the community full control of the corporation. An annual general assembly is held where members, (anyone of legal age living in the Pontiac who pays $5.00), elect a volunteer Board of Directors to run the radio project. The

Board has full responsibility including the management of salaried staff. It is accountable to the assembly of members, providing details of its activities at each annual meeting. If members are dissatisfied with the performance of the Board, they have the right to request a special assembly any time during the year to address issues deemed important. Anyone of legal age residing in the county has the right to sit on the Board with no prerequisite skills or experience. Although this administrative structure does provide for local management and decision-making, two other factors must also be considered. Firstly, as mentioned, some important elements of the project had been determined by institutional organizers before this structure was in place. Secondly, the structure is equally accessible by unskilled or disruptive members as by skilled and supportive ones.

The accessibility of the structure, by designating the members as the ultimate authority, was responsible as much for the weakness of the project, as the strength. After the year of operation in which volunteer Board members had piloted the project onto the air, dealing with technical, regulatory, personnel, and financial problems, they were faced with an untenable internal management situation. Monthly operational expenses were running at $12,000, no system of financial accountability existed, personnel problems were brought to their attention daily, advertising sales were far lower than anticipated, and the public appeared to be losing interest. After much debate, a decision was taken to fire the project co-ordinator without notice. By rallying support around issues ranging from 'english control' to the incompetence of the Board of Directors, a group of community members managed to hold two special assemblies in two months demanding the

reinstatement of the Director. The added burden of preparing for two hostile public assemblies after dealing with the range of start-up problems and administrative breakdown resulted in the departure of most Board members. 'Public' response succeeded in eliminating the few people who knew the project details without proposing alternative solutions to the accumulated problems of a financial deficit, technical malfunctions, and administrative irregularities.

The access/animation range of perspective is illustrated at the level of administration in the following way. The local community was to have complete access to run the radio station in the way in which it saw fit, but only after clear directions leading the community towards cultural development had been imbedded in the project. It would be french first, located in Fort Coulonge and use an administrative structure designed by the chief funding agency.

The conflict in perspective is illustrated by the image of the radio held first by two Board members, and then by an MCQ 'agent de développment':

> Community radio is a great idea. We have a number of creative people in Pontiac County...painters and artists and sculptors and writers and this is just a whole new form of creativity. Radio provides for poetry and music and drama. Also it could provide for a great means of intercommunication among the different people of the county... It's a very large county, we have a lot of people in the county who would find it easier to talk about what they're doing than to write about it. We have a newspaper and that's just fine if you can write and if you can read but there is a large group of people who would prefer just to hear about where to go to get their babies immunized, or where to go to get their drivers licences or whether the road is under water today, when the buses are running in the morning, and all those little things that are very important to a person's daily life. So it could be useful, very useful.
>
> Also, it could be a whole lot of fun and ever since the very start, I have felt that the fun aspect is very real and very important... It's also another means of co-operation among a lot of people because nobody can do radio alone, and anything that requires co-operation for fun and value is a good community thing.

As for do we need it or not - no we don't need it. The county has been surviving for 150 years...it's not a thing we need in the way we need industries, we need jobs, we need better roads...better schools. Radio is not a need - it's just the frosting on the cake...very desireable.

Another thing that is very important is that Pontiac County being on the fringe of Québec, sometimes loses its orientation. We're much more closely attuned to what's going on in Ontario. All our other radio stations come from Ontario. Television and the big daily papers come from Ontario...it's good to know a little bit more about the province that you live in. If through our own radio...if we could get more information about what's happening in our own provincial capital this would be good...There has been some attempt to do that during the french hours of broadcast, but unfortunately it hasn't happened for the english-speaking people and they're the ones that need it the most. They're the ones that are the most disoriented with their province. That's another thing that would be very useful (27).

Another Board member explains:

Community radio as I see it could be the focal point for the Pontiac - in that it has much easier access than newspapers or any form of communication. It could give a sense of pride to people in the Pontiac - where the radio station is almost like a teacher...educational in the cultural sense, like giving a history of the Pontiac. It's an ideal outlet for possibly open-line shows.

It has so much potential. The only thing is to get it organized in that direction in order to fulfull the role of a community radio station. Right now we're in our infancy and we're sort of feeling our way along. The idea now is... we should start filtering, start setting our long term goals as to what type of atmosphere we want to create.

I see it as a focal point for the community where everyone in the community can participate - it's open to them... People aren't really sure of what community radio is, how they can get involved. A lot of people are shy, understandably, but I think with time as they hear other people on the air that they know, they will also say «hey, we can have a good time at this - let's get out there and do something too.» This is where I'm hoping that we'll tap some of the untapped potential of the Pontiac...musicians, intellectuals, farmers, whatever. There are a lot of people who can contribute...

Our financial situation is marginal, but I think we can do it... Once the bugs have been ironed out of it, the radio will start functioning as a community radio (28).

The perspective of the MCQ 'agent de développement', on the other hand, depended on the participation of 'jeunes intellectuels engagés' whose production was of professional calibre.

Professionel... c'est à mettre l'accent sur les contenus...au niveau de ce qui se passent à l'intèrieur d'une émission. Par exemple...une serie sur la santé...la division sexuelle des tâches,

> la condition feminine...l'histoire du jazz... Il y a des contenus nouveaux dans le sens où vous n'allez pas trouver ça dans les FM ordinaires...Ils vont essayer de passer beaucoup de contenu éducatif, pris dans le sens large. Si tu es obligé d'inclure monsieur un tel, un tel... monsieur veut participer à l'émission - tu ne peux pas faire une émission aussi professionelle... La participation 'at large', ouverte à la population est un frein, ou une entrave finalement à la réalisation de bonnes émissions, ou la réalisation d'émissions un peu plus perfectionneés, un peu plus fignoleés.
>
> L'impératif de la production dans le privé, c'est la rentabilité. L'impératif de production dans le communautaire, ce n'est par la rentabilité, c'est la rentabilité éducative et non pas la rentabilité financière.
>
> Pour arriver à être proche du monde et à servir les gens, il faut que tu sois capable de traduire leurs besoins avec un plus. Il faut que tu le traduises et que tu le rendes mieux, pour être capable d'aider les gens. Si tu fais juste transmettre ce que les gens ont à se dire comme ils se le disent entre eux, en privé...tu n'atteins pas ton objectif. Personne n'est intéressé à entendre des choses qu'il peut entendre transformées, un petit peu améliorées, mieux présentées de façon que ça le fait avancer.
>
> Le problème est le problème des ressources. Ce n'est pas tellement un problème d'argent, c'est le problème de trouver du monde pour faire du bon travail, et de rester branché sur la population en même temps...
>
> Comment on va arriver à faire de la bonne radio en région avec les moyens régionaux?... On peut y arriver en ayant des productions qui viennent de l'extérieur, qui ont été faites ailleurs, qui sont distribuées, qui stimulent les producteurs sur place à mieux travailler. (On peut y arriver) avec deuxièmement, de la formation qui sera dispensé par le ministère ou par l'Association (des radiodiffuseurs communautaires) en faisant des seminaires... comment faire traiter la nouvelle.. c'est quoi être radiophonique...c'est quoi faire une recherche sur un sujet donné (29).

One of the original three organizers hired by the Service d'education des adultes to animate the project, described the image of the radio he was asked to develop:

> Dans le Pontiac, c'était une idée d'éducation au moyens d'un outil, avec l'objectif de donner un outil à la population; en même temps, en amenant cet outil là à pouvoir former la population à s'occuper de ses affaires, puis à se réunir (30).

The animation perspective was also shared by some local volunteers working for a time at the level of programming committee. Largely salaried public and para-public professionals (teachers, social

animators) this group demonstrated itself to be sympathetic to provincial culture policy and consequently unsympathetic to either english or poor french spoken at public meetings, although the proportion of actual programming in english was uncontested. A further intolerance towards regionally accented, anglicized or grammatically faulty french on air was exhibited. They were critical of the local broadcasters who had gone through a 17-week training program, but whose french was still considered to be lacking an acceptable degree of refinement. This group, which worked voluntarily at bureaucratic tasks, on designing rules and procedures for committees, rather than on-air programming or program planning saw the role of the radio as a tool towards elevating local taste and culture. Screening mechanisms were set up to ensure that locally-produced programs were of acceptable quality. An example of comments on one religious show illustrates the type of criticism made:

> Nothing offensive to Christian beliefs. The music is rather of poor quality, voice rendering is rather harsh, nay defective, and linguistically speaking the English is somewhat better than the French (31).

The notion of community radio as a tool for animation and cultural development was also shared by the first full-time animator/researcher the radio hired. A sense of urgency was invoked in a special memoire submitted to the CRTC as part of his tasks of licence preparation - without community radio, cultural 'confusion was inevitable':

> (Le Pontiac) souffre inconsciement de problèmes d'identification tant par sa situation géographique qu'économique l'amenant à poser des gestes en apparence incohérents (revendiquer bruyamment pour une école française à Chapeau plutôt qu'une école anglaise à Shawville et du même souffle tenir une réunion à l'hôtel de ville en anglais sur ce sujet). De plus, les rapports socio-économiques semblent bien établies entre les classes sans qu'il y est des signes apparents d'insatisfaction au sens des plus démunis (32).

Citing the grave consequences of being thinly spread along the Ontario border, (assimilation, an anglophone 'mentality' even if people spoke french, and poor media service in french), the report urged the CRTC to consider the Pontiac case urgent.

While the perspectives outlined are painted only in broad brush strokes, with the result that one cannot easily classify all participants into one of two camps, it does indicate that there would be some conflict when it came to allocating scarce resources. The problem of skill resources was acute for both. Both sides for instance had some interest in the educational value of a community radio. But whereas the 'animation' people stressed the value of 'young intellectuals' providing a critical analysis of contemporary concerns, 'access' people were more interested in local history, localized concerns, and public-service announcements. The kinds of skills needed to create or compile each type of programming are different but equally rare in the county. Without a CEGEP or University in the vicinity from which one can normally count upon a labour pool of young researchers, it was unclear where critical analysis would come from. Building local history and collecting local news, on the other hand, and transforming this into a radio product, also requires a minimum of interviewing and broadcast skills, which, while more common, still could not cover more than a few hours broadcast time a week.

A policy of open access clearly counted on many people in the community to come in as volunteers to do programming according to their capabilities. However this does require some kind of routine for integrating people into the life of the station - a basic training provided by already capable people on staff. A sense of responsibility

for the intellectual development of the community, on the other hand, depended upon skilled animator/broadcasters which usually means paid positions. Training and fund-raising are different tasks requiring different kinds of preparation. Without a clear consensus from management and the Board of Directors over a period of time, staff would shift from one priority to another without clearly accomplishing either. This is only one example of the practical strains that perspectives in conflict can produce at the level of organization.

The conflicts caused by differing perspectives at the operational level are especially evident when the decision load is examined. The project had inherited certain directions but many decisions remained to be made at the local level. Just for the preparation of the CRTC license, the Board of Directors had to create the following documents: a code of ethics regarding advertising; a policy on publicity tarifs; a policy regarding language use; a music policy; an organizational plan depicting the number and functions of staff; a contract regarding the wire service; a program schedule; financial estimates resepecting revenue and expenses, and finally, the application itself.

Other contracts or agreements necessary for the license application included: specifications regarding physical construction; signed contracts concerning land acquisition for the tower and a locale for the studio; agreements with Radio-Canada, Radio-Québec and Hydro Québec to use their towers for the second and third rebroadcasting transmitters; plans for the future studios; a technical study and a contract with the MCQ indicating their financial support of the project.

Institutional support was available through MCQ for the technical study and construction plans, but everything else had to be generated

locally by the volunteer Board members and skeleton staff of three. Decisions were numerous, varied, complex and frequent, and handled by a small group of people. Added to this was the pressure of a time limit imposed by the MCQ from the first allocation of $50,000 seed money to on-air broadcasting 15 months later (33). The only person with any radio experience at the beginning of the 15 month period, was the animator-researcher hired to co-ordinate the project. One Board member with local media experience was also subsequently recruited. Under this pressure, there was little time for hammering out a group consensus. For example, the decision to install a wire service, while the subject of long debate and final rejection by Vancouver Co-op radio, was taken without consultation by the project co-ordinator, who considered it an obvious and necessary facet of any radio station meant to educate its listening public. At $24,000 annually, the wire service obviously pre-empted other possible services.

The role of volunteers and potential local broadcasters was also an important facet of the organization of the station. Recognizing early in the project the problem of taking on untrained people to produce radio programs, the co-ordinator began working with local educational institutions. He prepared a curriculum to propose for a full time 52-week program on Radio Broadcasting Arts which he hoped to have offered in the county with the support of Canada Employment and Immigration, the school board and the Commission de formation professionelle - a branch of the Québec Ministère de l'education which co-ordinates all levels of vocational training. Negotiations with these agencies began by May 1979, and by June included a resource person from the CEGEP de l'Outaouais, the local junior college in Hull. A full

curriculum was designed, and since it appeared to be applicable to the other community radio projects as well, the nearby station in Maniwaki was invited to participate in the program. Soon all community radio stations in the province were contacted to measure the level of interst. With an enthusiastic response, the Hull CEGEP purchased $10,000 worth of portable radio equipment and prepared to offer the program in conjunction with Employment and Immigration in Hull in the fall, a location midway between two community radio projects in the Outaouais region. Accepted students would follow a full-time program in Hull, with living expenses paid, as well as receiving a salary equivalent to unemployment insurance. The criteria for acceptance was that people had to be unemployed, completed grade 12 and interested in working in the milieu of radio following the program. After some delay, the course was finally given, lasting seventeen weeks during the spring of 1980 (34). Taught mostly by commercial radio broadcasters, five local young people from the Pontiac eventually followed the program acquiring some production skills. Eventually, only three returned to work for Radio Pontiac and as mentioned, while they had acquired broadcast skills, the quality of their spoken french was criticized by some Programming Committee members. What had begun as a small project to train local people for eventual staffed positions escalated into a province-wide accredited junior college program (Certificate in 'Initiation à la Radio Communautaire') but unavailable within the county itself.

For training volunteers, the first animator co-ordinating the project had made some equipment available to the public in the early stages of the project to practice for an-air broadcasting, but this project was abandonned after the replacement of the co-ordinator and a

move into professional calibre broadcast studios. The new equipment was off limits to all but trained staff, and a few previously trained volunteers. While the recruiting of volunteers changed in priority according to the current management, community members were always solicited actively, important for both revenue-gathering at $5.00 each per year, and for legitimating the project through the expression of community support.

Technical Installation

A discussion of the technical installation of radio Pontiac centres on two issues: the site chosen for the studios and tower, and the quality and scale of technical equipment used.

The choice of site was interesting when examining the criteria apart from technical efficiency that were used. In 1978, the MCQ contracted a private firm to conduct a technical study in the Pontiac region. The preliminary results indicated that the ideal site for the studio and antenna was Campbell's Bay, with repeater stations at Chapeau and Rapides des Joachims. However, 'en réponse à l'exigence du paragraphe 2.1.4 du contrat', Fort Coulonge was also studied (35). While a hill near the town was found to be an acceptable antenna site also eliminating the need for one rebroadcaster transmitter, the costs for an installation here were projected at around $203,000 over $148,000 for the Campbell's Bay site with one repeater station. The cost for the other repeater station would be the same in both cases. The amounts given were for equipment corresponding to that normally used in conventional radio (36).

In early July, 1978, two months after the provisional committee was elected, and after receiving the results of the preliminary technical study, a letter was written from the Commission scolaire office in Hull in the name of the provisional committee in the Pontiac, with the following decision regarding location of the station:

> Considérant: que la différence des coûts d'implantation est minime ($10,000);
>
> que le pôle culturel francophone pour la région est Fort Coulonge;
>
> que la motivation ainsi que la participation des gens de cette municipalité est de beaucoup plus élevé que les gens des autres secteurs de la région;
>
> que la municipalité de Fort Coulonge est appelée à devenir la métropole francophone du Pontiac;
>
> le comité choisit d'installer le studio de la Radio du Pontiac Inc. à Fort Coulonge (37).

Campbell's Bay was retained as the location of the tower, requiring the installation of a 15 mile dedicated telephone line (38). The cultural criteria for the implantation of the station taking clear precedence, the two supporting institutions MCQ and the CSRO were willing to absorb the extra costs of adapting the technical installation to these exigencies. Eventually the station managed to negotiate with Radio Canada and Radio Québec for space on their existing tower for one rebroadcaster transmitter, (the second one dropped in a budget crisis), but they had to construct their own main tower in Campbell's Bay.

Decisions surrounding the quality and scale of equipment used were also to have an impact on the project which extended into the financial, organizational and programming sectors. MCQ, from the beginning of its funding program, had decided to subsidize professional calibre broadcasting equipment. Since the Ministère had always made it clear

that it was only supporting the launching of community media projects and did not intend to support them on a long-term basis, they reasoned that there was no point in starting off with cheap equipment that would be subject to breakdown a few years down the road. Subsidizing only solid, professional, proven equipment, the Ministère provided a detailed technical construction plan for the radio project including plans for an on-air studio, a production studio, an interview studio joined to the others, a record library, and reception and office space (39). The costs for such a set-up had been estimated by the MCQ to be around $53,000 (40).

The radio station then contracted a private consulting firm near Québec City, over 500 miles away, to provide a detailed list of equipment necessary for 'efficient, quality broadcast at minimum cost'. The same company was to tender offers to equipment suppliers, arrange to purchase the material, and oversee and inspect construction (41). When the project organizers discovered that the cost estimates had not included the acquisition or construction of a building, a hurried search turned up an offer from a local school to provide space free of charge. Two technical specialists from MCQ came to inspect the premises, pronounced them adequate for studio facilities, and proceeded to draw complete construction plans (42).

In the fall of 1979, after the technical studies and studio plans had been drawn up for a community radio station to broadcast county-wide, the station was suddenly asked by the CRTC to reduce their request from a 3,000 watt station to a 50-watt station in order to avoid the necessity of a public hearing. The request was made in light of the freeze on new FM licenses pending CBC's new allocations. The project

was too far advanced as a full-power FM station to consider such a request, and organizers along with six other community radio projects successfully argued for a fall hearing with the Commission in light of their having submitted the licence request before the announcement of the freeze. With informal assurances of the acceptance of their licence application, construction began on the studios in early 1980. Some volunteer labour was avaialble, but most of the construction was contracted out.

Concerning the technical installation, the access/animation conflict in perspective did not clearly manifest itself in public debate, for the simple reason that the two important issues of site location and calibre of equipment had been decided before the project was handed over to the community. The conflict manifested itself more in the internal tensions created by the necessity for professional skills to run what was presented as a community project. None of the skills required to even buy the complicated technical equipment, let alone plan and install it, were available locally, so all technical decisions implied dependence on both the MCQ and professional consultants. While decisions were taken by the local Board of Directors, their real role was signing for decisions that had been made elsewhere. Tension increased over two issues related to this dependence. Firstly, the costs arising from the use of professional equipment, and the consultants it entailed extended beyond both original estimates and budget capabilitities. Secondly, once the system was operating, there were a number of technical difficulties resulting in shut-downs which local expertise was helpless to solve. Numerous trips by technicians from Ottawa, 100 miles away were required to right the

problems, adding further to the financial load. Once the station was operating more smoothly, the salary available to pay a technician was only enough to offer to a young local man, largely self-taught, who was able to troubleshoot a few obvious problems but still depended for regular maintenance on out-of-town technicians.

A final technical problem presented itself once the bugs were ironed out, and the radio was ready to broadcast 18 hours a day. Operating a full FM stereo, McCurdy console was a little intimidating to many community members, and an on-site training program had not been incorporated into the planning process. While a few young local people had taken the full-time CEGEP course, only 3 returned to work at the station. With a few exceptions, access to the studio equipment was limited to paid staff.

Programming

During the early stages of the project, the U. de Québec in Hull had been contracted to evaluate listener preference with respect to programming content. The CRTC licence application of April, 1979, submitted just four months after the founding meeting of the radio project relied heavily on this study, as well as the expertise of the project co-ordinator, for providing a detailed breakdown of proposed programming content. This official proposal for programming content, then, did not arise from discussion among project promoters, potential users, or community groups, whose initial support for the project had been for a more general 'means of communication'.

Twice in the fall of 1979, during the intense activity surrounding financial negotiations and preparations for the fall CRTC hearing, the

question arose of how exactly the Board planned to organize a programming committee, whose mandate it would be, to plan and co-ordinate a programming schedule. In December, the Board proposed to organize six sub-committees according to geographic zones, whose members would elect one representative to a central Programming Committee.

As the studios were being constructed, grant applications being prepared under employment-creation programs and members recruited, the Board made an effort to 'define' community radio. In one of the minutes of February, it appears as follows:

> 6: Définir radio communautaire vs. Radio Pontiac. Après discussion: Les membres du conseil d'administration demandent à (co-ordinateur) d'effectuer une recherche sur la définition qu'ont les autres radios communautaires et de leur présenter. De soumettre, s'il y a lieu, sa définition pour la Radio du Pontiac. Les members du conseil choisiront ou fabriqueront une définition (43).

The problem of articulating exactly what community radio was, was also to plague the programming committee which eventually did take shape. The formation of this committee, while compared to more immediate technical and construction decisions, was less pressing for the Board, but an essential component to fulfilling the station's promise to the CRTC, and in fact, an important factor in the decision to grant the license:

> The Commission takes note of statements made at the hearing confirming the responsibilities of the Programming Committee proposed by the applicant. This committee will not only be consultative in nature, but it will be responsible for planning the station's programming in line with the needs of the community (44).

Invitations were sent to all municipalities and organizations to form the committees. Meetings were held during January and February in six municipalities across the county with the goal of having a number of 'correspondents' for different program subjects; sports, school news,

social clubs, and religion, in each zone. Representatives were elected from each zone and it was understood that they would soon begin to meet to 'prepare programming'. By March, two zones out of six had active subcommittees, and this core group proceeded with the task of trying to build a programming schedule. Included in the group were one local newspaper publisher with television and radio experience, a musician, and one member with a few months experience with a campus radio station, but radio experience was generally limited. Regular biweekly meetings of the committee began, and gradually members from two other zones joined in. There was no clear idea of what the committee was meant to accomplish, what it's procedures would be, and what would be its relationship to the paid staff, especially the directeur-général. Since the Director was responsible for on-air programming and reported directly to the Board of Directors, he was in no way accountable to the Programming Committee.

Usually present at meetings of this committee, the d.g. would report on his activities concerning programming, and respond to suggestions put forward by the committee. For example, when it was suggested that more use be made of the telephone to be in contact with the public, the d.g. agreed as long as no special requests were taken, and that the telephone conversation did not go on-air. This, in spite of plans in the Promise of Performance of the CRTC to broadcast phone-in calls as a way of encouraging public participation (45). When it was suggested that some kind of liaison exist between the programming committee and the daily operations of the station, the d.g. explained that he already filled that function (46). Although some discussion took place on specific program proposals put forward by paid employees and local organizations,

and the problem of developing a local approach to programming, the unclear relationship between the director and the committee, and the role of the committee soon took precedence as a discussion topic. A special day-long workshop was organized to hash these things out.

A 'definition' of Radio Pontiac was agreed upon - as an 'accessible, communications medium used to promote exchanges among community members, and provide information concerning Québec and the county' (47). The results of the meeting, held in french and english, were inconclusive concerning the role of each of the actors, but agreement was reached that there was a 'lack of information and communication among individuals involved with Radio Pontiac', and that 'community access is minimal (and) must receive priorized attention and be visibly encouraged (48).

While the Programming Committee continued to struggle with the question of how to structure and organize itself, and what it's role should be, the station began broadcasting. Almost all on-air hours were covered by paid announcers, for the most part, young, local men and women, funded under job creation programs. Interestingly, this method of organizing on-air broadcasting mirrored quite closely the Promise of Performance. While much was made of the community orientation of the content in discussions, in the licence application itself only two hours per week (minimum) is set aside for programming produced by local residents other than paid personnel, and another two hours (minimum) for local organizations (49). Together this represents just over 3% of all programming.

The program format was standard - playing records, reading wire service news and public announcements. Gradually, as staff became

comfortable with the technical requirements, some began to develop radio programs - special children's shows, horoscopes, and even a few 'remotes' of special events. A couple of volunteers who already had media experience prepared magazine-type variety programs interviewing local personalities and featuring local music. Programming content was organized primarily by the on-air animators according to their tastes and abilities, sometimes in conjunction with the directeur-général but rarely in conjunction with the programming committee.

During 1980, the tension between staff, volunteers and a unilingual french station manager experienced mainly in radio sales, and among different groups of volunteers had become acute. The dream of having a number of correspondents for different types of programming in each zone never materialized. With the exception of two communities which had active groups generating both on-air programming, and programming ideas, usually only one person per area came forward to sit on the programming committee as a zone representative. Even then, some zones found no one willing to take part, and individuals from other zones came only to complain of the quality of present programming, and did not remain long. The structure of the committee and meeting arrangements were vague enough so that different individuals or groups could sweep in and take over for a period of time, making continuity and long-range planning for programming difficult. Also, when a new group did take over, discussions and argument usually concentrated on the role of the committee. Much criticism took place of on-air programming, usually relating to the ability of broadcasters to speak clearly, using good english or french, and their choice of music. Rarely however, was

actual or proposed on-air programming discussed, except in a censorship fashion when a complaint was received about certain songs being played.

Tension related to technical problems, financial shortages, management style, and conflicts among Programming Committee members precluded any possibility of setting objectives regarding programming content, designating steps to achieve them, and evaluating the result. Some committee members and volunteers argued for programming content that reflected the class and linguistic conflicts of a poor county whose population was split between two language groups, without either actually producing such programs or suggesting how they should be made with resources at hand. Others argued that anyone should be allowed to come on air to do whatever they wished, playing the music of their choice, without clearly specifying how they could acquire the technical skills necessary to do even that much. No one paid too much attention to the type of programming promised to the CRTC based on which the licence had been granted.

In light of such an impasse, programming became whatever each animator decided to do during his or her own time on air and very little programming was produced by unpaid volunteers. Along with a growing financial deficit, the Ministère de communications was disturbed by a lack of a clear development plan for programming, and requested a meeting in March of 1981 to discuss these issues. Following the meeting, the 'conclusions' of the MCQ representative were forwarded in writing to the radio station (50). Regarding community participation, the agent urged the Board to appoint a volunteer co-ordinator to begin seriously recruiting volunteers to make programs. Programming, it was suggested, should be geared toward social, economic, and cultural

development, and the MCQ agent had already contacted four other community radio stations to lend Radio Pontiac programs, while building up their own local programming. When the MCQ came to evaluate the project for its 1981 funding program, both the programming content and the lack of planning was harshly criticized. The recommendations of the jury distributing the budget reflected these reservations concerning the ability of the community to contribute to the cultural development of the region:

> A d'autres égards, soit l'analyse des enjeux collectifs, la contribution au développement culturel, le document soumis au jury ou n'est pas explicite ou est silencieux. On peut s'étonner du fait que les enjeux collectifs tels que définis dans un rapport du CRDO ne soient pas repris par CHIP. Il y a certes là un problème de communication d'autant plus que le CRDO a placé le développement de la radio comme 'première' priorité dans sa région (51).

The MCQ agent in a subsequent report noted that in the plan for the coming year there was no indication whatsoever of a programming schedule and warned that the Ministère did not subsidize 'music boxes'. The station was urged to seek resources to rectify the situation, including acquiring programs produced by other community radios. As well, a report having been made by another MCQ employee that 'english content predominated' was to be 'answered to and rectified immediately (52).

Like the range of perspectives in conflict concerning organization, the promotion of 'access', and the promotion of 'animation' tended towards irreconcilable positions. Even during the initial stages of the project within the CRTC licence application and hearing, an approach towards animation of the population vies with one of open access. In the application:

> La radio communautaire se veut avant tout un instrument au service de la collectivité. Dans ce sens, la programmation de la station, reflètera au jour le jour les attentes, désirs, aspirations, craintes et conditions de vie de la communauté desservie. La

> station entend favoriser le partage des préoccupations communes, les échanges d'opinions afin que les auditeurs prennent conscience des mesures à prendre pour améliorer leur qualité de vie (53).

At the hearing itself, the person designated responsible for programming within the Board of Directors offered a different perspective, where listeners were to create their own programs rather than depending on animator/broadcasters to reflect listener aspirations:

> There will be a committee in each of nine areas... and they will organize programs hopefully in each of the areas...
> It isn't all just going to be a matter of who's lost in the bush. There is a lot of music in the County of Pontiac, and there is a tremendous interest in the history of the people. There has been a great revival of interest in the ancestry of the various different groups in the County, and everybody is doing research and everybody is getting together information that they want to share, and there will be a lot of that sort of information coming in (54).

As indicated previously in 'Organization', the result of the small number of key people working with different perspectives was often that each tended to be operating alone without a clear sense of how they fitted into the overall plan of the station. While one Board member, for example, was out rounding up volunteer programmers in the hopes of forming an active committee, the station itself was managed as a closed shop with little possibility for actual input from other than salaried staff. Needless to say, disagreement at this level often deflected discussions on programming, to confrontations concerning who was responsible for what. This problem was exacerbated when the original co-ordinator responsible for many of the original documents was replaced just before the station went on air, by someone who had not participated in the formative discussions concerning the nature of community involvement. As well, the new director came from outside the county, and was affiliated with a regional cultural organization which had publicly offered their support for the radio project on the grounds that

it was not only 'french first' but would eventually broadcast 100% in french (55).

This discussion of programming of Radio Pontiac has focussed on the organization of committees and intervention of the government for the simple reason that aside from 'official' commitments - in terms of preparation of content categories for the CRTC and the ideological objectives related to cultural development for the MCQ - there existed no strategy for developing local programming. There was no background consensus on either what precisely was to go on air, nor how, and by whom, it was to be produced. Different individuals had their own, sometimes strong, ideas but without agreement and some collaboration, few could be realized. Also, as new management arrived into a situation that did not present a clear consensus on objectives, it was relatively easy to stress yet another direction. This curious situation is partially explanable by the tight schedule within which the project operated, forcing participants to devote time and energy according to the most pressing concerns - especially fund-raising - and organizing the construction of the tower and studios. It is perhaps also partially explanable by the conviction, especially as expressed by ARCQ, that the process of community radio which included all those other activities apart from programming was at least as important as programming content in the contribution it could make to a community (56).

Financing

A discussion of the financing of Radio Pontiac deals with both funding and income sources, and the financial management of the project.

Although the seed money was provided by the Ministère de l'education through the local school board, the main source of funding for operational aspects of the radio was the Ministère de communications, and for infrastructure, was the Office de planification et de développement du Québec (OPDQ). The latter agency provides money for projects relating to economic development in regional Québec. MCQ prepared the application for $175,000 to cover installation costs which it submitted to the OPDQ, but the actual contract was sent for signature to the radio station (57).

Every fall from 1979 to 1981, the MCQ allotted Radio Pontiac a grant for operating expenses growing from $31,000 to $48,000. In addition, in light of a huge deficit related to start-up costs, an additional $13,000 was allotted to the station from a special discretionary fund of the MCQ in 1981. The Ministère was the most important source of continuous funding over the three-year period, but the station relied heavily on ongoing job creation programs of the Secretary of State, Canada Employment and Immigration, OSE-Arts (Ministère des affaires culturelles) and C.V.E.P. (Ministère de l'education).

As well as direct grants, the station had two other sources of income - both of which were of local origin - membership and community contributions and, as a full commercial station, advertising revenue. The impetus for the first membership drive and finance campaign during the summer and fall of 1979 was the realiziation that actual costs for the installation were going to rise to over $300,000, leaving the station with the problem of finding $125,000 after the OPDQ grant (58).

During the fall, the co-ordinator began meeting with groups and associations in the county with a prepared speech inviting their participation (59). The speech outlined the important contributions of the CSRO and government of Québec as well as celebrating the date the 'population took control of the project' - at the general meeting of 1978. However, the success of the project was now considered in the hands of the population.

> Comme vous pouvez le constater, le projet d'une radio communautaire dans le Pontiac est prêt. Le gouvernement, la CSRO, et la Commision Scolaire de Pontiac ont versés d'importantes sommes d'argent dans le projet. Nous pouvons dire avec raison que le travail du comité pour la radio a été fait. Maintenant il reste le travail de la population et des organisations. Pourquoi? Il y a deux raisons.
>
> Premièrement, le gouvernement du Québec a versé assez d'argent, il dit que si la population veut un poste de radio qu'elle le démontre.
>
> Deuxièment, le CRTC exige une preuve comme quoi la population désire vraiment une station de radio et quel sera la qualité de langue en ondes (60).

The finance campaign was stepped up for the dual purpose of raising money and acquiring members, the latter an essential demonstration to the CRTC and the government of Québec that the community was 'involved'. The goal was to raise $30,000 to come from 4,000 individual memberships at $5.00, 112 organization-member cards at $25.00, and donations (61).

Organizations addressed were asked for six things: a resolution of support for the radio (which would be included in the licence application); the purchase of a $25.00 membership card; the purchase of $5.00 membership cards by organization members; a donation; a representative of the organization to be elected to produce programs; and, help in selling membership cards in the community. Asked in this fashion to demonstrate its commitment to the project, the community

responded by raising $3,635 through the sale of 380 membership cards. A little over 2% of the population had 'participated'. A more successfull scheme for fund-raising in the community once the station was on-air turned out to be the annual 'radiothon' - a weekend broadcast marathon when businesses and organizations in the community challenged one another to match donations. In 1981, $6,500 was raised in three days.

A second local source of revenue was advertising, which both the Board and the MCQ hoped would eventually provide the major proportion of funding for the radio. A study of financial projections had been commissioned from the Société d'amenagement de l'outaouais, a provincial government agency promoting economic development in the region (62). The SAO study concluded that a total of $189,000 could be solicited from the Quebec side, and $126,000 from Ontario for an annual total of $315,000 (63). Tempering this optimistic portrait somewhat, the project organizers had, in the CRTC application, projected a revenue of $192,000 the first year, rising to $272,000 the fifth. However, in informal meetings in June and July, 1979, with representatives of the CRTC concerning the licence application, a few modificiations were suggested including budget estimates for the first five years of operation. The Commission wondered if their estimated income wasn't high. With commercial revenues that high, compared to the revenue generated by the community, it looked more like an application for a commercial station than a community station (64). The Board agreed to change the estimate to $78,000 for the first year, rising to $171,000 for the fifth, in spite of the S.A.O. projections.

Once the Corporation began handling funds which arrived from these various sources, the Board relied on the full-time co-ordinator and

secretary to keep the books, bring to their attention disbursements made, and provide budget projections and monthly statements. At least one Board member, usually the president, counter-signed cheques. As a non-profit corporation, the station was obliged to have annual financial statements prepared by a chartered accountant, verified, and presented to the general assembly.

The priority accorded to different expenses was decided primarily by the project co-ordinator. Wire service news, as mentioned, was considered essential at $600/month. Personnel were hired according to perceived need, rather than positions created through various employment programs. Salaries tended to fluctuate dramatically depending on available resources. During 1980, the start-up year involving construction of towers and studios, building proceeded largely according to the prepared plans provided by the MCQ. As a financial deficit of $22,000 accumulated, the only major change was a decision to build the rebroadcaster transmitters one after the other as funds permitted. Winter building, technical problems, and consulting fees contributed to the budget deficit, but no one was very worried, given the projected revenue through advertising, once the station was on air. During the fall of 1980, the co-ordinator was replaced by an ex-ad salesman from a commercial FM, MOR station, who assumed direction under the new title directeur-général. It was hoped that his experience in radio sales would enable the station to establish itself on a sound commercial basis.

One of the director's first moves of 1981 was to increase his own salary from $21,000 to $25,000 (an option included in his contract 'as funds permitted'), the first of many economic decisions accepted by the

Board that would lead to a $40,000 deficit within 6 months. The MCQ, disquieted by the accumulating deficit, requested a meeting with the Board of Directors in March, from which it concluded that, at the present rate, the expenses of the station during the present year would amount to $250,000. It was recommended that the Board produce a long term financial plan including a fund-raising campaign, a strategy to increase publicity sales, and plans for generally tightening the belt.

The director prepared a budget for the remaining five months of the fiscal year with projections for salaries and office expenses which amounted to $60,000, bills payable to $32,000, assured revenue of $31,000 to come in grants, $31,000 already in the bank, and a possible revenue of $20,000 from membership and publicity. Assuming the possible revenue was assured, there was still a deficit of $19,000 which the director proposed to borrow from the bank. The financial statement was accepted unanimously.

April's end saw a concerned Board of Directors trying to find some cost-cutting measures respecting the average $12,000/month running expenses. A committee was formed to study the problem and suggest solutions at the May meeting. For several months the Board was unable to obtain from the director, financial statements detailing revenue and expenses, and when an accountant was called in to examine the books, some pages were found to be missing. The Board formed a finance committee and they sat down in mid-August to try and make sense of a financial situation that had gone unrecorded for several months. The verdict: a deficit in operating expenses of $40,000, and in construction expenses, $70,000, for a total deficit of $110,000 (65). By October, the bank account was empty, and MCQ was refusing to grant

any portion of its 1981 funding program in the face of what it perceived to be serious financial mismanagement.

In November, the 'agent de developpement' who had visited and worked with the station in the spring was invited back, along with a member of ARCQ, to provide the beleaguered Board with some advice. A financial plan for the coming year was created during the marathon meeting, but considered by the MCQ agent only the very beginning of what was really needed.

> Le Pontiac, c'était vraiment les bras croisés. «Qu'est-ce qu'on peut faire?» Je leur ai dit, il faut prendre un crayon puis un papier et savoir qu'est-ce qui ne va pas. Il faut clarifier chaque chose. Les budgets... production... formation... On vous aide quand vous sachez ce que vous voulez. Alors, on les a mis en marche... (66).

The work accomplished did not seem inspiring:

> On a fait une séance avec tout le monde autour de la table pour essayer de faire une minimum de plan de développement. Le premier soir, il y avait douze personnes. Le lendemain matin il y avait cinq personnes, puis le lendemain après-midi il y avait zéro personne. J'étais toute seule dans la salle et j'attendais. On n'avait pas fini. On a fait juste le budget la veille et un peu de planification d'organisation... qui va faire quoi... il restait plein de problèmes à resoudre. Personne n'est venu l'après-midi. Je m'en suis allée. Mais tu te demandes où est la volonté de faire de
> la radio là-dedans? Les gens n'ont pas envie d'identifier leurs besoins. Ils n'ont même pas envie qu'tu les aides. Ça avait l'air un peu 'tough', mais j'ai dit à un moment donné qu'ils auront l'argent quand ils auront fait un plan de redressement, puis quand ils auront commencé à l'appliquer puis qu'on pourrait évaluer enfin les choses qui se passent. Sinon, pas un sou. On ne va pas continuer à jeter l'argent comme ça par les fenêtres pour faire une espèce de 'juke-box' ou n'importe qui qui entre peut faire n'importe quoi. C'est complètement ridicule. J'étais un peu découragées....
>
> Je suis restée sur place pendant trois jours pour faire du travail, parce qu'ils n'en sortaient pas; pour, entre autres, essayer de commencer le plan de redressement avec eux, puis, ensuite, quand ils me l'ont donné, ce n'était pas du tout pareil. J'étais obligée de le refaire.
>
> Tu avais quelques personnes-ressources intéressantes, mais tu n'en avais pas assez, et il y avait un manque total de coordination. Ensuite, tu avais une absence chronique de cohésion dans le sens ou tu as l'impression que chacune des personnes qui

étaient là avait des buts différents d'être là... ça a donné lieu à une vraie tour de Babel (67).

With the receipt of the annual subsidy dependent on a coherent development plan, and the bank accounts resting below zero, one member of the Board, an experienced administrator, took the information generated by the two-day meeting, and created within a week, a 12-page plan providing general direction regarding finances, personnel, technical and programming decisions. Also, at the insistence of the MCQ, a management consultant with accounting experience was hired at MCQ expense, (and specificaly called a 'volunteer' locally), to act as the director for a 3-month period and put the development plan into action.

The Ministère's 15-page reply answered the proposed plan critically, point by point, and finding it inadequate, demanded a new one. The 'agent' noted that in spite of her efforts as well as those of the ARCQ representatives to inform and guide the radio, 'la continuité dans les taches reliées à la Radio semble entravé par l'absence de communication entre l'équipe du conseil d'administration et de l'organization' (68).

The Board, especially the president, was severely criticized for not having exercised more leadership:

> Souvent les décisions du conseil d'administration ne sont pas executées...l'information ne circule pas...les dossiers ne font pas l'objet d'une responsabilité précise...les dossiers importants n'avancent pas, et ne sont pas révisés regulièrement (69).

The proposed plan was also considered to be missing some critical elements:

> Radio Pontiac devrait présenter une stratégie minimale d'integration de la communauté à la radio...bref, d'eveiller la population à la réalité de la radio... à son soutien et à son accomplissement. Autrement, faudra-t-il croire que cette station a été implantée sans besoins et qu'elle sera maintenue artificiellement? (70).

The recovery plan unacceptable, and the bank accounts still dry, the task fell to the consultant/interim director to quickly submit yet another plan. Within a couple of weeks of full time research and writing, it too, was prepared and submitted, responding like a catechism to MCQ requirements, and this time successfully illiciting the cheque in question. Even as the radio began generating some revenue locally through advertising, after going on air in 1981, another set of problems emerged. It was discovered that advertising was much easier to sell in nearby Pembroke, an Ontario town with a much stronger commercial base than any in the Pontiac. This being the case, it was argued by MCQ and local businesses alike, that Pontiac residents were being further encouraged by their own community radio station, to spend their consumer dollars outside of not only their community which desparately needed them, but the province whose Ministère des communications was chiefly responsible for the project in the first place.

Since the MCQ was the primary source of funds from 1979 to 1981, and since the station had never elaborated a specific financial policy, the perspectives in conflict take place within the MCQ and its relationship to the radio station. The conflict is chiefly between the ideal objective of the MCQ's hands-off approach to a 'local' project, and the seeming necessity to intervene substantially with a view to ensure that their investment remained sound. The conflict expressed in the financial sector, exacerbated by obvious financial mismangement over at least a few months, is not so much that of access/animation, but the closely associated, local control vs. directed intervention. While the Ministère had stressed local control in the model it set up, by providing all funds directly to the station and expecting them to be

disbursed in a manner appropriate to sound financial management, there were no provisions made in the organization for someone, even on a part-time basis, with the background in accounting necessary. Thus, the MCQ on one hand had envisaged a purely consultative role on their part while the station established its own priorities, but had retained substantial control of resources, and used the witholding of funds to bring about changes it deemed necessary.

The Board of Directors finally had to come to terms with, and put right, a chaotic financial system, resulting from their confidence/dependence on one person to maintain it, at the same time as dealing with the threats of the MCQ to withold future grants. Having incurred the suspicion of the MCQ that the radio project was on shaky ground, they now had to carefully orchestrate future moves to dispell any suggestions of abandonning the project.

Even though the difficulties undergone in 1981 with respect to the annual application for MCQ funding were particularly acute, the process always imposed a special type of workload on the station. The task of preparing the elaborate application was always one of careful impression-management. Regardless of the problems and conflicts the station was going through, it had to appear to be internally consistent, and present a united front, in order to assure the MCQ that their investment was well-managed.

Concluding Remarks to Chapter 3

At an operational level, two important problems appear which touch all sectors previously described; the problem of impression-management, and the problem of professionalization. To succeed, the radio project

needed the support and collaboration of many agencies, from the CRTC to local businessmen. To obtain this support, the project had to appear to already have it, so a marketing strategy had to be prepared adapted to each agency solicited. This is especially true in the financial sector, but also important, initially, as moral support for the idea. Initially, this process of impression-management resulted in the fractured image which would later cause internal problems for the station. While the MCQ could willingly back a project promoting Québec culture in the Pontiac, this same image would not illicit much advertising revenue or moral support from local business people. The result of tailoring the image of the radio project to each potential investor ultimately resulted in a situation where almost every participant had a different view of what the project was meant to do - a 'tower of Babel' in the words of the MCQ agent.

The process itself of impression-management, however, also had serious consequences for the station, in that the ongoing effort to present an image, albeit a changing one, of internal consensus, detracted from the possibilities of learning through failure to resolve conflict. In a county where social conflicts blossom continually - between language groups, classes, organizations, insiders/outsiders, etc. - the credibility of an organization which places so much emphasis on impression-management is jeapardized. While it could be argued that collusion to present a united front in order to survive was an example of community resourcefulness, what exactly survived may have been a pale shadow of anyone's hopes for the station.

The second problem, that of professionalization, originated in the technical and financial sectors. The calibre of equipment chosen and

the consequent financial commitment was well beyond the capacity of a community organization, mostly volunteer at the level of management, to cope with. The decision to go immediately to a commercial, professional, FM stereo installation conformed to the specifications of a centralized government department in that it wanted a 'once only' involvement, but little consideration was given to whether such a technology was suited to conditions in the region, or whether the region had the resources to support it. This community radio project soon transcended the competence of amateurs, reinforcing a dependence on centralized decision-makers.

Amilcar Herrerra, writing of the process of introducing new technologies in rural areas reflects the same concerns mentioned with respect to the DOC Northern Pilot Project. The introduction of new technologies, he indicates, requires the participation - not just ideologically - but pragmatically and operationally, of local people. If such consultation does not take place, those making the decisions lack an adequate frame of reference as to which type of technology is best suited for the needs and conditions of rural people (71). In the case of Radio Pontiac, it may even be argued, that the technological 'solution' proposed had not even clearly identified the 'problem', since the radio project itself was charged at a number of levels with a lack of communication.

As well as the continual dependence on professional technical assistance, and the relative inaccessibility of the equipment itself, the quarter million dollar budget of the first two years of operation also eventually necessitated the services of a professional financial consultant for day to day operations. As Doug Ward (Radio Espanola),

Paul Lumsden (Taqramiut Nipingat) and Heather Hudson (Northern Pilot Project) have all pointed out, once a community radio is in professional hands, it is no longer a project that local people can seriously consider to be their own. Although lip service was paid to the process of 'consulting' with the milieu in the county, the first animator hired admitted that when it came to door-to-door meeting the public, it was more a process of selling a package than implicating local people in the identification of problems and proposal of solutions.

The inability of one community to co-ordinate top quality technical resources, generous financing, substantial institutional support, the skills of experienced organizers in community radio and a good showing of public support presents a new problem in the discussion of community radio. If it is not possible to fault specific individuals, or lack of resources, or unsympathetic governments, how can this relative lack of success of the project be explained? While the notion of perspectives in conflict is useful for identifying some of the problems of a community radio project, the conclusions reached in the case of Radio Pontiac appear to be diametrically opposed to those Salter reached with respect to Vancouver Co-op Radio. While she contended that it was the ongoing conflicts which were responsible for the strength and vivacity of Vancouver Co-op Radio, it would appear, in the case of Radio Pontiac, that it was the ongoing conflicts which drained it of a focal point or precise 'mission'.

Gerald Suttles has argued, in The Social Construction of Communities, that decisions we make about our society depend to a large extent on the ideological models we construct of it (72). A 'model' he describes as a simplified image of a complex landscape depicting

discrete and contrasting units in spite of actual continuity and grey areas. The more accurate the model is, the more useful it will be in making decisions about the world it represents. Conversely, if a model over-simplifies and exaggerates, it distorts the reality it is meant to represent, thereby rendering subsequent decisions about it less useful.

The notion of models is useful for examining the case of Radio Pontiac because it often appears as though problems at an operational level arise, not because of concrete problems like lack of finances, or lack of leadership, or even differing perspectives on the nature of community radio, but because of oversimplified or sharply divided notions of the development process, the role of communications, and the community itself. This section then, provides an outline of the models of communications, development, and community underlying the day-to-day practices of community radio, and suggests the inadequacies of these models in representing the complex social landscape.

The Model of Communications and the Role of the Media

The model of communications accepted by almost all parties involved, was explicitly that of Shannon and Weaver, as outlined in the MCQ study of 1976. Messages were to be produced by individuals, groups and institutions. They were to be transmitted by way of the channel of community radio. They were to be received by an audience, and their impact measured by examining the reactions and behavior of listeners. Whether the messages were about water being polluted at Portage du Fort (73), the history of the region (74), or cultural enrichment (75), the model was the same. The media, in this case, radio, was deemed to be

the most efficient channel for the dissemination of messages. Radio was chosen by virtue of its wide accessiblity and coverage (everyone, even those without hydro, have radios), relatively inexpensive costs, and proven capacity to be run by non-professionals (ie. Radio Centreville). Given that there were seen to be messages of importance to deliver, and an already available audience, the missing component of the model was the channel.

Early efforts then, concentrated on providing the channel, with the assumption that once available, the other two components would fall into place. Thus, even if there was disagreement over the nature of the messages, there was agreement on the need for a channel. Initially, the program content was vaguely specified. The following comments are taken from the CRTC licence hearing for Radio Pontiac:

> ...jamais, au grand jamais, même si on va utiliser la publicité à sa pleine capacité, le temps d'antenne au point de vue publicité, jamais ça ne va devenir une radio traditionelle A.M...(Président de la Radio du Pontiac)(76).

> Je ne suis pas sûr qu'on la retrouve au même degré cette préoccupation communautaire au plan de la programmation parce qu'un grand nombre ou certains éléments, un bon nombre d'éléments sont à mon avis, sinon identiques, au moins assez semblables à ce qu'on retrouve dans la radio commercialle ordinaire (Commissionaire, CRTC)(77).

> Remarquez que je n'ai pas nécessairement d'objections à la programmation que vous proposez dans le contexte que vous connaissez, vous n'avez pas de radio et puis il vous en faut une... (Commissionaire, CRTC)(78).

The acceptance of this 'transportation' model of communication, and consequent over-emphasis, in this case, on the channel, neglects certain factors which Deutsch has indicated are crucial to an understanding of the power of information (79). It is not the efficiency of a channel to carry a signal that is important, but the 'pattern' of information carried by the signal, and its relationship to the set of patterns

stored in the receiver. In order for information to be effective, the receiver must be open, or receptive to it, and the information must be related to the richness and specificity of information already stored in the receiver.

For example, as indicated in Chapter 3, some of the impetus for creating a community radio station came from public and para-public organizations in the region expressly to counter the 'chronic lack of information'. When the project reached the stage of projecting programming, one of the obvious sources was going to be those same organizations:

> A titre d'exemple, l'agent du CLSC de Pontiac vient nous expliquer le service de soins à domicile qu'offre le CLSC...le Club Lyons ou les Chevaliers de Colomb ou le Conseil de Planification Sociale du Pontiac vient expliquer ...c'est quoi cet organisme-là, qu'est-ce que ça fait dans la vie... (80).

Such organizations usually already have an elaborate communications network involving face to face contacts, newsletters, often use existing commercial media, and some even have personnel employed as information officers (ie. the CLSC). It is therefore unclear how the same information, processed through a different channel, would be likely to generate any new responses.

Another shortcoming of a communications model which places undue importance on a specific impersonal medium such as radio, is that a reaction to the information on the part of listeners is considered inevitable. A positive reaction would lead to 'development' and a negative reaction would be considered feedback to the radio station, based on which, programming could be adjusted. There was no preparation for widespread indifference on the part of the community.

The Model of Development and the Role of the Media

Consistent among those promoters for a community radio in the Pontiac, was a model of development which was essentially cultural. Whether the community was viewed as 'délaissé' and underdeveloped, or rich in its own unique cultural resources, it was the dissemination and public exposure to the appropriate cultural products which was seen to be a crucial step in the development of the county. Like Everett Rogers, who suggested over a decade ago that development depended on the diffusion of new ideas through efficient channels (either mediated or interpersonal), the Radio Pontiac project assumed a direct correlation between new ideas, distributed en masse, and the blooming of the county (81).

> Le comté de Pontiac est la région la plus défavorisée et la plus oubliée au Québec, et ce par tous les gouvernements. Pour plusieurs, le Québec se termine à Hull ou à Aylmer après il n'existe plus rien sauf la forêt. Or dans cette forêt, près de vingt mille personnes y vivent et elles ont décidé de se développer puisqu'elles ne peuvent compter sur l'aide extérieure et les belles promesses qui leur sont dites.
>
> Cette première station radiophonique à vocation communautaire qui desservira tout le comté de Pontiac, même si elle diffusera de la publicité traditionelle, permettra sans aucun doute dans l'esprit de toute la population de sauvegarder, enrichir, et raffermir la structure culturelle, politique, sociale et économique de la région en étant une radio de premier service (82).

While at a general level, it is assumed that information widely disseminated in the county would do all these things, when pressed about the specific information to be produced (ie. programming content), it is clearly oriented to a change in attitude. In other words, for the radio project to have succeeded, people had only to change their perceptions about the county, again, either valorising its indigenous resources, or embracing a new cultural nationalism.

Felstehausen has argued that conveying information in this manner to the population at large may be the best way to maximize gains and minimize losses if one is satisfied with the existing range of possibilities, but the general order of the system is unchanged - only people's attitudes towards it.

> New sources and supplies of information do not release ...farmers and workers from the complex linkages which control their use of the factors of production and fix their social status in the community (83).

A further limitation to this model, he argues, is a bias in favour of communications technology which considers neither the organizational structure necessary to sustain it, nor the important role of the other social and institutional structures in promoting development.

The Model of Community and the Role of the Media

There were essentially two models of community behind the strategies for building a community radio - both present from the beginning and mutually unacceptable, but still with many points in common. By community, it is meant the target community of the radio broadcasts. The model informing the actions of those promoting the radio as primarily a french service, was that of a special interest community within the actual signal range. This target community was french-speaking, poor, and disorganized as a political force, although not incapable of concerted action.

> Mentionnons tout d'abord qu'au domaine économique la situation est tragique. Le comté possède à lui seul 20% d'assistés sociaux et 17% de chomeurs... Sa population est éparpillée, clairsemée et isolée...La population forme sociologiquement un tout stable et replié sur lui-même donnant ainsi des signes d'amorphisme, mais pouvant en même temps se mobiliser très vite contre les envahisseurs qui viennent déranger sa quiétude (84).

Québec, the nation, was meant to be the focal symbol of community sentiment, towards which co-operation and loyalty were expected. This model depicted a community which, although unorganized, was seen to be 'solidaire', sharing a collective fate of planners and organizers. As illustrated by the studies undertaken to document the high level of 'assimilation' or 'anglicisation' in the county, the promotion of a specifically french cultural community has not been a popular local concern, and thus does not reflect the popular culture of the area.

The model of community informing the actions of those promoting the project as a community station serving a geographic locality over primarily a french service, also expressed solidarity and loyalty to a collective image but this time included both language groups:

> The County of Pontiac is made up of people who are a community. It's not an english community and a french community, it's a group of people, most of whom speak both languages... We know what we are talking about and we are very much together in the Pontiac. Occasionally someone comes in from outside and tries to divide us into groups... and the whole thing is divisive. But nothing that starts in the Pontiac divides the linguistic groups, never has and never will (85).

This model of the community, as an autonomous, self-reliant constituency, conflicts rather sharply with the other one. As Suttles indicates, the taxonomy one uses to demarcate community boundaries is always a creative imposition on the real world. One cannot ask if it is 'correct', but only if it is useful (86). I would argue that the utility of both these models is limited, and for similar reasons.

In Pontiac County, as elsewhere, conflict, tension and competition are part of everyday reality. Distinctions between people based on linguistic groupings, status, relative wealth, kinship, ethnicity, division of labour, and other factors, are common. A model of community that is unable to account for differences between people and the

subsequent conflicts that arise, is in a weak position when faced with arguments contesting its validity. Many communities do have communications problems, Suttles argues, and what passes for self-identification is often the work of authoritarian custodians - a role played by a limited number of people including 'official' spokesmen, and often the community press (87).

A model that considers all self-initiated grass-roots projects as natural and strong, and everything outside as artifact, ignores both the extent to which external forces shape a community, and the importance of having allies outside the community. It accounts neither for important roles often played by local elites, nor the myriad natural connections people have outside of their community through a vast range of exchanges with a wider society. Finally, long familiar populist phrases praising the merits of the collective efforts of the 'community', (whether it is 'french first' or french and english), undermines the real importance of the efforts of a few individuals to see a project like the radio station through to realization.

Both models of community held are thus so idealized, that it becomes clear that the radio project was not meant to respond to the existing community, but through an idealized projection, actually to create it, a task it never succeeded in accomplishing. The assumption was that providing, on a mass-distributed basis, information relative to the desireable community, it could eventually be created. For reasons that should now be clear, the capacity to create a french cultural community, or a 'regional' community of interest was well beyond the limits of the radio station.

Final Remarks

One of the goals of this thesis has been simply to identify a movement for community media, particularly community radio in Québec, more closely with the concerns of communication studies. The present amassing and organizing of detail concerning the context in which community radio operates should be seen as a necessary first step in identifying the sorts of empirical matters which may be of interest to those concerned with communications as a practice. In conclusion, I would like to indicate two areas in which community radio seems to coincide with the broader issues of communication practices. As these issues are identified rather than taken up, they point to important limitations of the present thesis.

Community Radio as a Practical Problem

The problems of community radio for those working in the sector are conceptual, economic and technical. Over a decade old and having materialized in diverse forms, the 'mission' of community radio, except generally attached to reformist politics, is diffused. The concepts of 'access' or 'participation' and 'animation' or 'mobilisation' are shown to be in many cases vaguely defined and even contradictory. Other concepts, like 'democratization', which have been used to justify the right to challenge existing media structures may refer as easily to the

raised voices of minority pressure groups as to a widely shared popular voice. The representativity, of some groups, of the population they claim to be serving is questionable.

Part of the conceptual problem still rests with the implicit orientation of community radio. It is perceived as a solution, but a solution imposed before a problem has been clearly formulated. This makes the problem of evaluation more difficult.

The assumption that audiences must be mobilized is a strong value judgement on the part of project organizers, whose challenge to the legitimacy of the social environment, has often been replaced by equally vigorous attempts to legitimize the practices of community media. Also, the assumption that audiences can be mobilized through media, into forming a community or constituency, has persisted unexamined for over a decade. Idealized accounts of experiments, and inadequate networks for sharing information among community media users, has prevented much real conceptual progress from taking place. Part of the conceptual problem is also related to the financial one, as most groups are over-extended, carefully parcelling out scarce resources. There is little time for critical reflection beside the heavy demands of a business whose product is delivered on a minute by minute basis.

Economically, the problems of community radio are serious. Heavily subsidized by the state, these projects are coming into competition with more and more groups requesting funding, while funding sources are being cut back. In addition, the mold into which community radio must fit, has been shown to have a

deleterious affect on the sector; the catechism of grant applications and time spent lobbying for and preparing them, further eroding the possibilities for developing new concepts and directions. The availability of state funding, itself dependent on the prevailing political climate, fluctuates dramatically from year to year. Funding through audience donations and traditional community fund-raising techniques of dances, bingos, and radio-thons is also labour-intensive, and provides no long-term guaruntees. The traditional funding mechanisms of media, commercial advertising, are so far restricted for all but a few community stations, so projects are forced to seek alternative business practices as well as alternative programming. Of those seeking the right to advertise, none have adequately answered the ticklish question. With parallel technical facilities, financial structures parallel to traditional media (except for the additional revenue of state funding), and content only generally defined, in what ways does community radio radically reform media practices and/or social practices?

The result of the constraints on funding have meant, for the most part, scarce resources, and scarce resources have been allocated according to the most pressing need. In most cases this has meant the distribution system, because while one may be reasonably assured of the availability of a body to sit in front of a microphone, there won't be a microphone until it is purchased. The demands of the distribution system, which is mainly technical, have left comparatively few resources for the

production system. The most important resource for production, namely human imagination, has been further strained by the bureaucratic demands of managing an autonomous media organization.

The technical problems of community radio extend beyond the expense of the technical installation. While in a few cases the equipment used has been of such professional calibre that a comparably elaborate training program necessary to ensure access to it was required, for the most part community radio has used equipment which people can learn to use fairly quickly. This still entails learning the rudiments of microphone techniques, cassette recording techniques, and turn-table and console operation. The art of listenable radio on the other hand, creating well-planned and exciting programs, is a hard-earned skill requiring considerable practice and experience as most community radio practitioners would admit. Part of this skill is technical, as one learns the creative manipulation of sound through choice of microphones, tape, recording situation, mixing techniques, live studio techniques, location techniques, etc. Extending the potential of available tools to their limits is not a week-end hobby, as Berrigan acknowledged in 1974:

> On one level, it's nonsense to give non-professionals access, then ask them to produce their own programs with limited resources, in a short period of time, when they know little about even the rudiments of the media... most of them are working people who can devote only a few hours a day (1).

Vancouver Co-op Radio attested to this dilemma when admitting that once the station was on-air, they could no longer afford the 'luxury' of careful program planning and production

(2). For practioners then, it appears that before the community radio sector can make much progress, it is time to turn attention away from confrontations with the state over support, and traditional media over poor records of public service and confront each other and their own product. Important questions have to be answered. What problems are we addressing? Is community radio the best means to address them? Can a communications system which is heavily biased towards methods of distribution best address these problems? If the problem is conceived as need for social reforms, how important are communications processes and what is the role of communication technologies in these processes? If the problem is conceived as need for media reforms, what other avenues are available aside from autonomous, parallel organizations? Is the public of community media different from, or also part of the public of traditional media? To what extent is individual involvement with community media a rigid personal commitment to a specific model over a critical reflection on the strengths and limitations of the experiment?

Community Media as a Policy Problem

Policy-makers and regulators are hampered by a lack of research and evaluations ~~on~~ community radio, inadequate methodologies of local intervention, and constraints originating from the political climate in which they operate.

There is surprisingly little data on community radio on which policy-makers can draw for future decision-making. It is

surprising because the sector is well-established, a great deal of state financing has gone into supporting it, and studies have been undertaken. Most available studies provide little hard data on the sector, and especially in Québec, promote the ideology of community radio rather than analyzing actual practices. Even pilot projects, a common approach taken by government agencies to test hypotheses in experimental areas, have been non-existant in the south, the only one undertaken being DOC's Northern Pilot Project. Promoted by its practitioners, ignored for the most part by the academy and inadequately analyzed by its main financial supporters, community radio has been dealt with almost blind by policy-makers.

Evaluations of the sector in terms of simply matching actual results with initial goals are non-existant for two reasons. Firstly, in many cases, initial goals are very vaguely defined - 'cultural development', 'democratization of the media' - and attempts to evaluate their accomplishment would be clear value judgements. This points to the interesting problem faced by the CRTC in the summer of 1981 when they decided to undertake a complete analysis of community radio in Québec, applying their standard content-analysis categories. The results, never made public, were considered useless because they could not account for what was supposed to be different about community radio - process and involvement (3). The problem of a practical yardstick on which to measure the result of such experiments is a serious one for both funding and regulatory agencies. Even in the case of stations which are under sound management, are

financially stable and meet the conditions of their licence, therefore placing less demands on government agencies, the problem of measuring their impact on 'cultural development' remains. Related to the problem of lack of data, are the categories government agencies themselves create for the sector. A few valuable studies do exist; DOC's 'Northern Pilot Project' is an example which carefully details the process of planning, executing and eventually withdrawing from a communications project involving community radio. Because it took place in the north, under DOC with native people, it would not even be considered as an information resource for projects undertaken in the south, under MCQ with white people, although much could be learned from its methods of intervention. By way of example, DOC's fieldwork approach included extensive consultation with users to identify community needs, and plan the system which would eventually meet those needs. This enabled DOC to withdraw from the project leaving behind a strong, local organization.

This points to the second problem of evaluations for policy-makers - related to the dilemma of being an external agent accountable for what is meant to be a 'local phenomenon'. For a project to be 'local', the environment of the community has to be properly understood, and the habits and beliefs of local people incorporated into the project from the beginning. (For an excellent example of the process of taking into account these factors in planning a community communications system, see the NQIA's The Northerners). Again, it is difficult for policy-makers to measure the extent to which a particular project

is a local phenomenon over that of a well-organized pressure group, but perceiving the difference is important for understanding the project. In Québec, where government agencies have actually initiated such experiments, the problem becomes that of all external field workers-promoting self-development - developing methodologies of intervention which encourage participation without dependence on the initiator for long-term survival.

The other side of the issue of local intervention is the obligation of government agencies to respond to the political and bureaucratic structures in which they operate. Such experiments of intervention must not only be seen to be reflecting community objectives, but also the objectives of the government in power, and the department or agency which initiates the project. What has sometimes happened, is that there is enough agreement between a community and a government agency to get a project off the ground, but not enough for both to feel their goals are being accomplished on the long term. This problem is particularly acute in Québec where community cultural development is expected to be harmonious with national cultural development. The model of intervention used attempted to enable non-professionals to become producers and consumers of their own self-imagery, but when that self-imagery was not consistent with that the state envisaged, sanctions were invoked.

Like community radio practitioners, agencies intervening in the sector may need to backtrack somewhat, and answer some questions concerning their own practices: What is the problem

for which our involvement in the community radio sector is a solution? What alternative models are there to address the problem? What alternative technologies are there to address the problem? If public participation is considered to be a desireable goal, how can we assure that public (as opposed to 'official') knowledge is incorporated into the plan? How can a plan for withdrawal be incorporated from the beginning into processes of social interraction?

How can the governmental decision system be made more attentive to external (local) information? How can a system of information collection, screening, evaluation and dissemination be instituted to inform future policy on community radio?

ANNEXE I

LES RADIOS COMMUNAUTAIRES DU QUÉBEC

Le répertoire complet des 21 stations

- **Les 14 stations en ondes**

CKRL-MF	89,1	Québec	(418) 656-5675
CJRG-MF	103,1	Gaspé	(418) 368-3511
CKLE-MF	96,5	Rimouski	(418) 722-6188
CHOC-MF	92,5	Jonquière-Chicoutimi	(418) 542-2265
CINQ-MF	102,3	Montréal	(514) 288-1601
CIBL-MF	104,5	Montréal	(514) 526-1489
CHAI-MF	101,9	Châteauguay	(514) 692-6043
CIRC-MF	88,7	Rouyn	(819) 764-9505
CIBO-MF	100,5	Senneterre	(819) 737-2221
CHGA-MF	97,3	Haute-Gatineau	(819) 449-3959
CHIP-MF	101,5	Pontiac	(819) 683-3155
CFMF-MF	103,1	Fermont	(418) 287-5147
CFJO-MF	104,1	Gagnon	(418) 532-6385
CFIM-MF	92,7	Îles de la Madeleine	(418) 986-5233

- **Les 2 stations en devenir**

CFLX-MF	95,5 Sherbrooke	(819) 562-3061
Radio du Grand-Portage, Rivière-du-Loup		(418) 862-0465

- **Les 5 stations en implantations**

CFOU-MF	Basses-Laurentides	(514) 430-4553
CIEU-MF	Baie des Chaleurs	(418) 752-3358
Radio Nord-Joli, Brandon-Lanaudière		(819) 835-3322
Radio Basse-Ville, Québec		(418) 524-3460
Radio Charlevoix, Baie St-Paul		(418) 435-3810

PREPARE PAR L'ASSOCIATION DES RADIODIFFUSEURS COMMUNAUTAIRES DU QUEBEC

Annexe 2

Native Community Radio Stations in Québec

Indian Community Radio

Pakve Shipu Paushtuk Kaiamumistuk Inc.
Radio Montagnaise de St-Augustin.

Kaiamumistuk Papanassi Inc.
Radio Communautaire de La Romaine.

Ushashumek Natshkuaniu Kaikmumistuk Inc.
Radio Montagnaise de Natashquan.

Ekuantshi Kaiamumistuk Inc.
Radio Montagnaise de Mingan.

Radio Communautaire Montagnaise des Escoumins Inc.
Les Escoumins.

Piekuakami Kaimimkits Inc.
Radio Montagnaise de Pointe-Bleue.

Radio Ntetemuk Inc.
Radio Montagnaise de Betsiamites.

Kue Attinukan
Radio Montagnaise de Schefferville

Manawan Kitotakan Inc.
Radio Attikamèque de Manowan.

Tepatcimo Kitotakan Inc.
Radio Attikamèque d'Obedjiwan.

Wemotaci Kitotakan Inc.
Radio Attikamèque de Weymontachie.

Lac Simon Radio (Algonquin)
Lac Simon.

Kahnawake Radio (Mohawk)
Caughnawaga.

Inuit Community Radio

Tusaut Radio
Kangiqsualujjuaq (George River)

Tuktu Radio
Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo)

Naatyuk Radio
Tasiujaq

Quaqtaq Radio
Quaqtaq (Koartak)

Kanguit Nipingat Radio
Akulivik

Tuuliup Nipingat Radio
Inukjuak

Ityimiut Nipingat Radio
Kuujjuaraapik (Great Whale)

Povungnituk Radio
Povungnituk

Akpalimiut Radio
Ivujivik

Qaqalimiut Radio
Kangiqsujuaq (Wakeham Bay)

Initauti Radio
Kangiqsuk (Payne Bay)

Aupaluk Radio
Aupaluk

Salluit Radio
Salluit

(Source: CRTC and Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.)

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95 Sandra Gwynn, 'Only Connect - Report of the Task Force on Citizens Communication,' DOC, March, 1973, Preface.

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3 Labrecque, p. 39.

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9 Labrecque, p.46.

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14 Ministère des communications du Québec (MCQ), Toward a Québec Communications Policy (Québec: MCQ, 1971), p.61.

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16 BLOC, supported by union organizations, actually bought antenna time on a local television station, and produced programs on mines closing, recession in industry, foresty, etc. In 1971, the local station increased its rates by 500% and the conflicting demands between the commercial media, the agencies paying salaries (CYC) and the unions, eventually paralyzed the project. The media professionals had an understanding of the medium that often opposed proposed objectives. The unionized workers sometimes considered CYC animators between irresponsible

deviants, and pure idealists, and the CYC workers criticized the union for its lack of political radicalism and consequently holding back the organization of the population (see Barbier-Bouvet et al).

17 Jean-François Barbier-Bouvet et al, p.37.

18 Jean Jacques Bertrand, 'Journal des Débats, 11 décembre 1969,' Québec, p.4824.

19 MCQ, 1971, p.57-58.

20 Jean-François Barbier-Bouvet et al, Ch.4.

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23 MCQ, 1971, p.50.

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25 MCQ, 'Evaluation du Programme d'Aide aux Média communautaires,' Québec, Déc. 1976, p.6.

26 MCQ, 1976, p.8.

27 MCQ, 1976, p.9.

28 MCQ, 1976, p.10.

29 MCQ, 1976, p.19.

30 MCQ, 1976, p.29.

31
MCQ, 1976, p. 17.

32
MCQ, 1976, p. 17.

33
MCQ, 1976, p.17.

34
MCQ, 1976, p.29.

35
MCQ, 1976, pp.29-30.

36
While the case of Radio Centreville had demonstrated the CRTC's refusal to grant full commercial licenses for this type of radio, they were still allowed to profit from the more limited sponsorship-type advertising.

37
CFVO in Hull, the Coopérative de Télévision de l'Outaouais, operated from 1972 to 1977.

38
MCQ, 'Politique de développement des Média communautaires,' Québec, 1979.

39
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40
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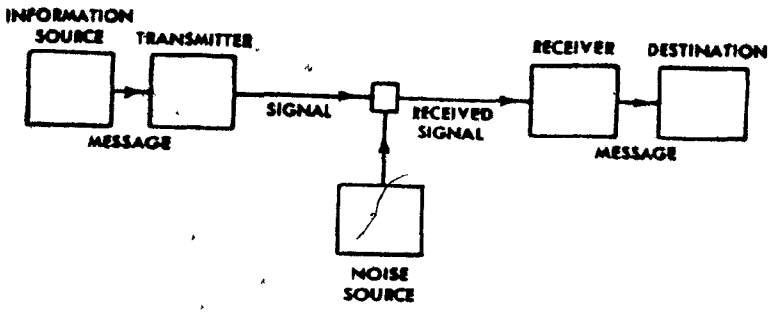
41
'Dans un Québec Souverain: Les postes de radios seront communautaires,' Le Devoir, June 13, 1972, p.2.

42
The model of communication put forward by Shannon and Weaver, over thirty years ago was a mathematical one illustrated by the following design (from Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver, The Mathematical Theory of Communication (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1949).



The model attempted to quantify the information content of a message through the application of a series of mathematical formulae. Shannon and Weaver argued that the accuracy with which communication symbols could be transmitted was a crucial factor in determining how precisely transmitted symbols would convey meaning, and how effectively received meaning would affect conduct in the desired way. As described by C. Cherry, in On Human Communication, 'the classical theory of communication developed mainly by Shannon was concerned with stationary sources. It was intended for application to problems arising in the telecommunications engineer's field - to telephone systems, telegraph, television and other systems - together with certain analagous problems in cryptology' (p.197).

43 MCQ, 1976, p.180.

44 Gilles Brunel, 'L'Avenir des Média communautaires au Québec,' U. de Montréal, Fév. 1978.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARCQ	Association des Radiodiffuseurs communautaires du Québec
CAAE	Canadian Association of Adult Education
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CFA	Canadian Federation of Agriculture
CRTC	Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
CSRO	Commission Scolaire Régionale de l'Outaouais
CYC	Company of Young Canadians
DOC	Department of Communications (Canada)
FRF	Farm Radio Forum
LIP	Local Initiatives Program (Employment and Immigration Canada)
MCQ	Ministère des communications du Québec
OFY	Opportunities For Youth (Secretary of State)
ORCO	Ontario Radio Campus Organization
NCRO	National Campus Radio Organization
OPDQ	Office de Planification et de Développement du Québec
PAMEC	Programme d'aide au développement des médias communautaires (Québec)
SAO	Société d'aménagement de l'Outaouais
TNI	Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.