

Elements for a Social History of Television:  
Radio-Canada and Quebec Society 1952 - 1960

by

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## ABSTRACT

An examination of claims that television "caused" Quebec's Quiet Revolution leads to the formulation of a method to study the social history of television. The relationship between television and society is found in the dynamics of the social institution of television. Radio-Canada's role in 1950s Quebec was as a tribune and a forum for the new petite bourgeoisie. The dynamics of the production of the programme Les Idées en Marche, a collaborative effort of Radio-Canada and Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes (ICEA), reveals how it was a tribune. Radio-Canada's role as a forum is shown through the professionalization of television production demonstrated by the 1958 television news and the 1959 Radio-Canada producers' strike. It is shown that television in 1950s was used by Quebec's new elite for its own ends and that those in political power came to realize the new medium's significance. The dynamics of this social institution of television reflect a society soon to be born.

## RESUME

Une analyse de l'hypothèse suivant laquelle la télévision est la "cause" de la Révolution Tranquille nous mène à une méthode d'étude de l'histoire sociale de la télévision. Les rapports entre la télévision et la société se trouvent dans la dynamique de la télévision en tant qu'institution sociale. Le rôle de Radio-Canada dans le Québec des années 1950 était celui d'une tribune et d'un forum pour la nouvelle petite bourgeoisie. Le rôle de tribune est dévoilé par la dynamique de la production du programme Les Idées en Marche, une collaboration de Radio-Canada et de l'Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes. La professionnalisation de la production télévisuelle illustré par les actualités de 1958, et la grève des réalisateurs de 1959, révèlent le rôle de forum de Radio-Canada. Il est démontré que la télévision des années 1950 était utilisé pour les fins d'une nouvelle élite québécoise et que les détenteurs du pouvoir politique ont prit conscience de l'importance sociale du nouveau medium. La dynamique de la télévision en tant qu'institution sociale annonce une société qui émergera bientôt.

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## Chapter One

### Television and the Quiet Revolution; Toward a Social History of Television

#### Introduction

One of the defining characteristics of the middle and late twentieth century is television. For the last 36 years television has had profound effect on all Western societies and the role of television in the changes that have transformed Canadian society since the 1950s has been the object of much debate since the days of Marshall McLuhan. The most remarkable of the claims of these studies is that following the spectacular appearance of this 'revolutionary' new medium in the 1950s, Quebec experienced the sweeping cultural and political changes of the "Quiet Revolution" in the early 1960s; put simply, television caused the "Quiet Revolution."

The new medium's appearance in Quebec was spectacular. From 1952 to 1960, 1,100,000 television sets were purchased and the percentage of Quebec households with televisions exploded from 9.7% in 1953 to 88.8% in 1960.<sup>1</sup> In combination with the fact that this growth rate was much faster in Quebec than in the rest of Canada, this

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<sup>1</sup>. Jean-Louis Roy, *La marche des québécois: Le temps des ruptures (1945-1960)*, 360; Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert, et François Ricard, *Le Québec depuis 1930*, 385.

extraordinary expansion was seen by influential observers like André Laurendeau as a challenge to the survival of French Canadians.<sup>2</sup> Laurendeau also believed that television had a "rôle révolutionnaire" because of the large audiences Radio-Canada public affairs commentators René Lévesque and Gérard Pelletier were capable of attracting.<sup>3</sup> Pelletier himself agreed with Laurendeau's analysis. He saw television as a revolutionary challenge to Quebec society because this new medium of cultural expression, installed in almost every home, would change the viewer's perspectives and open up society.

En trois siècles d'histoire c'est la première fois que résonnent ici ces deux mots prononcés sur un ton d'urgence "Exprimez-vous."<sup>4</sup>

After the sweeping social and cultural changes of the sixties, television emerged as an explanation or a cause for the "Quiet Revolution." According to Fernand Séguin, Radio-Canada's well-known science popularizer, television was the determinant factor in the

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2. In 1956, 57.1% of Quebec households had televisions while they were in only 47.3% of Canadian households. Gérard Pelletier, "Un défi: la télévision," *Cité Libre* 15 (août 1956): 6; André Laurendeau, "Sur la télévision et les canadiens-français," *Queen's Quarterly* LXII (1956): 277.

3. Laurendeau, 282.

4. Pelletier, "Un défi: la télévision," 6.

'modernization' of Quebec.<sup>5</sup> The "deblocage" of the 1960s was incubated in the 1950s through the massive acquisition of television sets and the influence of public affairs programming. For Séguin this new window on the world in the living rooms of a traditional society permitted new ideas to change perceptions faster than anywhere else in world. René Levesque believed that television was the most important factor in the revolution of perceptions of "le peuple quebécois " It was an immense public meeting where all Québécois simultaneously experienced the same revelations. The rapidity of this enlightenment spawned the protest and the desire for change that was the "Quiet Revolution."<sup>6</sup>

By the mid-1970s this notion of television's role in the "Quiet Revolution" was being used in scholarly work. In *La marche des Québécois*, Jean-Louis Roy argued that television broke the ancient isolation of the Québécois and in doing so, it cut the reins of traditional authority. Its messages were henceforth drowned out in the cacophony of the messages of reformist social groups. Using this medium as well as others, these groups succeeded in getting their proposals for social renewal

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5. Fernand Séguin, "La télévision: instrument d'une révolution culturelle explosive," *Forces* 25 (1973):7.

6. René Levesque, "La télévision: le plus gros facteur révolutionnaire dans le domaine de la perception des gens, les uns, les autres," *Forces* 25 (1973):14.

and modernization on the collective agenda.<sup>7</sup>

This notion of television causality was more fully explored by Gerard Laurence in the late 1970s.<sup>8</sup> He argued that television public affairs programming in the 1950s gave the Quebecois a new image of themselves and as urbanization transformed society, television had an important role of social integration. The irruption of these mass messages into the traditionally structured francophone society of the 1950s exploded old ways of thinking. New values took hold as a new province-wide parish was rebuilt with the television antenna as "le nouveau clocher."<sup>9</sup> This interpretation of the role of television was still current in 1989.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the fact that their simplicity makes them plausible, these claims are inadequate for three reasons. In the first place television is not a mirror of society; secondly they misunderstand the relationship between

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7. Roy, 378.

8. Gérard Laurence, *Histoire des programmes de télévision: essai méthodologique appliqué aux cinq premières années de CBFT Montréal sept 1952 - sept 1975*. (PhD Université Laval, 1978). The most pertinent part of this substantial dissertation was published as "Le début des affaires publiques à la télévision québécoise 1952-57" *RHAF* 36:2 (1982): 213-239.

9. Ibid., 238.

10. Journalist Lise Bissonnette brought this interpretation to the attention of English Canada in an article in The Globe and Mail, April 29, 1989.

television and its audience; and finally they are imbued with a misplaced notion of television causality. In the first instance to compare television to a mirror of society is misleading. Television programmes are the polished products of a social institution that has an important ideological function. The case of the television service of Radio-Canada/CBC was similar to radio: its function was to inform, educate and entertain in a manner conducive to the promotion of national unity.<sup>11</sup> The Massey Commission of 1951, added a cultural element to this function. Henceforth, television would also have to recognize "the will of the people to enrich and to quicken our cultural and intellectual life."<sup>12</sup> Programmes produced in the 1950s were heavily imbued with these ideologies.<sup>13</sup> It is also obvious that the individuals producing news and public affairs programmes have educations and backgrounds that place them firmly among a social elite. There is no guarantee that the

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11. The Aird Commission, 1929, cited in Marc Raboy, *Broadcasting and the Idea of the Public*, (PhD McGill, 1986), 366.

12. The Massey Commission, 1951, cited in Raboy, 312.

13. Good examples of these are programmes like Je me souviens: Les enracinés, March 23, 1956. (Radio-Canada, 1956) Produced by Florent Forget, sd b&w kine, 24.5 mins. It is a dramatized federalist history of French Canada, sponsored by the Canadian Army that ends with a recruitment message. Others would include the innumerable ballets, plays and concerts broadcast throughout the fifties.

public affairs they produce are a mirror of the society from which they came. In fact, it will be argued below that these individuals were engaged in a project of social change not one of reflection.

Secondly, this perspective misconceives the nature of both television and its audience. Television audiences are not an undifferentiated mass that responds spasmodically to every electronic message sent through it. Individual television viewers do not absorb television content as though it was a mescaline injection. This "inoculation effect" misleads because it does not perceive that there are television audience segments based on age, sex, income, education, and geographic location. Each of these fragments perceives television in a different manner. It also ignores the intricate psychological workings of the mind of an individual viewer: television's effects depend upon their psychological balance and their specific social milieu.

The final reason for the inadequacy of this explanation is that television itself does not change society. As Roger de la Garde of the Communications Department of Université Laval argues, "les ondes électroniques ne sont, en soi, responsables de rien."<sup>14</sup> According to Raymond Williams, television, like all new

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<sup>14</sup>. Roger de la Garde. Letter to author, February 15, 1988.

communication mediums, is the result of the transformations in the economic and social structures of a society.<sup>15</sup> So in fairness, one could assert that television, as a new medium in the rapidly changing social context of francophone Quebec in the 1950s, did play an important role in the diffusion of new ideas and in the uniformization of lifestyles and values across different regions of the province. In this sense, as Linteau, Ricard, et al. argue, it did help in the emergence of a distinct francophone Quebec society.<sup>16</sup> But one cannot maintain that television itself was the prime cause of this change.

A re-examination of the role of television in francophone Quebec society reveals that Radio-Canada undoubtedly had an important social role in the socio-economic and cultural fermentation of the 1950s. Post-war francophone Quebec society had experienced profound structural economic and social changes and a new social group, a "new" petite bourgeoisie, had emerged. Imbued with secular, urban, and "modern" values, this group used the television service of Radio-Canada as a tribune in its struggle against the traditionally dominant clerico-nationalist sectors of society. As Gérard Boismenu

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15. Raymond Williams, *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*, 19-24.

16. Linteau, Ricard, et al., pp. 367-368.

argues, Radio-Canada was "un foyer de débat idéologique qui [a] canalis[é] la résistance et l'opposition de la nouvelle petite bourgeoisie au duplessisme."<sup>17</sup>

This type of study is best approached in an interdisciplinary fashion: the secondary sources that have provided the framework for this study come from political science, sociology, and communication studies as well as history. However, the abundance of this large amount of material contrasts with the paucity of primary sources. The audio-visual record of television broadcasting in its infancy is tragically sparse. According to one estimate, only 3% of the total Quebec programming broadcast from 1952-57 has been preserved.<sup>18</sup> For the remainder of the decade, the record is equally poor. However, the kinegrammes, or the 16 millimetre film recordings of the Radio-Canada weekly news programme L'Actualité, which later evolved into Caméra, were located in the Radio-Canada programming archives. Apparently these copies of this programme were made each week in order to be broadcast in regions that did not receive the CBFT Montreal television signal.<sup>19</sup> Access to these news programmes was restricted with a screening

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17. Gérard Boismenu, *Le Duplessisme*, 357.

18. Laurence, *Histoire des programmes*, 206.

19. André Boies, Service de film, Société Radio-Canada. Interviewed by author, September 7, 1988.

charge of \$30 an hour.<sup>20</sup>

Written sources for this research project were found at Radio-Canada's documentation archives and in the Fonds de l'Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes (ICEA) at l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Correspondence and interviews with the participants was also an important source.

The originality of this thesis lies in its suggested method for the study of the relationship between television and society. This is the first attempt to sketch the relationship between the social history of post-war Quebec and the social institution of television; previous scholarship has not addressed television and society in the same manner. Much of this work is interesting in itself but for the purposes of a social history of television it suffers from technological determinism,<sup>21</sup> occlusive ideological abstractions,<sup>22</sup> and

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20. Michelle Bachand, Services des archives d'émissions, Société Radio-Canada. Letter to author, May 17, 1988.

21. The most well known argument is Marshall McLuhan's "the media is the message" which is most fully developed in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, (Toronto: Signet, 1964). For the most trenchant criticism of McLuhan see Raymond Williams, *Television, Technology and Cultural Form*, Chapter 1.

22. Louis Althusser has developed an interesting theory of ideology and the state with his "ideological state apparatus." See "Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'État," *La pensée*, 151 (juin 1970). For a

impenetrable semiological constructs.<sup>23</sup> This thesis suggests that a more fruitful manner to examine television and society should begin by examining the internal dynamics of television production. The relationship between the new petite bourgeoisie and Radio-Canada illustrates that television's effects on society are not due to the presence of television sets in every living room. Rather, the relationship between television and society is found in the dynamics of television as a social institution: television and its programming are the result of social decisions taken by certain social groups in order to fulfill certain social needs that have been shaped by the economic organization of society.

This thesis is structured in the following manner: first, a method to study the social history of television is developed; second, an examination of the post-war socio-economic context reveals the emergence of a new petite bourgeoisie and its opposition to Duplessis;

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debate arising from Althusser's provocative argument, see Josiane Jouet, "Review of Radical Communication Research: The Conceptual Limits," *Communication and Social Structure*, (New York: McAnamy, 1981): 85-103.

<sup>23</sup> While the semiological approach seems to be promising, its limitations are evident in Annie Méar, *Recherches québécoises sur la télévision*, and Jean-Pierre Desaulniers, *La télévision en vrac*. See André Couture "The Emerging Literature on Broadcast News in Quebec: An Historical Approach," *Beyond the Printed Word Symposium*, (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, forthcoming).

third, Radio-Canada's role as a tribune for this group during the 1950s is illustrated through its collaboration with the Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes (ICEA); and finally Radio-Canada is examined as a forum for the new petite bourgeoisie through the study of the professionalization of the television producers.

The study of the social history of television begins with the premise that television is a social institution, created for a social purpose and staffed by creative individuals from a particular social milieu. Each television programme is an historical artifact and close attention must be paid to the conditions under which the programme was produced: the production technology, available resources, creative personnel and organizational structures necessary for their co-ordination must be examined through a combination of written, audio-visual and oral sources. From here, one can proceed to an examination of television as a social institution within its own socio-economic context.

Post-war Quebec society was characterized by major economic and social changes. Its economy was more thoroughly integrated into the North American one with a dual specialization in resource extraction and non-durable consumer goods and the rapid expansion of the service sector. At the same time a rural exodus to urban

centres and the post-war demographic boom fueled an already voracious post-war demand for housing and consumer goods. Despite these profound structural transformations brought about by this acceleration of urbanization and transition in industrialization, the political hegemony of Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale remained intact throughout the 1950s. Nevertheless, an extra-parliamentary opposition did develop around a new *petite bourgeoisie*, a more active and progressive union movement and a clerical reform movement based for the most part in the universities. In contrast to the traditional vision of an agrarian, rural, hierarchical Catholic society, these reformers envisaged a industrial, urban, secular, democratized, and modern Quebec.

As the decade progressed, this changing definition of reality was expressed by a new group of intellectuals who worked within what Frank Desoer calls a *réseau de résistance*, a network of institutions and social groups united in its opposition to the dominant Duplessist ideology.<sup>24</sup> A prominent part of this network was the television service of Société Radio-Canada that was created in 1952. Radio-Canada quickly became a tribune for this extra-parliamentary reform coalition that had been drawn to this federal institution by the opportunity

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24. Frank Desoer, "Intelligentsia et médias: de l'éducation populaire au Pouvoir," *Politique 2* (automne 1982): 115.

for the discussion and presentation of ideas and issues that were hitherto confined to the margins of society.<sup>25</sup> This role will be developed below with the examination of the collaborative efforts of Radio-Canada and the Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes (ICEA) that produced the weekly public affairs programme Les Idées en Marche from 1954 to 1960.

Radio-Canada's role as a vehicle for the new petite bourgeoisie's opposition and resistance to Duplessis can also be indicated through analysis of the evolution of the weekly news of 1958 and the Radio-Canada producers' strike of 1959. The weekly news programme l'Actualité was gradually transformed from a newsreel-like review of the most interesting television pictures of the week into broader analyses of the weeks' events featuring correspondents and interviews from New York, Geneva and Paris as well as Ottawa and Quebec City. This professionalization was part of a shift in the values of the journalists and producers towards new petite bourgeois values such as bureaucratic and professional rationalism. They emphasized objectivity and ethical neutrality as professional ideals and their push for professionalization erupted into the 1959 producers' strike.

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<sup>25</sup>. Laurence, "Le début des affaires publiques," 235; Raboy, 349; Linteau, Ricard, et al., 367.

Several terms used below need definition. The most important of these has to do with Quebec society, the focus of this study. The term "Quebec society" refers to francophone Quebec. The exclusion of the province's anglophone minority is justified in such a study of French language television quite simply because few anglophones were watching.<sup>26</sup>

Another term that needs clarification is Radio-Canada itself. When it is used throughout this thesis, it refers exclusively to the French language television service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. This emphasizes the fact that despite the intentions of the architects of Canadian public broadcasting, the broadcasting system has always been two separate systems based on language.<sup>27</sup> The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has been English Canada's service and Radio-Canada has been French Canada's equivalent.

Another term that needs definition is "new petite bourgeoisie." Changes in the structure of capitalism in

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26. On the other hand, since television's inception, francophones have consistently demonstrated a voracious appetite for English-language television. See Société Radio-Canada, Service des Recherches et Sondages, *L'Ecoute de "Les Idées en Marche" à Montréal*, 8-20; *Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy* (Caplan-Sauvageau Report), (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986) 203 - 256.

27. This has been recognized by the *Caplan - Sauvageau Report*, 203 - 256.

the twentieth century have shaken traditional class structures. The rapid development of monopoly capitalism that began towards the end of the nineteenth century brought about the emergence of a new petite bourgeoisie of dependent clerks, technicians and professionals. Situating the intellectuals in this changing social structure is a difficult and complicated issue. Gramsci's clarifications on this matter are useful. He argues that there are two distinct categories of intellectual: the traditional and the "organic."<sup>28</sup> The traditional intellectual is the man of letters (rarely if ever a woman), the philosopher or the artist with close ties to the traditional order. He is perhaps best symbolized by the clergyman who has a monopoly on ideology, morality, education and justice.<sup>29</sup> The organic intellectual is part of a new strata of intellectuals that develops as new social groups emerge from the changing terrain of the economic structure. This new group of intellectuals gives the emerging social group a "homogeneity and awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields."<sup>30</sup> In essence they become what Hoare and Smith call "the

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<sup>28</sup>. Antoni Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 5.

<sup>29</sup>. Ibid., 7.

<sup>30</sup>. Ibid., 5.

thinking and organizing element of a particular fundamental social class;"<sup>31</sup> they direct the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they belong.

From this perspective the intellectuals of the new petite bourgeoisie can either be the "organic" result of the development of new class or, as shall be explored below, the result of an absorption of intellectuals from the traditional strata.<sup>32</sup> Obvious gradations exist among this group. There are the "creators" or those who put forth new social definitions of reality; in the context of post-war Quebec society these would include the social scientists of G.H. Lévesque's school at Université Laval and other prominent figures such Gérard Pelletier, Pierre Trudeau, André Laurendeau, and Claude Ryan. As well, there are the organizing elements, the "administrators" who occupy positions in expanding State bureaucracies such as Radio-Canada and the National Film Board or in community groups assembled under the aegis of the adult education movement.

It is usually assumed that this new petite bourgeoisie has played a crucial role in fomenting social change in Quebec over the last forty years. One of the most widely held and accepted examples of this is the

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<sup>31</sup>. Quintin Hoare and G.N. Smith, eds., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, 3.

<sup>32</sup>. *Ibid.*, 4.

case of Quebec society and the 'Quiet Revolution.' According to this new middle class thesis, the traditional social and political institutions of Quebec society had reached a crisis by 1960: they were corrupt, moribund and inefficient. As these institutions were in decline, a new middle class was emerging from within them under the guidance of a progressive clergy and from new institutions of labour, communications and co-operatives. This new middle class challenged the traditional petite bourgeoisie's control of the provincial state and the social and educational bureaucracies and through its agent, the Quebec Liberal Party under Jean Lesage, it brought about the 'Quiet Revolution' when the Liberals swept to power in June, 1960. The reforms of the 'Quiet Revolution' were part of the administrative revolution of the new middle class that redressed the lag between Quebec's political development and the new socio-economic realities of the post-war period.<sup>33</sup> With the election of Lesage's Liberals, the "grand noirceur" of Duplessis was over.

This thesis has come under much criticism lately. W.D. Coleman has pointed out that this notion of new middle class as an agent of social change has emerged

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<sup>33</sup>. For the most articulate and sophisticated version of this thesis see Dale Posgate and Kenneth McRoberts, *Social Change and Political Crisis*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980).

from the study of the 'modernization' of under-developed nations. In these countries, movements to modernize traditional societies with paternalistic and authoritarian political cultures are led by a new middle class elite who are armed with rationalized bureaucratic administrative skills and the knowledge of modern social science. The problem here is that Quebec is not analogous to these Third World nations: it has self-rule through parliamentary democracy; its economy is part of the North American fabric of advanced capitalism; and its labour force is relatively highly skilled, literate and urbanized.<sup>34</sup>

Another serious critique of this thesis has been made by Jocelyn Letourneau.<sup>35</sup> He forcefully argues that this dominant interpretation is a "régime de vérité historique" created from the social memory of the "technocratic" generation - that is, the new middle class that emerged in the 1950s imbued with modern social scientific knowledge. This has led research of this period to conclude that "Duplessisme" was dysfunctional in relation to the evolution of social and economic needs and it was a deceleration or even a step backward in the

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<sup>34</sup>. W.D. Coleman, *The Independence Movement in Quebec*, 12.

<sup>35</sup>. Jocelyn Letourneau, "Saisir Lapalme à travers les enjeux d'une époque: notes sur le développement économique du Québec 1945 - 1960," in *Georges-Emile Lapalme*, 37-46.

process of modernization.<sup>36</sup> Besides giving too much self-serving attention to the "justesse,...caractère visionnaire," and liberating force<sup>37</sup> of the new middle class, this perspective ignores much of the social change, intellectual ferment, and reform movements of the 1950s. This new middle class thesis also ignores a more plausible explanation for the social reforms of the early sixties. As Quebec's economy became increasingly integrated into North American advanced capitalism, parts of the francophone bourgeoisie began to feel threatened by the emerging socio-economic structure. They realised that the State would have to enlarge its role with measures that included changes in the education system that would help meet the demands of the new economy and changes in the social welfare system that would ensure the well-being of the labour force. These goals happened to coincide with the new social definition of reality that had been put forth by the intellectuals of the new petite bourgeoisie and the goals of the labour movement. Together these three groups mobilized the population and defeated the Union Nationale.

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36. Ibid., 38.

37. Ibid., 39.

### Historiographic Review

An effective historical method for the study of television and society conceives of television as a social institution, with a social purpose, in which individuals from a particular social strata create programmes that reflect their own values and those of the institution. Television programmes should be analyzed with the same scrutiny reserved for any other historical artifacts. To do so requires a combination of written, audio-visual and oral sources that will enable a focus on one particular programme and an examination of its contents, production methods and personnel within its socio-economic historical context. From this specific study one can proceed to an examination of the relationship between television and society.

Most works on the history of television rarely address the relationship between television and society - almost all concentrate on public policy struggles in the development of the national broadcasting systems. One notable exception is the work of Erik Barnouw who wrote the definitive history of American broadcasting in the three volume series *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*.<sup>38</sup> He focuses on television in *Tube of*

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<sup>38</sup>. Erik Barnouw, *A History of Broadcasting in the United States*: Vol. I, *A Tower in Babel* (1966); Vol. II, *The Golden Web* (1968); Vol. III, *The Image Empire* (1970)

*Plenty*, a condensation of his work published in 1975, that balances his treatment of broadcasting policy with an examination of specific programmes and genres. The formation of the three major networks is analyzed along with the influence of McCarthyism on the film and television production industries. Program forms, such as the teleplay anthology series, television news and game shows are examined as are the restraints upon programme content. He also looks at the economic impact television has on film and sports attendance as well as other leisure activities.

Barnouw effectively demonstrates how television was an integral part of John Foster Dulles' Cold War battle plan. After looking at television in the Kennedy years, he concludes:

In one decade - the Eisenhower-Kennedy years - American television had reached fabulous proportions... It had become not only a national but an international institution, helping to further and consolidate - along with other forces such as the military, the world reach of American business.<sup>39</sup>

He sees television as a social institution that is an integral part of the post-war American strategy of the preservation of military and economic predominance.

While the success of Barnouw's work demonstrates the

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(New York: Oxford).

<sup>39</sup>. Ibid., 339.

importance of considering television as a social institution, the work of John O'Connor points to the necessity of understanding the historical background of the institution and of the specific context of individual television artifacts.<sup>40</sup> In his introduction to *American History, American Television: Interpreting the Video Past*, O'Connor argues that television should be studied as historical artifact through the examination of television production methods. In his discussion of news and documentaries as primary sources, he emphasizes the restraints under which news is produced. He points out that temporal compression, editing, the need for news to be entertainment, and the values of journalists have a significant influence on the content of the television news.

O'Connor argues that television can be used for social and cultural history if these constraints are kept in mind. He points out that the public perceptions of lawyers has been influenced by courtroom dramas such as "Perry Mason." The dynamics of American race relations can be traced through the changing role of blacks in commercial television: the re-adjustment of the colour line brought about by black political pressure can be seen to lead to the encouragement of social change across society.

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<sup>40</sup>. John O'Connor, ed., *American History, American Television: Interpreting the Video Past*, xlii.

O'Connor suggests that the use of television by certain groups, such as corporations and unions, can help show how they are concerned with their image in society. This approach underlines the importance of considering the larger social relationships in the study of television.

However O'Connor cautions researchers who are exploring the relationship between television content and wider social phenomena. He points out that it is not possible, within the bounds of social science, to clinically prove how perceived television images are translated into individual attitudes. His caution leads to the more fruitful avenue of research that lies in the dynamics of television production - "the ways in which images reach the screen."<sup>41</sup>

By documenting such dramatic, political, commercial and technical considerations and evaluating their impact on production, historians can help to define the complex relationships between television and society.<sup>42</sup>

These approaches, O'Connor emphasizes, lead the historian back to "the inner makeup of a complex industry."<sup>43</sup> They demonstrate that within the dynamic of television production lies the relationship of television and society and it is from here one can begin the social

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41. Ibid., xxx.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., xxvii.

history of television.

Little of the research that has been completed on Canadian television history follows the approach suggested by O'Connor. One exception however, is Eric Koch's *Inside Seven Days*, an examination of the controversial 1960s CBC current affairs programme "This Hour has Seven Days." Approaching this programme as an artifact and using a combination of audio-visual, oral, and written sources, Koch examines the conditions of production, the personnel, and the institutional context of the show that caused such an uproar in the mid-1960s. He presents a detailed description of the first episode of "This Hour has Seven Days," and outlines the genesis of the programme. The situation of top-level CBC management in the early sixties and the conditions of the production of "Seven Days" - the budgets, the personnel, the labour process - are then examined to show how they created an emotional pressure cooker that ultimately lead to the cancellation of the controversial programme. Although short on analysis, it is a good portrayal of television as a social institution within the context of a specific historical period.

Another important work in the Canadian history of television is the research of by Gerard Laurence.<sup>44</sup> His 1978 doctoral dissertation was subsequently published

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<sup>44</sup>. He currently teaches at Université Laval in the Department of Communications.

as book and two articles.<sup>45</sup> This pioneering examination of Radio-Canada programming from 1952 to 1957 reconstructs the material reality of the nascent medium with a close examination of the structure and production methods of television. His detailed evaluation of the sources available provides an excellent point of departure and his audio-visual inventory reveals the regrettable lack of audio-visual material. This situation has lead to a new direction in research that emphasizes the mutual dependency of the written, oral, and audio-visual sources.

Laurence's later work on the beginning of television public affairs programming is the first serious attempt to begin to define the relationship between television and Quebec society.<sup>46</sup> He introduces the notion that Radio-Canada was a launching pad for a new class of leader although his argument is weakened by the lack of definition of this "new class of leader." According to Laurence, the progressive intellectuals of Quebec society who were invited as experts on the Radio-Canada public affairs programme Les idées en marche reached an audience many times larger than they could have ever achieved with their

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45. Gérard Laurence, *Histoire des programmes de télévision*; "La naissance de la télévision au Québec 1949-1953" *Communication et Information*, 11:3 (1978): 25-64; *Le contenu des médias électroniques: méthode d'histoire quantitative*; "Le début des affaires publiques" *RHAF* 36:2 (1982): 219-239.

46. Laurence, "Le début des affaires publiques."

journals and newspapers; their ideas were given a resonance wider than they could have ever dreamed.<sup>47</sup> For Laurence, Radio-Canada became a tribune for the extra-parliamentary opposition to Duplessis.

Laurence's work also poses the question that is at the heart of this study of television and Quebec society. He argues that television gave the Québécois an image of their province that presented its distinguishing characteristics as well as its creations and riches. For people, he argues, who had been recently torn away from their parishes or villages by urbanization and who were drowning in the anonymity of the cities, these television programmes had an important role of social integration ("reliance sociale").<sup>48</sup> For Laurence, the sudden irruption of mass messages into a traditionally structured society, provoked an explosion of the old ways of thinking and their replacement with new values:

Une nouvelle paroisse se reconstitue,  
à l'échelle de la Province, l'antenne  
de télévision en devient le nouveau  
clocher.<sup>49</sup>

As plausible as this may seem, Laurence's explanation misunderstands the nature of the effects of television and the nature of the television audience. In his analysis,

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47. Ibid., 238.

48. Ibid. 225.

49. Ibid., 238.

the mere presence of new ideas on the airwaves and in the living rooms unleashed a revolution in social values. This explanation is clearly reductionist and it also suffers from an over-enthusiastic belief in the effects of television. The approach to the social history of television of this thesis demonstrates that the reverse could easily be the case: the revolution in social values in Quebec in the 1950s was due to profound socio-economic structural changes not the presence of television sets in every home. The changing socio-economic context led a new petite bourgeoisie, infused with urban, secular, modern values, to use the new television service of the secular institution of Radio-Canada as an instrument, a tribune, in their struggle against the traditionally dominant clerico-nationalist sectors of society. Television was used by the new petite bourgeoisie to amplify their new social vision and their eventual success is now known as the "Quiet Revolution."

## Chapter Two

### Socio-economic Change and the Réseau de Résistance

In the decade after World War II, major economic and social changes were transforming Quebec society. The integration of Quebec's economy into the North American one continued with the accentuation of Quebec's dual specialization in resource extraction and the manufacture of non-durable consumer goods and with the rapid expansion of the tertiary sector. Demographic shifts such as the rural exodus to urban centres and the influx of immigrants in combination with the persistently high birth rate fueled the demand for housing and consumer goods. As the 1950s progressed, a new social definition of reality was articulated by a new group of intellectuals who shared the vision of a secular, democratic, urban and industrial society with the new petite bourgeoisie that had emerged. Despite these transformations, Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale, with its vision of a traditional agrarian, rural and hierarchical Catholic society, retained its political hegemony until 1960.

These conflicting social visions were the basis of an extra-parliamentary struggle the new petite bourgeoisie led against Duplessis within a network of institutions and social groups, a *réseau de résistance*.<sup>1</sup> Joining them in

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<sup>1</sup>. Desoer, "Intelligentsia et politique", 115-116.

their struggle was an increasingly progressive union movement, reformist sectors of the clergy, dissatisfied parts of the farm movement, some sectors of the business elite, and the adult education movement. Although these groups had different visions of Quebec society, they all agreed that a greater role for the State in economic development, education and social services was necessary and by the end of the decade they were working together to achieve the reforms that identify the early 1960s as the "Quiet Revolution."

The integration of the Quebec economy into the North American one was accelerated by World War II which spurred new developments and reinforced others. In the primary sector, the expansion of extractive and primary process industries such as pulp and paper, and ferrous and non-ferrous minerals took place through foreign (mainly American) direct capital investment that was attracted because of the low production process costs and security of supply.<sup>2</sup> Despite this expansion, the importance of this sector to the provincial economy in terms of its proportion of the total value of production and its percentage of the work force decreased: from 1946 to 1966 the primary sector's value dropped from 13.4% to 6.7% and its share of

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<sup>2</sup>. Letourneau, 41; Boismenu, 14-17.

employment went from 26.8% to 8.4%.<sup>3</sup>

From 1946 to 1966 in the secondary sector, the establishment of American branch plants helped create over 200,000 jobs and the production value of this sector increased 300%. Within the North American division of labour, post-war Quebec specialized in non-durable consumer goods produced with low wages and low productivity - 60% of secondary employment was of this type. However, this sector also declined in proportion of the total value of production from 41.2% in 1946 to 38.8% in 1966 as did its proportion of the labour force decline from 36.0% to 31.9%.<sup>4</sup> This decline in the absolute value and the percentage of the labour force of both the primary and secondary sectors was due to the tremendous growth of the tertiary sector. By 1960, the service sector - commerce, communications, finance, public administration, education, health and entertainment - accounted for 60% of the labour force and 55% of the total value of production.<sup>5</sup>

Concomitant to these economic changes were the demographic transformations that swept through Quebec as they did throughout the rest of North America. After a decline during the Depression, the rate of natural

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3. Michael Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution* 9.

4. Ibid., 10.

5. Ibid., 11.

population increase soared to 21.2 per thousand in 1951 and remained at 19.1 per thousand until 1961.<sup>6</sup> With a decline in the death rate and an influx of over 400,000 immigrants, the population of Quebec grew 57.8% from 1941 to 1961 (from 3.3 million to 5.2 million).<sup>7</sup> This augmentation fueled an already voracious demand for housing and consumer goods that had been unsatisfied by the Depression and the rationing of the war. Wartime savings combined with higher earnings gave Quebec consumers the purchasing power necessary to satisfy their desires for North America prosperity.<sup>8</sup>

An important part of this demographic transformation was a shift in rural population that took on the dimensions of an exodus. The proportion of the population in rural areas dropped from 36.7% in 1941 to 25.7% in 1961.<sup>9</sup> In the forties there was a 50% decrease in the numbers of people living on farms and 40% of these "in-migrants" settled in large urban centres: from 1941-51, metropolitan Quebec and

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6. Gérard Bernier et Robert Boily, *Le Québec en chiffres de 1850 à nos jours*, 28.

7. Bernier, 29; Ibid., 25. From 1951 - 1961, the increase was 26.7%, Linteau et al., 188. Most of this increase was natural; net migration was 205,230 from 1951-61, Linteau et al., 205.

8. Linteau, 188.

9. Bernier, 33.

Montreal gained 107,952 residents.<sup>10</sup> Towards the last half of the 1950s the pace of this rural depopulation increased considerably: from 1956 - 1961, metropolitan Quebec and Montreal<sup>11</sup> gained 223,240 residents while all other regions, (except Côte-Nord - Nouveau Quebec), lost 112,277.<sup>12</sup>

By 1961 the farm population had been reduced to 13% of the total population from the 41% it was in 1941.<sup>13</sup> One of the major causes of this rural exodus was that "farming,...ceased to be a way of life and became an occupation, a business "<sup>14</sup> Small scale familial production which had been producing more or less efficiently for the export market was transformed into agro-business.<sup>15</sup> The number of farms went from 154,661 in 1941 to 95,777 in 1961, and the average size of farm went from 116.8 to 148.2 acres in the same period <sup>16</sup> As urbanization proceeded apace, the traditional distrust of urban living vanished with the attraction of higher wages and benefits in

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<sup>10</sup>. Behiels, 12; Bernier, 33. This includes the region of Montréal-Nord.

<sup>11</sup> This includes both Montreal-Nord and Montreal-Sud

<sup>12</sup>. Bernier, 33.

<sup>13</sup> Behiels, 12.

<sup>14</sup>. Ibid., 13.

<sup>15</sup>. Linteau, pp. 238 - 297, Boismenu, Gérard et al. *Le Québec en textes: Anthologie 1940-1986*, 15.

<sup>16</sup>. Bernier, 165.

industrial and service sector jobs.

These demographic and economic shifts profoundly shook the structures of French Canadian society. While the bourgeoisie was strengthened in the financial, commercial and manufacturing sectors, the traditional petite bourgeoisie experienced a decline in social status.<sup>17</sup> These clerics and liberal professionals who had fulfilled the mainly administrative and professional occupations in the institutions of their own cultural community began to feel threatened as the rural society within which they had occupied a dominant position declined.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the impact of these socioeconomic changes, the traditional petite bourgeoisie retained its influence on Quebec society through the remarkable political hegemony of the Union Nationale and Maurice Duplessis. This hegemony, that Gérard Boismenu calls "Duplessisme,"<sup>19</sup> has been interpreted as being based on a class alliance of monopoly capital (American and English Canadian), the Catholic Church, the farmers, and the traditional petite bourgeoisie.<sup>20</sup> The dominant ideological orientation of the regime was the petite bourgeoisie's clerico-nationalist

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17. Boismenu et al, *Le Québec en textes*, 15.

18. Beheils, 15.

19. Boismenu, *Le Duplessisme*, 17.

20. Ibid., 383.

conservatism whose tenets were the sanctity of rural farm life, the primacy of the family, and the dominance of the Catholic Church. The political values of this ideology were shaped by a distaste for materialist, individualist liberalism which led to a suspicion of corporate capitalism, a fear of state intervention (which would inevitably lead to communism) and a preference for corporatism based on Catholic social doctrine. While legitimizing itself with the proclamation of these beliefs, the Union Nationale regime adopted an economic development strategy that was characterized by support for foreign capital, especially for natural resource exploitation, and reactionary and repressive labour policies.<sup>21</sup>

The political stability of this alliance was maintained because of the following conditions: remarkable post-war economic growth that permitted the first experiences of mass consumption; the working class composition of largely first generation urban migrants that gave the proletariat a relatively high level of social satisfaction;<sup>22</sup> partisan politics characterized by an atomization of the proletariat, a disproportionate number of rural seats, the inability of the Quebec Liberals to offer a viable alternative to Duplessis, and the success of

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21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., 380.

the Union Nationale in projecting a populist image; the homogeneous, quasi-unanimity of the press; and the social hegemony of the clerico-nationalist ideology of the traditional petite bourgeoisie.<sup>23</sup>

The paradox of "Duplessisme" was that despite the deep structural transformations in society, the Union Nationale remained in power without changing its policies nor its ideological justifications.<sup>24</sup> The values of the traditional petite bourgeoisie which were the result of its development on the margins of industrialism,<sup>25</sup> were continuously used to legitimize social policies that were at odds with the emerging industrial order. Not surprisingly many of the interpretations of Quebec society in the 1950s dwell on this contradiction between dominant ideology and the social and economic realities of the period.<sup>26</sup> The transformations that had occurred in post-war Quebec society had left this traditionally dominant group with an outdated ideology incapable of dealing with

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23. Ibid.

24. Boismenu et al., *Le Québec en textes*, 15.

25. Denis Monière, *Le développement des idéologies au Québec* (Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1977) 262 -266.

26. Gilles Bourque et Anne Legaré, *Le Québec: la question nationale*; Roch Denis, *Luttes de classes et question nationale*; Gérard Pelletier, *Les années d'impatience 1950-60*; Dale Posgate and Kenneth McRoberts, *Québec: Social Change and Political Crisis*; Roy, op. cit.; Pierre Trudeau, ed., *La grève d'amiante*.

the new problems that had emerged.

These structural changes had produced a new group of white collar workers in the service sector amongst whom was a growing minority who fulfilled administrative functions in the federal government and intermediary managerial functions in the expanding English-Canadian and American owned corporate sector.<sup>27</sup> At the same time a new group of intellectuals was developing an alternate social definition of Quebec society. Individuals such as Claude Ryan, Gérard Pelletier and many others began an intense re-examination of the traditional values and culture of French Canadian society. This re-evaluation was carried out through their participation in lay Catholic social action movements such as the Jeunesse étudiante catholique (JEC) and the Jeunesse ouvrière catholique (JOC) which enabled them to surpass the ideological restrictions of the dominant clerico-nationalist culture.<sup>28</sup> Their reformulation led them to believe that their interests lay with the new social group that had emerged with the expansion of the service sector. According to Michael Behiels,

...the social repercussions of industrialization and urbanization...set in motion, fed, and continually reinforced the demand of the new francophone middle class intelligentsia for a rigorous examination and eventual

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27. Behiels, 15.

28. André Bélanger, *Ruptures et Constances*, 61.; Coleman, 17.

reformulation of Quebec's social, economic, and political institutions and the ideology, values, and norms of behaviour underpinning these institutions.<sup>29</sup>

What Behiels identifies as "intelligentsia" were the "organic" intellectuals of the new petite bourgeoisie.<sup>30</sup> They envisaged a modern, more secular, democratic, urban industrial capitalist society and sought new principles of socio-economic organization.<sup>31</sup> The policies they eventually developed were attempts to reverse the dependency of post-war economic development through a more complete use of the instruments of the State. This meant fundamental changes in labour relations, expansion and institution revenue security programmes, and legislation to ensure better working conditions. Less clerical involvement in social services and education would be paralleled by increased State management of education, health, social services, housing, recreation, and transportation.<sup>32</sup>

As the 1950s progressed an increasing number of other

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29. Behiels, 18.

30. See Chapter 1, 16-17.

31. Behiels distinguishes two types of this new ideology: Cité Libre liberalism and neo-nationalism.

32. Letourneau, 46.

social groups became interested in the new social definition of reality put forth by the intellectuals of the new petite bourgeoisie. Allies were found in the university milieu where some of these intellectuals had found 'refuge,' in the increasingly progressive union movement, amongst a section of the business elite, within a fast-growing, articulate farm reform movement, and in the adult education movement.

Many members of the "creative" sector of this new group of "organic" intellectuals could be found in the universities, especially the Faculty of Social Sciences of Université Laval which played a leading role in defining this new social reality. Their social scientific research examined the social problems that confronted post-war Quebec society and presented alternate solutions which those imbued with traditional ideology were incapable of accepting. In the context of the era, to do so was a challenge to the established order: identification of social problems was a criticism of the way things were. G.H. Lévesque, the Dominican founder of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Laval, and his students saw themselves as agents of social change.<sup>33</sup> They also found themselves in a society in which the low status of the academic was reflected in low salaries for most of the professoriate

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<sup>33</sup>. Marcel Fournier, "L'institutionnalisation des sciences sociales au Québec" in *Sociologie et Sociétés*, 5:1 (mai 1973): 28.

(the majority in the social sciences and humanities were clerics) and in the outright hostile anti-intellectualism of Duplessis himself.

The conflicts between Duplessis and Laval's Social Science Faculty were numerous and well known. In 1952, the university's operating grant was reduced after G.H. Lévesque implicitly criticized Duplessis by publicly asserting that social justice also came from God.<sup>34</sup> As the 1950s developed, it rapidly became apparent to those in the university milieu that their academic status and social recognition depended on Duplessis' demise. They soon found themselves in alliance with those groups who were pushing for reform. Many such as Jean Marchand, also felt solidarity with the working class and after graduating went on to work for them.<sup>35</sup>

Allied with these anti-Duplessis activists who were armed with a new social definition of reality was the increasingly progressive union movement.<sup>36</sup> The Catholic union movement had begun its move towards secularization in

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34. Fournier, 40.

35. Fournier, 53.

36. See CSN/CEQ *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier au Québec: 150 ans de luttes* (Montréal: CSN/CEQ, 1984); Jacques Rouillard, *Histoire de la CSN (1921-1981)* (Montréal: CSN/Boréal Express, 1981); Fernand Harvey, *Le mouvement ouvrier au Québec* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1980); Charles Lipton, *Histoire du syndicalisme au Canada et au Québec* (Montréal: Parti Pris, 1976).

1946 with the election Gérard Picard as president of the Confédération des travailleurs catholique du Canada (CTCC) and in 1948 with the establishment of a permanent strike fund. At its 1952 congress, the CTCC rejected the corporatist vision of the Catholic Church as expressed in Quatrogésimo anno of 1931. In 1956, under the leadership of Jean Marchand, the formal process of de-confessionalization began, culminating in the change of name to the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN) in 1960.<sup>37</sup> The "international" trade union movement also became more active: the craft unions, (the Fédération provinciale du travail du Québec - FPTQ) lessened their hostility to the industrial unions (the Fédération des unions industrielles du Québec - FUIQ) and joined together in 1957 to form the Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ). The unity of these different parts of the labour movement had been forged by the mailed fist of "Duplessisme" in the post-war period during numerous bitter strikes: Asbestos in 1949; Alliance des professeurs de Montréal in 1949; the Dupuis Frères in 1952; Louiseville in 1952; and Murdochville in 1957.

The intellectuals and the union movement were not the only sectors of society who believed that "Duplessisme" was no longer appropriate. As the post-war boom stalled towards the end of the 1950s, parts of the Quebec business

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37. Rouillard, 167.

elite such as the "Association des Professionnels Industriel," and the provincial chambers of commerce became increasingly dissatisfied with the Duplessis regime's economy policies and they began lobbying for the redefinition of the role of the State.<sup>38</sup> The Association des Professionnels Industriel (A.P.I.)<sup>39</sup> first expressed its discontent in a 1954 submission to the Tremblay Commission appealing for more government involvement in meeting the financial and technological needs of business. In 1959, it urged the State to take on the responsibilities of economic planning and development. By 1960, it was calling for the State to co-ordinate research on the management of labour force needs and it began to openly distance itself from the Union Nationale.<sup>40</sup>

Also present was the reformist farm organization, l'Union Catholique des Cultivateurs (UCC). Despite Duplessis' often sung praise of the virtues of the agricultural vocation and his many favourable agriculturalist policies,<sup>41</sup> independent single commodity producers were dissatisfied and they began to agitate for

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38. Boismenu, 384.

39. The A.P.I. was founded in 1943 as forum to bring industrialists and other groups together.

40. Roy, 174.

41. Bourque and Legaré, 146.

reform through the UCC.<sup>42</sup>

Another centre of opposition to Duplessis was the adult education movement which was led by l'Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes (ICEA). All of the above groups who were interested in ending Duplessis' hegemony were affiliated to this movement. The organization began in 1936 as the "Comité canadien-français" of the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE). The CAAE itself had been founded in 1935 by a group of university extension department educators who were joined by two different groups who were also interested in adult education: members of urban, elitist, voluntary associations and rural, populist social movements.<sup>43</sup> By the 1940s the rural, populist social reform element came to dominate the CAAE and in 1943 it published a Manifesto that was almost identical to the CCF's.<sup>44</sup> To the CAAE's director, E A. Corbett, adult education was "a means of establishing the moral, and ideological bases from which action may take shape...the only means by which men and women can be prepared for a new social order."<sup>45</sup>

The "Comité canadien-français" of the CAAE agreed

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<sup>42</sup>. Boismenu, 360

<sup>43</sup>. Ron Faris, *The Passionate Educators*, 21.

<sup>44</sup>. Faris, 33-34

<sup>45</sup>. Ibid.

with these principles and with the notion that individuals have all the intellectual resources necessary to solve the problems of modern life. For the francophone section of the CAAE "le but primordial" of adult education was to help "chaque individu à jouer son rôle de citoyen."<sup>46</sup> However by 1946, cooperation with the CAAE had apparently foundered over cultural differences and the "Comité canadien-français" broke away from its parent organization.<sup>47</sup> It re-established itself as the Société Canadienne d'Enseignement Post-scolaire (SCEP) and was closely affiliated to the extension department of the Ecole des Sciences Sociales of Université Laval.<sup>48</sup>

This affiliation was important in the continuation of SCEP's subscription to a reformist conception of adult education. In the *Répertoire Nationale de l'éducation populaire au Canada français* published in 1949, Claude Ryan wrote that the concept of adult education went beyond concepts of the instruction of the masses, the diffusion of knowledge, and academic teaching. To Ryan, adult education would "rendre au peuple une âme et une conscience et de lui

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<sup>46</sup>. Fonds ICEA, 56P1/7, *Education des Adultes au Canada*, undated, 4.

<sup>47</sup>. Fonds ICEA, 56P1/6: Antoni Toupin, *ICEA: Notes historiques 1936-57*, (avril 1957) Part II, 17. What exactly these differences were was never explained by Toupin.

<sup>48</sup>. The promise of some funding from the government of Québec was the deciding issue in SCEP's fight for independence from the CAAE. Ibid.

donner des moyens de s'exprimer et de se réaliser."<sup>49</sup>

Throughout the 1950s this reformist conception was adhered to and developed: adult education "vise non pas d'abord à améliorer le statut de l'individu, mais à résoudre les problèmes de la société elle-même."<sup>50</sup> In 1956, Claude Ryan, now President of SCEA, declared that adult education was "nettement sociale:"

...elle est directement intéressée et même impliquée dans cet élan général qui pousse l'humanité vers une transformation des structures sociales...elle vise d'abord et spécifiquement à la promotion sociale, culturelle, et spirituelle de...la classe ouvrière.<sup>51</sup>

As this reformist conception was adhered to, the structure and membership of the adult education movement in Quebec was gradually transformed. In 1946, the newly formed SCEP was supposed to be a pan-Canadian federation of provincial francophone adult education groups. But because of the precarity of their existence, the membership of its administrative council was composed mainly of representatives of the Catholic Church, government departments and

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49. Fonds ICEA, 56P11p/7, *Répertoire national de l'éducation populaire au Canada français*, 7.

50. Fonds ICEA, 56P1/7, *Education des Adultes*, undated, 5.

51. Fonds ICEA, 56P26/4, Claude Ryan, *L'Education des Adultes et la Doctrine Sociale de l'Eglise*, Cours donné à la 33e Semaine Sociale du Canada, le 29 septembre, 1956, 12.

affiliated institutions of both.<sup>52</sup> By 1951 however, the SCEP began to attract reformists groups like the CTCC and Action Catholique as well as the Conseil Canadienne de l'Avancement du Civisme, and l'Association Canadienne d'Educateurs de langue français.<sup>53</sup>

With its reorganization in 1952, SCEP changed its name to Société Canadienne de l'Education des Adultes (SCEA) and its administrative council was restructured to give non-governmental organizations two-thirds of its seats. By 1956, government agencies were no longer permitted to be members of the organization.<sup>54</sup> Although government funding remained stable throughout the decade, the expansion of ICEA activities reduced its reliance on government funding: in 1953-54, 82.3% of its revenues were from agencies of the Quebec and federal governments; by 1955-56 this had been reduced to 24%.<sup>55</sup>

By 1953 SCEA membership included all sectors of Quebec

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52. Toupin, Part II, 21.

53. Ibid., 22.

54. Fonds ICEA, 56P26/4, Ryan, *L'Education des Adultes*, 12.

55. For 1953-54, \$5900 of a total budget of \$7400 was from the Secretariat de la Province de Québec, and the federal Ministère de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration. Fonds ICEA, 56P2b/2, *Procès-verbal de la réunion du Conseil d'administration de la SCEA*, le 7 mai, 1953, 2. For 1955-56, the same agencies contributed \$5000 to a budget of \$16,101. The rest of the money was raised from member organisations and the private sector. Fonds ICEA, 56P2b/3, *Previsions budgétaires 1956-57 en regard des résultats de l'année 1955-56*.

society that were interested in reform. According to Antoni Toupin, a member of the Executive Council in 1954 from Université d'Ottawa, SCEA members included

les principales universités, toutes les grandes centrales syndicales, ouvrières, et agricoles, les diverses chambres de commerce, le mouvement coopératif, les associations culturelles..., les groupements nationaux, patriotiques, civiques, littéraires, artistiques, de loisirs, etc.<sup>56</sup>

In 1956 SCEA was incorporated under federal law and its name changed to the politically charged Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes - a name which referred to the liberal reformers of the nineteenth century who had fought the ultramontanist conservatives. In 1957-58 the leadership of ICEA was clearly reformist and in fact a reflection of the *réseau de résistance*: Claude Ryan of Action Catholique Canadienne was President, Paul-H. Lavoie of the UCC was Vice-President and other members of its executive directors included Antoni Toupin, of the Ecole des Sciences Sociale de l'Université d'Ottawa and Jean Brunelle of the Chambre de Commerce de Montréal. Members of ICEA's administrative council were from the CTCC, the CTC and Université Laval and individual members of ICEA included Paul Sauriol from Le Devoir, André Laurendeau and Gérard Pelletier.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>. Toupin, Part III, 26.

<sup>57</sup>. Fonds ICEA, 56P2a/15, *Rapport Annuel 1957-58*.

In the late 1950s, Quebec experience a sharp economic downturn. With an increase in unemployment from 4.8% in 1956 to 10.1% in 1960, Quebec experienced the worst economic recession since the 1930s.<sup>58</sup> The social and economic shocks this sent through society brought about a dislocation of "Duplessisme:"

Enfin la pesanteur d'un système de promotion qui profite principalement au clergé, à l'élite locale, aux membres du parti Union Nationale et, dans la sphère économique, à la communauté anglophone, et qui restreint les aspirations de l'intelligentsia, des technocrates et des classes moyennes francophones, n'arrive plus à organiser et légitimer les hiérarchisations et les différenciations se manifestent au sein du tissu social.<sup>59</sup>

The result was that the reforms that had been formulated by the *réseau de résistance* - who found themselves discussing these projects when they met at ICEA meetings, were adopted by larger parts of the population. A broadly based social consensus emerged that new principles of social and economic organization were necessary. The new petite bourgeoisie had succeeded in mobilizing people around ideas such as participation, democracy, planning, development, socio-economic management, the right to welfare, and the promotion of

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58. Bernier, 238. In numbers these figures are astounding: 78,000 were unemployed in 1956; by 1960 this had increased to 183,000; Letourneau, 44; Boismenu, 384.

59. Letourneau, 44.

francophones or nationalism<sup>60</sup> all through an expanded use of the State which was to be in the words of Léon Dion, "[1]'outil au service de l'ensemble de la collectivité."<sup>61</sup> The reforms they put forth were adopted in the late 1950s by the renewed Quebec Liberal Party under Georges-Emile Lapalme and implemented by the Liberal government of Jean Lesage in the early 1960s.

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60. Ibid.

61. Dion, 49.

### Chapter Three

#### Radio-Canada as Tribune:

#### ICEA and "Les Idées en Marche"

The television service of Société Radio-Canada was a tribune for the new petite bourgeoisie who led an extra-parliamentary opposition against Duplessis. These oppositional forces worked within a *réseau de résistance*, a network of institutions and social groups who were united against the predominant conservative ideology of the Duplessis regime. Radio-Canada in the 1950s gave these reformist groups a forum for the discussion and presentation of ideas and issues that had been previously been confined to the margins of society. Television's role becomes clear when one examines the Radio-Canada public affairs programme Les Idées en Marche and the relationship between the co-producers of this television show - Radio-Canada and Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes (ICEA). Their collaboration reveals that other reform-minded groups such as labour unions, chambers of commerce, co-operative movements, academics, journalists and some farm organizations were drawn to Radio-Canada. The results of this collaboration - the choice of topics for Les Idées en Marche - demonstrates how Radio-Canada had given them a voice. What also becomes evident from this collaboration is the new petite bourgeoisie's dominant participation in

the formulation and the content of the programme. Not surprisingly it was most satisfied with the Les Idées en Marche series and this makes it clear that Radio-Canada was their tribune. As Gérard Boismenu argues, Radio-Canada in the 1950s was "un foyer de débat idéologique qui [a] canalis[é] la résistance et l'opposition de la new petite bourgeoisie au duplessisme."<sup>1</sup>

The nature of the ICEA and the reasons for its collaboration with Radio-Canada merits reiteration. The Institut Canadien de l'Education des Adultes (ICEA) began during the Depression as the French Canadian Committee of the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE). A group of francophone educators met in 1936 and formed the "Comité Canadien-français d'enseignement post-scolaire."<sup>2</sup>

Their goals were to promote the cultural interests of French-Canadians across Canada, to conduct research and to develop adult education, to advise the CAAE, and to encourage and monitor educational and religious programming. The latter included lobbying the French programming division of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).<sup>3</sup> The committee's activities included giving summer courses on group leadership in 1938 to

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1. Boismenu, 357.

2. Toupin, Part I, 3.

3. Ibid. Part I, 5.

teachers and school supervisors in conjunction with the Département de l'Instruction Publique, Université Laval and the Université de Montréal. In 1942 it also published adult education brochures with the help of the reform-minded Ecole des Sciences Sociales at Université Laval.<sup>4</sup>

The parent organization, the CAAE, had been founded in 1935 by university extension department educators responding to the hardship of the Depression.<sup>5</sup> They were joined by two different groups who were also interested in adult education: members of urban, elitist, voluntary associations and rural, populist social movements.<sup>6</sup> By the 1940s this latter group, the populist reformers, dominated the CAAE and in 1943 it published a Manifesto that shared its principles with the CCF.<sup>7</sup> Their Manifesto declared that human beings were ends not means, that voluntary co-operation among individuals should be the basis of society, that social controls and planning were necessary to ensure that social goals take precedence over individual profit, that consumption rather than production be the

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4. Toupin, Pt.1, 8.

5. E.A. Corbett, "A Brief History of Adult Education in Canada" in *Adult Education in Canada*, 9; Toupin, Pt.1, 5.

6. Faris, 21.

7. For a detailed treatment of the CAAE and this period, see D.P. Armstrong, *Corbett's House: The Origins of the CAAE and its Development during the Directorship of E.A. Corbett*; Ron Faris, op. cit.; G.R. Selman, *The C.A.A.E. in the Corbett Years: A Re-evaluation*.

determining factor in economic activity, and that individuals' status be judged by their contributions to the community rather than by wealth or birth.<sup>8</sup> To E.A. Corbett, director of the CAAE throughout this period, adult education was a means of establishing the moral and ideological bases of a new social order.<sup>9</sup>

This new social order would replace individualism and mass collectivism with voluntary co-operation between individuals.<sup>10</sup> This vision of a renewed democracy, according to Michael Welton, was "rooted in a dialogical process whereby policy would be formulated at the grass-roots, community level with government responding to people's demands from below."<sup>11</sup> Apathy and unawareness were dangerous threats to real democracy; citizens needed to be informed in order to help make decisions on critical issues.<sup>12</sup> To accomplish these goals, the CAAE began Citizens' Forum in 1943, a radio programme it produced in conjunction with the CBC.<sup>13</sup> The show dealt with the major

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8. Faris, 33-34.

9. Ibid.

10. Faris, 31-32.

11. Michael Welton, "An Authentic Instrument of the Democratic Process" in *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 18:1 (April 1986): 35.

12. Isabel Wilson, "Citizens' Forum" in *Adult Education in Canada*, 179.

13. Ibid.

issues of the day and the CAAE organized listening groups which discussed the issues with the help of pamphlets prepared by the CAAE.<sup>14</sup>

The "Comité canadien-français" subscribed to these principles yet in 1946 it broke away from its parent organization and became the Société Canadienne d'enseignement post-scolaire (SCEP). The new organization was to be a federation of provincial francophone adult education groups. But the precariousness of their existence made their membership in a national organization difficult. So SCEP's administrative council was composed mainly of representatives from the Catholic Church, government departments and their affiliated institutions.<sup>15</sup> However by the mid-1950s, the SCEP had reduced the financial and participatory role of these government agencies and had succeeded in attracting the active participation of reformists groups such as the CTCC, the CTC, Action Catholique Canadienne, the UCC, the Chambre de Commerce de Montreal, the API, as well as prominent reformers like Gérard Pelletier and André Laurendeau.

SCEP remained committed to a reformist conception of adult education and as mentioned above, this is evident in the publication of *Répertoire Nationale de l'éducation*

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<sup>14</sup>. For an excellent discussion of this see Isabel Wilson.

<sup>15</sup>. Toupin, Part II, 21.

*populaire au Canada français*, a catalog of all groups involved in adult education published in 1949. Its goals and purposes also began diverging from the CAAE in the early 1950s. With the retirement of E.A. Corbett and the selection of James Muir, the President of the Royal Bank of Canada, as President, the CAAE became more conservative.<sup>16</sup> Ideological differences between the two groups was made clear when the SCEP asked the Royal Bank and James Muir who was President of the bank and the CAAE, for funding to publish its *Répertoire* in English. Muir turned SCEP down citing his suspicions of the book:

Adult education is a personal thing. It is an attempt to rouse the interest of our people and give them what they desire of mature thought. Your book, ... would not contribute to that purpose but would be in the nature of an information book for English-speaking workers who might wish to learn about the activities of French-speaking workers.<sup>17</sup>

A reformist approach to adult education was maintained by the SCEP throughout the 1950s and was articulated effectively by spokespersons like Claude Ryan in 1956.<sup>18</sup> SCEP activities included the organization of the "Premier Congrès National d'Education Populaire" in 1950 with the help of its provincial counterpart the Société d'Education

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<sup>16</sup>. Faris, 134.

<sup>17</sup>. Fonds ICEA, 56P6/56, James Muir to Napoléon Leblanc, July 19, 1951.

<sup>18</sup>. See above p.45. Fonds ICEA, 56P26/4, Ryan, op.cit.

des Adultes du Québec (SEAQ) and the establishment of a research program aimed at the systematic evaluation of the popular (adult) education movement.<sup>19</sup> In early 1952, SCEP changed its name to the Société Canadienne de l'Education des Adultes (SCEA).

The organization also turned to one of the founding principles of the CAAE in 1936: the possibilities of adult education through film, and broadcasting.<sup>20</sup> SCEP became interested in the Radio-Canada radio programme Les Idées en Marche which members of SEAQ had been co-producing with Radio-Canada.<sup>21</sup> As a pan-Canadian organization as opposed to the SEAQ which dealt only with the province of Quebec, SCEP argued that it should collaborate with Radio-Canada in the production of Les Idées en Marche. As Napoléon Leblanc, SCEP's director wrote, "SCEP [pouvait] porter à l'attention d'un plus grand nombre d'organisations l'existence du programme Les Idées en Marche et ... assurer un auditoire plus étendu et plus varié."<sup>22</sup>

When Marcel Ouimet, Radio-Canada's network director, replied that he would prefer a collaboration between both

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19. Toupin, Part II, 41.

20. Ibid., Part I, 3; Part III, 23.

21. Ibid., Part III, 34.

22. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada, Napoléon Leblanc, Directeur du SCEP à Marcel Ouimet, Directeur du réseau français, Société Radio-Canada, le 14 juillet, 1951; Toupin, Part III, 32.

SCEP (now SCEA) and SEAQ, both organizations arranged a joint meeting with Radio-Canada for July 17, 1952.<sup>23</sup> At this meeting they decided that they would collaborate with Radio-Canada in the choice of topics and guests. The SCEP agreed to encourage provincial adult education societies to organize listening groups and to distribute an information bulletin before each broadcasting season.<sup>24</sup> The SEAQ promised to organize listening groups in Quebec to encourage debate after each programme. They assured Radio-Canada of the support of the following organizations: la Fédération des mouvements de la jeunesse, la Conseil Canadien de la Coopération, la Conseil de la Coopération du Québec, la Fédération des Caisses Populaires, la CTCC, la Conseil Canadien du Civisme, and la Coopérative Fédérée de Québec.<sup>25</sup>

At the end of the first season of Les Idées en Marche (1952-53), SCEA established a permanent radio and television committee. Its mandate was to evaluate the

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23. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Marcel Ouimet à Napoléon Leblanc, 16 juillet, 1951; 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Benoit Lafleur, Service des Causeries, Société Radio-Canada, à Napoléon Leblanc, le 9 juillet, 1952.

24. Léon Lortie of the SEAQ became Vice-President of the SCEA so the co-operation between the two organizations was excellent.

25. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Napoléon Leblanc et Léon Lortie à Marcel Ouimet, le 25 juillet, 1952.

contribution of radio to adult education by preparing questionnaires that would be sent to listening groups and to compile a listing of adult education programmes. It was also to study the possible forms of collaboration with Radio-Canada for the production of Les Idées en Marche and Le Choc des Idées, a programme similar to CBC's Farm Forum.<sup>26</sup>

The SCEA radio and television committee decided that consultative meetings would be a necessary first step in this collaboration and the first of these consultative meetings took place on August 4, 1953. Thirty-five groups participated and it was decided that a large consultative committee that would meet two or three times a month would be the best way to ensure each group's input.<sup>27</sup> However the next consultative meeting was at the SCEA's annual meeting in 1955 and by 1956 the structures of collaboration were formalized.<sup>28</sup> There were to be three phases of production: the "rencontre consultative;" the "comité d'élaboration;" and the "comité de production." At the

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26. Toupin, Part III, p.32. Le Choc des Idées was similar to CBC's Farm Forum. See Ruth MacKenzie, "Farm Forum: The Voice of Rural Canada" in *Adult Education in Canada*, 169.

27. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Romain DesBois, secrétaire d'SCEA, à Edmond Labelle, réalisateur SRC, le 7 août, 1953. See also Toupin, Part III, 33.

28. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Réal Charbonneau, *Les Idées en Marche* 1956-57, le 16 avril, 1957.

"rencontre consultative" of June 5, 1956, 75 persons from the adult education milieu worked on various committees that considered 200 possible programme topics. The thirty-six topics retained by the consultative meeting were forwarded to the "comité d'élaboration" which was composed of sixteen ICEA and five Radio-Canada members. This committee narrowed down these suggestions and drew up lists of possible guest panelists. Their report then went to the "comité de production" which consisted of three members of ICEA, the show's host, and the Radio-Canada producer. With considerable liberty to revise the "comité d'élaboration's" suggestions, they worked with the producer in taking all the necessary steps to put the show on the air.

The members of ICEA who participated in the 1956-57 "comité d'elaboration" are interesting. They included Réal Charbonneau (Action Catholique Canadien), Gilles Ledoux (UCC), Roland Parenteau (Ecole des Hautes études commerciales or HEC), Paul Sauriol (Le Devoir), Antoni Toupin (Université d'Ottawa), Arthur Tremblay (Université Laval), Philippe Vaillancourt (CTC), and Jean-Paul Lefebvre, the education director of the CTCC.<sup>29</sup> These represented groups virulent in their opposition to Duplessis and were further united in their belief that adult education through mass electronic media would lead to

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29. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Annexe II, *La SCEA: Liste des membres du comité consultatif 'Les Idées en Marche' 1956-57.*

a more democratic society. J.-P. Lefebvre spoke for them all in *Cité Libre* when he equated adult education with the inculcation of the consciousness of freedom:

La pierre d'angle d'une cité libre, c'est certainement la conscience de la liberté chez la masse des citoyens.<sup>30</sup>

The composition of the consultative meeting for Les Idées en Marche of 1957 further emphasizes the common thread of opposition to the stagnating Duplessis regime. Over 63.7% of those attending represented labour, business, and farm organizations as well as universities and media known for their criticism and opposition to Duplessis (see table I and appendix I). Among these were representatives of the francophone Quebec bourgeoisie such as the "Association des Professionnels Industriel," the provincial Chambers of Commerce, and the chemical and textile industries. The other two prominent reformist groups present were the trade union movement (the CTCC, the CTC, and the FTQ), and the intellectuals of the new petite bourgeoisie which included academics from Université Laval, Université de Montréal, École des Hautes Études Commerciales, journalists from Le Devoir and La Presse, producers from Radio-Canada, employees of the National Film Board (notably Pierre Juneau), and members of Action Catholique (including Claude Ryan).

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<sup>30</sup>. Jean-Paul Lefebvre, "L'Éducation populaire au Canada français" *Cité Libre*, novembre 1955.

Table I  
Consultative Meeting<sup>31</sup>

<u>Background</u>			<u>Reformists</u>		
<u>Category</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Grande et Moyenne			Grande et		
Bourgeoisie...10.....	10	10	M.Bourg. ....7...12.0		
Petite Bourgeoisie...48.....	48	48	P.Bourg.....32...55.0		
(traditional).....(16).....	(16)	(16)	Worker.....17...29.3		
(new).....(32).....	(32)	(32)	<u>Rural(UCC).....2....3.4</u>		
Worker.....17.....	17	17	Total 58 99.7		
Rural.....9.....	9	9	(total participants:		
Government.....7.....	7	7	100 - 9(autres)= 91)		
Other.....9.....	9	9			
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100.0</u>			

58/91= 63.7%

This categorization is based on the organization these individuals represented and is therefore more indicative than definitive. See Appendix I for full details. Those who were perhaps not as interested in reform are the clerics, the Saint Jean-Baptiste Society nationalists, the administrators of the collèges classiques and the Catholic School Board, the parent/school association members, and the musical educators. The government bureaucrats could be on either side. However it is quite possible that some of these individuals were interested in reforms.

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<sup>31</sup>. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Réal Charbonneau à Gérard Lamarche, Les Idées en Marche Mémoire préparé par ICEA à l'intention de la Société Radio-Canada, le 22 juin, 1957.

It is quite clear that this membership reveals the class coalition that was to soon implement the reforms of the "Quiet Revolution." The participation in the "Journée d'étude sur les émissions éducatives de la télévision" in 1959 also makes this quite clear (see table II and appendix II). In both these meetings, close examination of the groups represented demonstrates the dominance of the new petite bourgeoisie: this group is clearly the largest comprising 35.1% of the representatives at the "Rencontre Consultative" and 38.2% of participants at the "Journée d'étude."

Table II

<u>Catagory</u> <sup>32</sup>	<u>Rencontre</u> <u>Consultative</u> <u>1957</u>		<u>Journée</u> <u>d'étude</u> <u>1959</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Grande et Moyenne				
Bourgeoisie..	10..	10.9	8.....	11.7
Petite Bourgeoisie..	48.....	52.7	39.....	57.3
(traditional).....	(16).....	(17.5)	(13).....	(19.1)
(new).....	(32).....	(35.1)	(26).....	(38.2)
Workers ...	17.....	18.6	8.....	11.7
Rural.....	9.....	9.8	11... ..	16.1
Government....	7.....	7.6..	2.....	2.9
Total	91	99.6	68	99.7

The division of the petite bourgeoisie into traditional and new is obviously not hard and fast. The clerics from the Centre Diocésain du Cinema could very well be part of the new petite bourgeoisie as their training and duties differed from the traditional clergy. See Appendix II.

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<sup>32</sup>. This does not include 9 individuals who did not have any affiliation.

The dominance of the new petite bourgeoisie in the ICEA/Radio-Canada relationship that produced Les Idées en Marche is also clear from the formulation of the television version of the programme. It began with a memo from Guy Beaugrand-Champagne of the Université de Montréal to the SCEA Radio-Television Committee.<sup>33</sup> He recommended that SCEA avoid a didactic approach as this would not suit the organization or the nature of television. What was needed were controversial programmes, forums, debates, seminars, and discussions - interrogative shows that would present the facts of a situation, propose an alternative and then be followed by questions and possible hypotheses:

...bref, l'exposé qui au lieu de conclure et de donner LA solution, pose les questions qui font naître la curiosité inquiète, la discussion et ouvre le champ aux interprétations.<sup>34</sup>

His ideas were presented at the SCEA annual meeting in 1954 where a panel discussion on television and adult education was held. The moderator was Gérard Pelletier and the panelists were André Laurendeau of Le Devoir; Roger Rolland of Radio-Canada's radio service; Pierre Pétel, a producer from Radio-Canada's television service; and

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33. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Guy Beaugrand-Champagne, *Considérations sur les projets d'émissions de télévision que préparent la SCEA à Radio-Canada*, avril, 1954.

34. Ibid., 1.

Napoléon Leblanc and Pierre Boucher, both from the extension department of Université Laval which was known as the Centre de la Culture Populaire.<sup>35</sup>

After a lively discussion, the panel recommended the adoption of one of Beaugrand-Champagne's suggestions that took advantage of the possibilities of the new medium.<sup>36</sup> The Les Idées en Marche radio forums would be televised with two cameras that would capture the drama of the debate. Statistics and figures would be illustrated by on camera graphs and to encourage audience participation, the debate would be followed by a five minute question period.<sup>37</sup> The forums were held in the auditorium of Montreal's Collège St. Laurent and with an annual budget of \$27, 972, the television version went on the air on at 8 p.m. Thursday October 21, 1954.<sup>38</sup>

ICEA, Radio-Canada, and the intellectuals of the new petite bourgeoisie were united in in their goals for Les

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35 Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/107: Panel sur la télévision et l'éducation populaire. *Panel sur la télévision et l'éducation populaire*, le 5 juin, 1954.

36. *Panel sur la télévision*, 7.

37. Beaugrand-Champagne, *Considérations*.

38. Laurence, "Le début des affaires publiques," p. 219-220. The television version was broadcast live on Thursday at 8 p.m.. The radio version was taped that same evening and broadcast on Friday evening at 10 p.m. Service des Archives, Société Radio-Canada, Dossier Les Idées en Marche, Memoire de Yves Vien, le 5 octobre, 1954. This was a production budget and it does not include salaries for any Radio-Canada staff. See appendix VI.

Idées en Marche. Gérard Pelletier was the host of the programme and one of the leading members of the new group of intellectuals. For him, "l'idée du départ (de Les Idées en Marche) était de provoquer des débats publics sur des sujets dont on ne discutait jusque là qu'en privé."<sup>39</sup> For ICEA the goal was a more informed citizen who would become capable of understanding the critical issues confronting francophone Quebec society.<sup>40</sup> Radio-Canada's goal for Les Idées en Marche, according to Edmond Labelle, the director of the department that produced the programme, Service des Causeries, was to interest listeners in public affairs, and to invite the public to discuss problems of the day with "franchise et liberté."<sup>41</sup> He also believed that Les Idées en Marche should continue its already successful

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<sup>39</sup>. Gérard Pelletier, Letter to author, December 13, 1988. According to Pelletier, the programme was successful in provoking public debate and causing controversy. In Ottawa, the Member of Parliament for Joliette raised a serious charge against Les Idées en Marche and Prime Minister Diefenbaker wondered aloud why Radio-Canada would bother broadcasting "Lazy Days on the March!"

<sup>40</sup>. "L'émission ne se propose pas de résoudre les divergences d'opinion des membres du 'panel,' ni de chercher d'imposer une conclusion ou une opinion donnée, mais d'intéresser et d'informer les citoyens et de les aider à clarifier leur pensée." Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61, Réal Charbonneau, *Les Idées en Marche* 1956-57, le 16 avril, 1957.

<sup>41</sup>. Labelle was the director of this department until 1956 when it was merged with Radio-Collège to become the Service des Emissions Educatives et d'Affaires Publiques (SEEAPE). See Laurent Hardy, "Le Service des Emissions Educatives et d'Affaires Publiques" *Radio-TV*, janvier 1965.

cultivation of "l'esprit démocratique."<sup>42</sup>

The results of this formulation and consultation - the subjects discussed on the programme - reflected the new social definition of reality that had been formulated by the intellectuals of the new petite bourgeoisie. Education topics examined whether parents had adequate representation in school commissions, whether women could be school commissioners, and whether better technological training was necessary. The role of the state, health insurance, a reduction in work hours, democracy in unions, equal pay for work of equal value, and the adequacy of apprenticeship programs in modern industry were also discussed. The state of Quebec parliamentary democracy was assessed during programmes on the reform of party fund-raising, the political education of the electorate and the future of socialism in Canada.<sup>43</sup> The May 26, 1955 programme was

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42. Société Radio-Canada, Documentation Dossier, Laurent Hardy, *L'Information à la télévision du réseau français de Radio-Canada de 1952 à 1977*. Note de Service à Marc Thibault, 1977. Edmond Labelle, "Causeries et Affaires Publiques." Labelle also saw Radio-Canada's role as unifying progressive social elements: "...le Service des Causeries ne veut pas être seulement un miroir qui réfléchisse les événements et les courants de pensée de l'époque, mais solliciter le plus grand nombre à s'unir à notre travail." Ibid

43. The programmes were entitled with a question: "Notre système d'apprentissage, prépare-t-il vraiment les jeunes à exercer un emploi dans l'industrie moderne?"; "L'Education politique des électeurs?"; "Le socialisme a-t-il un avenir au Canada?" Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Les Idées en Marche Mémoire préparé par ICEA à intention de la Société Radio-Canada, le 22 juin, 1957. Annexe A.

entitled "Le Québec a-t-il besoin d'autres partis politiques?" and it featured Gérard Pelletier, Jeanne Benoit-Sauvé, Maurice Sauvé, Pierre-Elriot Trudeau, and Paul Gérin-Lajoie.<sup>44</sup> Not surprisingly the research sources for other programmes were Le Devoir, Citizens' Forum, Cité Libre, Le Travail and Queen's Quarterly.<sup>45</sup>

The formulation, the consultation, and the content of Les Idées en Marche all make it clear that the programme was the tribune of the new petite bourgeoisie. The public reception of the programme, measured through audience ratings and by the evaluations of various social groups, confirms this as well.<sup>46</sup> The average number of francophone households in the CBFT reception area that watched each episode of Les Idées en Marche on television from 1955 to 1959 was 117,000 and 37% of all the francophone households in the CBFT reception area watched the show regularly.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Fonds ICEA, 56P2a/13

<sup>45</sup>. These programmes were on provincial rights, the two-party political system, and immigration and unemployment. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Madelaine Guay à Romain DesBois, le 27 décembre 1957; le 16 janvier, 1958; et le 11 février, 1958

<sup>46</sup>. It must be borne in mind that the only other Canadian television station in Montréal at the time was CBMT - the CBC's English language service

<sup>47</sup>. Service des Recherches et Sondages, *L'Ecoute de "Les Idées en Marche" à Montréal*, 12. Regularly means three or four times in the four weeks preceeding the survey interview and at least one out of two times over the last year. 51% of viewers watched it 'irregularly' or less than twice in the four weeks preceeding the survey or if they had seen it three or four times before the survey, that

Among the viewers in the Montreal area the programme was ranked fourth out of 20 educational programmes produced by the Service des Emissions Educatives et Affaires Publiques (SEEAP) of Radio-Canada.<sup>48</sup> The viewers of the programme tended to be highly educated city dwellers. Residents of the Island of Montreal watched Les Idées en Marche more than those in neighbouring suburban and rural areas.<sup>49</sup> There was also a tendency for those with more education to watch the programme more often: the higher education level, the more selective the viewer was in indicating a distinct preference for the programme.<sup>50</sup>

The evaluations of various social groups of Radio-Canada's educational programming and Les Idées en Marche also reveals that the network was perceived as the tribune

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they had not watched three out of two times over the last year. *L'Ecoute*, 23-24.

48. For the week of November 23 - 29, 1958. This was two positions above René Lévesque's Point de Mire which had a 22 rating to Les Idées en Marche's 26. This means that Les Idées en Marche had a larger audience than Point de Mire (138,000 vs. 117,636) but Point de Mire did capture a larger part of the television viewing audience (65% vs. 55%). *L'Ecoute*, 14.

49. Ibid., 19-20.

50. 12% of those with more than 13 years of education watched only Les Idées en Marche while 5% of those with 8-12 years of education and 4% of those with less than 7 years did the same. Also those who excluded Les Idées en Marche from viewing yet watched the preceeding and following programmes were relatively less educated than those who watched all three programmes. *L'Ecoute*, 55-56.

of the new petite bourgeoisie.<sup>51</sup> Business groups were critical of the impartiality and fairness of the choice of subjects and participants for the programme. They felt the significant union presence influenced the selection of discussion topics and they wondered why it seemed so difficult to get people in "les postes de commande" to participate.<sup>52</sup> They also objected to the approach ICEA had been taking to adult education. In their view the public needed guidance towards the right solution yet no solutions were being offered by the programme.

Labour was also critical of the Radio-Canada's educational programming. They found that the focus was too often on issues that were of little interest to worker's real problems such as housing, training, seniority, and technical and professional competence. There were also not enough specialized programmes on workplace issues or union experiences nor were the programmes for adolescents

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51. All these evaluations of Les Idées en Marche are from reports prepared by working groups at the "Journée d'étude," June 5, 1959. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/108: Journée d'étude sur les émissions éducatives. *Rapport sur la Journée d'Etude sur les émissions éducatives de la télévision*, le 5 juin, 1958. See Appendix V.

52. "Il semble que le secteur syndical soit plus largement représenté dans certains programme ce qui influencerait le choix des sujets d'émissions telles que 'Les Idées en Marche.'" Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/108 Journée d'étude sur les émission éducative *Rapport de Commission: Journée d'Etude sur les émissions éducatives de la télévision*, 2. Members of this working group represented Biscuits Stuart, Assurance-vie Desjardins, the Chamber of Commerce of the Province of Québec and the A.P.I .

adequate: they seemed to be aimed at students not young workers.<sup>53</sup>

Those from the rural milieu were also dissatisfied with Radio-Canada's educational programming: most of it was inconveniently scheduled too late in the evening, during meal times, or on Friday night. Les Idées en Marche was too difficult to understand: it was beyond "la capacité de la moyenne des gens."<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, those from the petite bourgeoisie were much more satisfied with Radio-Canada.<sup>55</sup> They believed that it was "supérieur aux autres réseaux d'Amérique du Nord quant à la programmation et au niveau culturel" and they urged the extension of the network

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53. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/108: Journée d'étude sur les émissions éducatives. *Rapport de Commission du Monde Ouvrier, Journée d'Etude sur les émissions éducatives de la télévision.* Members of this working group included representatives from the CTCC, the CTC, the FTQ, the JOC, and the Railway Workers. See Annexe V.

54. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/108: Journée d'étude sur les émissions éducatives. *Journée d'etude sur les émissions éducatives de la télévision. Rapport de la Commission Rurale.* For the members see Appendix V.

55. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/108. *Journée d'etude sur les émissions éducatives de la télévision. Rapport de la Commission de les 'Classes Moyens'.* See Appendix V. The members of this committee come from both the traditional petite bourgeoisie and the nouvelle petite bourgeoisie. The predominance of the nouvelle petite bourgeoisie is harder to establish in this situation. However the fact that these members of the traditional bourgeoisie attended such seminar is an indication that they were perhaps more reform oriented.

across all of Canada.<sup>56</sup> They suggested improvements to the educational programming: visual presentations should be more "séduisants" and each programme should have more than one host. They felt that the presentation and the preparation of the guests of Les Idées en Marche could be improved. Finally, they expressed their satisfaction with ICEA's work by urging it to be given a larger role in all Radio-Canada's programming.

From the examination of the relationship between ICEA and Radio-Canada for the production of the public affairs programme Les Idées en Marche, Radio-Canada's social role becomes much clearer. The structures of ICEA/Radio-Canada collaboration reveal that various reformist social groups, led by the new petite bourgeoisie intellectuals, were drawn to Radio-Canada. For them, the television service was a forum for the discussion of new ideas. However, the results of this collaboration - the topics discussed on the weekly programme - and the satisfaction of a certain segment of the audience show that Radio-Canada in the years prior to the "Quiet Revolution" was indeed a tribune for the new petite bourgeoisie.

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56. Ibid.

## Chapter Four

### The Professionalization of Television Production

The professionalization of television production is another indication that Radio-Canada was a forum for the new petite bourgeoisie. The evolution of the weekly news review programme l'Actualité and the causes of the 1958-59 Radio-Canada producers' strike demonstrate that those involved in television production were adopting values such as bureaucratic rationalism, objectivity and ethical neutrality, commonly ascribed to the new petite bourgeoisie.<sup>1</sup>

The origins of this new group can be found in the large scale consolidation of industrial, commercial, and financial capital that began in North America towards the end of the nineteenth century and accelerated into the twentieth.<sup>2</sup> The composition of this group was shaped by the growing application of scientific values to work in all spheres<sup>3</sup> and it was "distinct from the liberal professional and clerical elites with [its] claim to power and status rooted in its monopoly of the specialized knowledge of the

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1. Graham Knight, "News and Ideology" in *Canadian Journal of Communications* 8:4 (Sept. 1982): 23.

2. Mayer, 417.

3. Knight, 23.

modern social sciences."<sup>4</sup> The occupational categories of this group include the clerks, managers, and technicians of large corporations and government bureaucracies; various types of professionals; and an intelligentsia that for the most part had become dependent upon monopoly capital or government supported institutions.<sup>5</sup> The television producers in the news and other departments at Radio-Canada fall into this last category and their subscription to these values of "objectivity," "rationality," and ethical neutrality gave them a basis to claim professional authority and to resist the management imposed rationalization of their tasks.<sup>6</sup>

The news producers' claim to professional authority within the institution of Radio-Canada is demonstrated quite clearly by the evolution of the weekly news review programme L'Actualité. The transformation of this show into Caméra demonstrates the producers' desire for more recognition of their work through the acquisition of more responsibility for content and greatly improved production values. The Sunday evening show produced by Radio Canada's News Service, L'Actualité was "une espèce de super-téléjournal d'une demi-heure" that provided a summary of

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4. Posgate and McRoberts, 99.

5. Mayer, 428-430.

6. Knight, 23.

the week's events.<sup>7</sup> Its general structure was similar to a newsreel: a film of events was accompanied by the narration of a story and embellished with a soundtrack. The current event and "fait divers" items of the programme were ostensibly "puisé par hasard des manchettes" and each averaged about three minutes.<sup>8</sup>

The emphasis in the selection of content was on the novelty of seeing things that few people had ever experienced. For example, the March 16, 1958 episode of l'Actualité featured film of the Canadian team at an international hockey tournament in Oslo, a world champion Canadian skier in action, the mushroom cloud of a hydrogen bomb test, navy training footage, rare birds, seals at feeding time, and a rabbit chase in Poland.<sup>9</sup> The programme also focussed on the novelty of the television medium itself. As the narrator, Jean Ducharme, told his audience:

La caméra de l'Actualité vous permet de passer en quelques secondes des sables brûlants du Sahara au jardin zoologique du Parc Lafontaine à Montréal.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>. Interview with Max Cacopardo, Montréal, Sept. 22, 1988.

<sup>8</sup>. So claimed by Jean Ducharme in the introduction of the episode of March 16, 1958. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, L'Actualité, le 16 mars, 1958, (Radio-Canada, 1958) Producers: Max Cacopardo and François Morriset. 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8175-25.

<sup>9</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>. Ibid., at 16 minutes.

The programme also featured the occasional correspondent who would comment on international or national affairs. In the twenty-seven episodes from January to June there are twelve examples of this type of analysis. However in July, 1958 there was a dramatic increase in the analysis of international and national events: from July to October 5 there are twenty-five analysis pieces (see appendix V). This quadrupling of the use of correspondents represents a major transformation of the form of the programme and reflects the producers' desire to take more responsibility for the show's content.

Pressure to change the format of this weekly news review had been both external and internal. The external impetus had come from Radio-Canada's newly created network of journalist/correspondents who wanted to present more than just the 'facts.'<sup>11</sup> The news producers were very receptive to this idea: Max Cacopardo, one of the producers of the show, recalls how they would often call Paris and ask one of their correspondents for "un topo sur tel sujet...de cinq minutes."<sup>12</sup> The internal pressure for change had come from the public affairs department of Radio-Canada and their popular programme Point de Mire that featured René Lévesque. News soon realised that it had to

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<sup>11</sup>. Interview with Marc Thibault, Montréal, October 14, 1988.

<sup>12</sup>. Cacopardo interview, Montréal, December 14, 1989.

become "plus analytique et moins descriptif" in order to avoid being "téléscopé par les Affaires Publiques"<sup>13</sup>. News Director Bruno Comeau responded to these pressures and an editorial decision was taken to make L'Actualité more analytic.<sup>14</sup> In the months that preceded the appearance of this new show, the production staff tested these new elements. The old formula, "la moins couteuse, la plus simple et aussi celle qui exigeait la moindre infrastructure," was no longer satisfactory.<sup>15</sup>

The new formula that appeared on October 26, 1958 was more analytical, "moderne," and it went beyond the headlines.<sup>16</sup> Caméra 58, Radio-Canada's flagship weekly news programme,<sup>17</sup> would win accolades for the Service des Nouvelles because it was the first news programme to present a review of the week's events in a magazine format and it was the first "personalized" news programme featuring the well-known journalist Dostaler O'Leary.<sup>18</sup>

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13. Cacopardo interview, Sept. 22, 1988.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. According to Thibault, the public affairs director at the time, Caméra went beyond the headlines and into public affairs territory. This led to further conflict between the News and Public Affairs services. "Lévesque lui-même se plaignait...on se retrouvait avec un Caméra qui passait avant Point de Mire qui biffait...[sa] matière." Thibault interview.

17. *La Semaine de Radio-Canada*. Vol. IX, No. 6, 7.

18. Cacopardo interview, Sept. 22, 1988.

The general formula for the programme began with an analysis of the top story by O'Leary, followed by a newsreel-type film of the particular event. O'Leary then interviewed a guest who either joined him in the studio or appeared on the studio monitor. Finally a Radio-Canada correspondent would report from the scene of events or join O'Leary in the studio. This analysis/newsreel/interview/correspondent formula would often follow one particular story but the sequence was also flexible and a correspondent often preceded an interview just as newsreels were inserted where the producer deemed them appropriate. The analyses of events by the journalist Dostaler O'Leary were also the first instance of the news department taking responsibility for editorials.<sup>19</sup>

The producers also attempted to gain recognition from their Radio-Canada colleagues and the public by displaying their technical virtuosity. Their use of the studio monitor was a particularly interesting innovation. They first used it in the second episode of Caméra 58,<sup>20</sup> which featured film footage from the second Springhill, N.S. mining disaster in 1958. The story ended with a freeze frame on a rescued miner and his daughter and the studio

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Service des Archives d'émissions, Radio-Canada, Camera 58: Nov. 2, 1958 (Radio-Canada, 1958) Producers: François Morriset and Max Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8272-2.

camera then focussed on this touching scene that had been projected on the studio monitor. It then panned out and the audience saw O'Leary at a table beside the large studio monitor. This same technique was used the next week to end a correspondent's report.<sup>21</sup>

The most striking innovative use of the monitor occurred soon after on November 16.<sup>22</sup> The episode began with coverage of the rising tensions in West Berlin and after the analysis and the "newsreel," O'Leary informed the audience that "nous allons avoir le plaisir d'interviewer son excellence Monsieur l'Ambassador d'Allemagne à Ottawa, M. Herbert Siegfried." He then turned to the studio monitor and the audience watched him ask the ambassador, who was on the monitor screen, his first question. The audience then saw the ambassador, seated at an angle on the entire television screen, answer while looking across the screen in the direction from where O'Leary had asked the question. The camera then panned back out and O'Leary asked a second question looking up at the monitor. The perspective on the ambassador changed and the audience saw his full face on the screen while he answered directly into

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21. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio Canada, Camera 58: Nov. 9, 1958 (Radio-Canada, 1958)  
Producers: François Morisset and Max Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8272-3.

22. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, Camera 58: Nov. 16, 1958 (Radio-Canada, 1958)  
Producers: François Morisset and Max Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8272-4.

the camera. The camera panned back again to show O'Leary in front of the large monitor and he raised another point. This time the response was on the same angle as the first one and after Siegfried finished, the audience saw him listen to O'Leary's next question. After his response, the camera panned back out, O'Leary asked another question and the audience saw Siegfried respond at the same strange angle while O'Leary remained in view. The final question was answered with a full frontal face shot and once again O'Leary was in the picture. After O'Leary thanked him, the interview ended with a freeze frame of the ambassador on the studio monitor. O'Leary then turned in his seat, faced the camera and proceeded to the next story.

What is remarkable about this sequence is its striking similarity to contemporary interviews on Radio-Canada's Le Point and CBC's The Journal. The illusion is the same: both attempt to personalize the news by creating the illusion that the journalist is talking, face to face, to someone in the news far away. According to the producer of the programme, Max Cacopardo, the technique used was similar: the ambassador was in an Ottawa television studio and the image was transmitted to Montreal by micro-wave and fed into a "backscreen" that O'Leary could watch while he was on the air.<sup>23</sup> This was probably the first time a

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<sup>23</sup>. Interview with Max Cacopardo, December 14, 1988; The technical capability of this Ottawa-Montreal connection was demonstrated with a 1957 closed-circuit press

"double-ender," as it is known in journalistic terms, was used on Radio-Canada.<sup>24</sup>

The Radio-Canada producers' new petite bourgeoisie values are clearly demonstrated in the labour dispute that erupted between themselves and management in December 1958. The two major causes of the strike were management's attempts to control and rationalize their work and the producers' desire to establish and codify professional norms and responsibilities. These two factors emerge from an examination of the evolution of their working conditions from 1952 to 1958, from the demands they made during the strike, and from the eventual settlement.

The work of a Radio-Canada television producer since the network's beginnings in 1952 was unstructured and mostly improvised. Although most producers were trained on the job, it seemed to require some post-secondary education, preferably a university degree,<sup>25</sup> and it was

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conference that was held to tell journalists and the public how Radio-Canada/CBC would cover the Queen's visit. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada. Conference de presse, le 13 octobre, 1957, (Radio-Canada, 1957), 16 mm, sd b&w kine. See also Documentation Dossier, Radio-Canada. Réseau Micro-ondes.

24. Cacopardo believes that they probably copied something they had seen from CBC Toronto. Interview, December 14, 1989.

25. Among the first team of producers at CBFT (1952 - January 1953) 52.9% had some post-secondary education and 29.4% had university degrees. Laurence, *Histoire des programmes*, 370. Senior Radio-Canada producer Max

quite well paid: by 1958 the average annual salary for a producer was \$7500<sup>26</sup> while the average workers' wage was \$3500.<sup>27</sup> Neither management nor employee, the producers were were freelancers with contracts designed to give the greatest artistic license possible within budgetary and administrative constraints.<sup>28</sup> This gave them almost complete creative freedom over the administration, the casting and the content of the programmes they were producing. Guy Parent, who began producing at Radio-Canada in 1953, recalls fondly:

L'air ambiant du septième étage en était un d'extraordinaire enthousiasme: il n'était pas rare, en effet, de trouver des réalisateurs au travail de neuf heures du matin à minuit. La fatigue était un mot que l'on employait qu'avec le sourire....nous vivions dans les studios, les salles de répétitions, nos bureaux, la cafétéria...toute notre vie se résumait à un mot sans cesse répété:

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Cacopardo's career is perhaps typical. He joined Radio-Canada in 1953 with no experience in radio or television but he did have a economics degree. By 1955 he had become a production co-ordinator and in 1957 he was appointed producer in the News Service. "On écoutait continuellement ce qui se passait dans le studio et j'apprenais beaucoup en voyant comment les (premiers) réalisateurs travaillaient." Cacopardo interview, September 22, 1988.

26. Barbara Fairbairn, *The Gentlemer's Strike*, 16. Senior Radio-Canada producer Max Cacopardo, who began his career in 1953, was making \$6000/year in 1958. Interview with Max Cacopardo, September 22, 1988.

27. This is based on the average weekly pay of workers in the non-agricultural private sector for 1958: \$67.80. ( $67.80 \times 52 = \$3525.60$ ). Bernier, p. 232.

28. Fairbairn, 14.

télévision, télévision, télévision,...<sup>29</sup>

The downside of this contractual relationship was that they had no guaranteed salary rates or raises; no guaranteed career advancement or sick leave; and no benefits or pensions.<sup>30</sup> There were also no guarantees of contract renewal and because of a backlog in overdue contract negotiations, producers were often forced to accept arbitrary assignments against their will.<sup>31</sup> Neither the producers nor Radio-Canada management were sure what the producer's status, responsibilities, and duties should be: they had authority over hundreds of unionized employees yet none of the security of management;<sup>32</sup> a catch-all phrase in their contracts essentially made them a jack-of-all-trades,<sup>33</sup> their work week was supposed to vary regularly between 30 - 35 hours a week to 60 - 65 hours a week but most worked 60 hours a week with no overtime.<sup>34</sup> To exacerbate matters there was no formal grievance procedure to regulate problems<sup>35</sup>.

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29. Guy Parent, *Sous la règne des bruiteurs*, 29-30.

30. Jean-Louis Roux, "Radio-Canada, 1959" in *En grève! L'histoire de la CSN*, 187; Fairbairn, 14.

31. Roux, 188; Fairbairn, 19.

32. Fairbairn, 14.

33. Ibid , 15.

34. Roux, 187; Fairbairn, 21.

35. Roux, 196.

From 1952 to 1957 Radio-Canada/CBC's staff grew from 1,510 to 5,934<sup>36</sup> and the number of Radio Canada producers in Montreal increased rapidly (see Appendix VI). By 1955-56 the two dozen producers who had occupied two floors of the Radio-Canada building had doubled in number and were dispersed all over the city.<sup>37</sup> The process of the sectoral division of television production had begun and by 1958, the 85 producers were split into sections; each section had its own budget administrator to whom the producer reported every three months.<sup>38</sup> A newly created casting office took over the tasks of casting, script selection and fee negotiation.<sup>39</sup>

The producers began to feel that their authority was being undermined: Jean-Louis Roux remembers that even during the production of a programme "on ne savait plus qui... était le maître après Dieu: ...[le] directeur technique ou ...[le] réalisateur;"<sup>40</sup> Guy Parent wondered why a producer could be held responsible for a decision he did not have the authority to take.<sup>41</sup> The new management measures of rationalization, "objectivisation" and

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36. Fairbairn, 8.

37. Parent, 79.

38. Fairbairn, 18.

39. Ibid.

40. Roux, 190.

41. Parent, 114.

"parcellisation" of work made the other irritants intolerable.<sup>42</sup> As Max Cacopardo remembers,

Un groupe de réalisateurs qui, passé les premières années avec de l'enthousiasme, avait besoins d'asseoir [leur] profession, ... d'avoir des normes professionnelles, d'avoir des exigences, d'avoir...des grilles de salaires,... de préciser [leurs] responsabilités.<sup>43</sup>

In December 1958, sixty-four of the producers met and decided to deal with an extraordinarily insensitive management by forming a professional association affiliated to the CTCC.<sup>44</sup> A few days later, Radio-Canada management assembled the producers and warned them that union affiliation and collective bargaining rights were incompatible with their role in management.<sup>45</sup> The producers then agreed to co-operate with management in a joint three month examination of their problems. But the patronizing, paternalistic attitude of André Ouimet, the director of Montreal television, had hardened their resolve to have their "rights, privileges, status and responsibilities clarified."<sup>46</sup> The meeting with him was a catalyst in the growing resentment towards local Radio-

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<sup>42</sup>. Jean-Paul Fugère, cited in Fairbairn, 12. He was elected secretary of L'Association des Réalisateurs.

<sup>43</sup>. Interview with Max Cacopardo, September 22, 1988.

<sup>44</sup>. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/158. Association des Réalisateurs, 2.

<sup>45</sup>. Roux, 191.

<sup>46</sup>. Fairbairn, 27.

Canada management and a spur towards unionization and strike<sup>47</sup>. On December 18, 69 of the 84 producers voted to incorporate themselves as the Association des Réalistes under Quebec law and to affiliate to the CTCC.<sup>48</sup> The original three month negotiating period was rejected.

The next day Ouimet told the producers that Radio-Canada could not recognize their professional union. As a federal crown corporation it was under federal jurisprudence; if the Association des Réalistes wanted recognition it would have to apply to the Canada Labour Relations Board.<sup>49</sup> The furious producers voted 96% in favour of giving their executive a strike mandate at another general meeting December 23 and the strike began December 29, 1958.

Both sides remained entrenched in what they saw as a struggle over fundamental principles. For Radio-Canada/CBC management, the principle was the dis-interestness of the management of the corporation - Radio-Canada/CBC could not be affiliated with any political causes

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47. Ibid., 26.

48. The was the Loi des syndicats professionnels, S.R.Q. 1941, Ch. 162. Roux, 192; Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/158, *Association des Réalistes*, 1.

49. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/158. *Historique du différend entre l'Association des réalisateurs de Montréal et la Société Radio-Canada*, 1. This document was written by Radio-Canada and included with the dismissal threats it sent to the producers on January 22, 1959. See Fairbairn, 55.

(especially CTCC which was perceived as radical). For the producers, their fight had become one for the right of association, for collective bargaining, and for their right to affiliate to any legal federation of unions.<sup>50</sup>

The strike dragged on for three months and became the new petite bourgeoisie nationalist "cause célèbre," widely known for politicizing René Lévesque. When a settlement was finally reached in March 1959, Radio-Canada recognized the Association des Réalisateurs' right to collective bargaining and the Association agreed not to affiliate with the CTCC.<sup>51</sup> The major issues of the strike were eventually referred to binding arbitration. But the arbitrator's decisions did not resolve the most contentious issues of professional security and the producers' authority.<sup>52</sup> A joint committee, decreed by the arbitrator, spent the next 18 months reconciling both sides' differences and eventually they agreed that three categories of producer should be created: the staff producer who would enjoy all regular Radio-Canada staff benefits; the exclusive contract producer who would have the same status as the pre-strike producer; and the per occasion contract producer whose services would be hired for very specific projects.<sup>53</sup> The

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50. Fairbairn, 2.

51. Ibid., 4.

52. Ibid., 124.

53. Ibid., 128-129.

Association des Réalistes then voted in favour of staff status and "producer-management relations were formalized, [and] job functions clearly defined and streamlined."<sup>54</sup>

The producer's struggle for collective bargaining rights and employment security clearly demonstrates their desire to retain their status and to control the rationalization process that had been initiated by management. They traded the swashbuckling image of being freelance talent (or contractual labour) for the security of standardized salary scales, benefits and pensions. The resolution of the strike demonstrates the institutionalization of lower management Radio-Canada labour relations or the ascendancy of bureaucratic and professional rationalism. The 'ideal' basis of their work orientation and career commitment had become objectivity and ethical neutrality.<sup>55</sup>

The Radio-Canada strike had repercussions that went much farther than the professionalization of the producers. The length and bitterness of the strike was perceived in Quebec as proof that Radio-Canada "as a federal institution ... was betraying its promise."<sup>56</sup> For André Laurendeau, the strike went to the core of Canadian federalism. Radio-Canada was a vital reformist cultural force in Quebec so

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54. Ibid., 130.

55. Knight, 24.

56. Raboy, 395.

the indifference of the CBC head office and the Diefenbaker government in Ottawa could hardly be interpreted as benign. For the neo-nationalists, at stake was no less than "tout le réseau français de l'État dans l'État bilingue."<sup>57</sup> The strike marked a turning point in the evolution of Canadian federalism. For francophones in Quebec, according to Marc Raboy, it marked the passage from French Canadians to *québécois*.<sup>58</sup>

The strike was also the precursor of one of the most significant reforms of the Quiet Revolution: the institutionalization of white collar labour relations. Soon after, public sector unions became a prominent force on the Quebec and Canadian political scene.

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57. Laurendeau, cited in Raboy, 395.

58. Raboy, 394.

## Chapter 5

### Further Elements for a Social History of Television

This thesis has examined television from two perspectives. The first suggests elements for the social history of television as a necessary corrective to the study of this influential medium. There has been an over-emphasis on the "medium being the message" and hopefully the approach suggested deepens our understanding of the relationship between television and society. In short, this study is a modest beginning to the study of television as a social institution. The second aim of this thesis has been to integrate elements of the social history of Quebec to the history of television. These two goals have been accomplished by first examining the claims that television "caused" the Quiet Revolution, demonstrating the inadequacies of this notion, and then by suggesting a more accurate role for the television service of Radio-Canada - as a tribune for a *réseau de résistance* led by a new petite bourgeoisie.

This perspective leads to three conclusions about television and Quebec society that will be more fully developed below. The first, clearly demonstrated with the ICEA/Radio-Canada co-production of Les Idées en Marche and other examples, is that a new elite used the new medium of television to advance its own project of social reform.

The second and related conclusion is that those in political power soon realized the social significance of the television medium. This can be observed in the difference between Maurice Duplessis' and Paul Sauvé's attitude towards television: Duplessis never appeared live on Radio-Canada throughout his career; Paul Sauvé gave Radio-Canada an exclusive interview the same day he took the oath of office of Premier of Quebec in 1959. The third conclusion is that the eventual cancellation of Les Idées en Marche demonstrates the solidification or even ossification of bureaucratic structures of the institution of Radio-Canada. The ideological content of public affairs programming would henceforth be the exclusive prerogative of the professionals at the crown corporation.

Through the examination of the jointly produced ICEA/Radio-Canada public affairs programme Les Idées en Marche, this study reveals how a new elite used the television to further their own interests. The agenda of this programme included treatment of the reform of education, the status of women, the role of the state, the need for health insurance, a reduction in work hours, democracy in unions, and equal pay for work of equal value. The state of Quebec parliamentary democracy was also assessed during programmes on the reform of party fund-raising, the political education of the electorate and the

future of socialism in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Questions such as "Le Québec a-t-il besoin d'autres partis politiques?" were addressed by prominent reformers like Gérard Pelletier, Jeanne Benoit-Sauvé, Maurice Sauvé, Pierre-Eliot Trudeau, and Paul Gerin-Lajoie.<sup>2</sup>

There were other signs of the presence of the new elite on Radio-Canada. One was the presence of G.H. Lévesque promoting the Université Laval Faculty of Social Sciences. Another was a remarkably open attack on Duplessis by Jean Drapeau, Jean Lesage, and Michel Chartrand and a third was Jean Marchand's defense of a steel workers' strike. In first example, G.H. Lévesque, the father of the Quiet Revolution, appeared in an interview on the programme Carrefour.<sup>3</sup> The occasion was the opening of Maison Montmorency, a 'think-tank' retreat for reformist intellectuals.<sup>4</sup> On the programme journalist Judith Jasmin asked Père Lévesque about the underlying motivations of the students and faculty and the role of the

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1. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Les Idées en Marche: Mémoire préparé par ICEA à intention de la Société Radio-Canada, le 22 juin, 1957. Annexe A.

2. This question was in fact the title of the May 26, 1955 programme. Fonds ICEA, 56P2a/13.

3. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, Carrefour: le 18 janvier, 1956, (Radio-Canada, 1956) 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 296-53.

4. ICEA held its annual meeting here in the summer of 1956. Fonds ICEA, 56P2a/12.

Faculty of Social Science of Université Laval in French Canadian society. He replied that the researchers and professors were inspired by "le même amour de la vérité et de la liberté" and that they saw their rôle as one of examining the pressing and urgent problems of society with as much objectivity as possible. Jasmin then asked him a sympathetic and leading question about the nature of social science and the accusations that he and the Faculty were involved in politics. He concurred with her assertion that the social sciences often touch upon problems that have many different aspects including politics. However, he insisted that they were not interested in politics in the partisan sense and he reiterated that their goal was simply to study the problems of society as objectively as possible:

La plupart du temps nous n'essayons pas de voir véritablement ce qu'il y a gagé dans certains problèmes, de voir le passé tel qu'il a été, le présent tel qu'il est, et l'avenir tel qu'il doit être vraiment. On se content beaucoup trop souvent de chercher à sentir tout simplement.<sup>5</sup>

The contribution of the Laval Faculty of Social Science, Lévesque argued, was to think clearly - "de penser pur." If that upset those in positions of power, so be it. He completed the interview with a flourish:

Un jour Laurier disait "les canadien-

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<sup>5</sup>. Carrefour, 1e 18 janvier.

français n'ont pas d'idées, ils n'ont que des sentiments." Nous voudrions que ce jugement cesse le plutôt possible.

Another instance of the new petite bourgeoisie presence on Radio-Canada was in August, 1958 when the News department invited Jean Drapeau of the Ligue d'Action Civique, Jean Lesage of the rejuvenated Quebec Liberal Party and Michel Chartrand of the Parti social-démocrate into their studios to appear on L'Actualité.<sup>6</sup> The news event that justified their presence was the Ligue d'Action Civique's decision to expand their political activities across the entire province. On the programme Drapeau announced that the forty-seven eminent persons of the Ligue wanted to extend their efforts of "renouveau politique, de restauration démocratique, et d'honnêteté administrative" across the province. He explained that they were alarmed by the continual deterioration of "the provincial state" and the incapacity of the traditional political parties to offer the necessary solutions. He called on all citizens to join the Ligue d'Action Civique in order to work towards "la libération sociale,... le progrès économique et,... l'expansion culturelle."

In turn, Jean Lesage argued that a new political party

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<sup>6</sup>. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, L'Actualité: le 25 août, 1958, (Radio-Canada, 1958) Producers: François Morisset and Max Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8175-48; Cacopardo interview, December 14, 1988.

was unnecessary for the renewed Quebec Liberal Party was already a political party that was dedicated to political renewal, the restoration of democracy, social liberation, economic progress and cultural expansion.

Son programme en est un d'avancement intellectuel et éducationnel, d'exploitation des ressources aux bénéfice du peuple de la province, le progrès de l'agriculture et de colonisation, d'équité dans le domaine des relations ouvrières, de sécurité sociale, et enfin d'une vraie justice sociale basée sur l'absolue égalité des citoyens devant la loi.

Michel Chartrand, the union organizer who led the Parti social-démocrate, appeared last. He warned that the formation of a second non-traditional political party risked dividing the forces of opposition to the benefit of the "vieux partis pourris." He chastized the Ligue d'Action Civique for its elitism and argued that Drapeau's party had its priorities reversed. Instead of demanding social liberation before economic progress they should realize, like the PSD, that "la libération économique ... est la condition du progrès sociale."

One final indicative example of the new petite bourgeoisie giving prominence to those who were also engaged in a similar project of social reform is Jean Marchand's appearance on Caméra 59.<sup>7</sup> As leader of the

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<sup>7</sup>. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, Caméra 59: le 24 juillet, 1959, (Radio-Canada, 1959) Producers: F. Morriset et M. Cacopardo, 16-mm sd b&w

CTCC, Marchand was asked for his analysis of the 1959 American steel industry strike. He argued that the strikers demands were justified and that the management position was socially and politically "non-défendable."

This examination of the social role of Radio-Canada also demonstrates how those in positions of political power came to realize the importance of the new medium. Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis never set foot in Radio-Canada's studios and rarely if ever appeared live on television.<sup>8</sup> He considered Radio-Canada a "nid de communistes" and he forbade his ministers, civil servants and collaborators from appearing.<sup>9</sup> When he did appear on television he was almost always making a public speech before a favourable group whether it was to proclaim Electricity Week in February 1958, to toast the Fusiliers de Mont-Royal at their annual dinner in September 1958, or to close the annual meeting of the Corporation des Maitres électriciens

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kine, 28 mins, 8272-33.

8. He did do a taped Christmas message for J. Bérubé, the director of rural programming. Interview with Marc Thibault, former Directeur du Service des émissions éducatives et affaires publiques, Montréal, October 14, 1988.

9. Thibault interview. Even when Daniel Johnson was appointed Ministre des Ressources Hydraulique and Jean-Jacques Bertrand, Ministre des Terres et Forêts, the television audience saw only previously shot film sequences. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, L'Actualité: le 4 mai, 1958, (Radio-Canada, 1958) Producer: F. Morisset, 16-mm sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8175-32.

by extolling the benefits of electricity for society.<sup>10</sup>

An interesting example of Duplessis' appearance on Radio-Canada was his presence on the same programme in which Drapeau, Lesage and Chartrand called for social, economic and political reform.<sup>11</sup> While his speech was not a direct reply to his opponents, it represented an attempt by the Radio-Canada news producers to give the Union Nationale leader "equal time."<sup>12</sup> What the audience saw was typical of the coverage of Duplessis in the 1950s:<sup>13</sup> from a banquet table Duplessis spoke of the extraordinary economic development and the remarkable stability Quebec had experienced under his government. However, he said, clouds on the economic horizon would soon bring problems that could only be solved by working together for the greatness of "la patrie." He concluded,

On a dit avec raison, "Entre le . passé  
où sont nos souvenirs et l'avenir où sont

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10. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada: l'Actualité: le 9 février, 1958, (Radio-Canada, 1958) Producer: F. Morriset, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8175-20; l'Actualité: le 21 septembre, 1958, (Radio-Canada, 1958) Producer: F. Morriset, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8175-52; Caméra 59. le 24 mai, 1959, (Radio-Canada, 1959) Producers: Morriset and Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8272-24.

11. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, L'Actualité: le 24 août, 1958, (Radio-Canada, 1956) Producers: Morriset et Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8175-48.

12. Cacopardo interview, December 14, 1988.

13. Interview avec André Boies, Service de Film, Société Radio-Canada, Montréal, le 12 septembre, 1988.

nos espoirs, il y a le présent où sont nos devoirs." Et je ne cache pas que le plus grand, le plus impérieux est celui de coopérer - ouvrier, patron, ...industriel, cultivateur, partisan politique d'un groupe ou d'un autre - de coopérer tous ensemble au-dessus la mêlée électorale, au-dessus des questions partisans, au-dessus des rancœurs personnelles, à la hauteur de la grandeur et de l'avenir d'une patrie que nous aimons et à laquelle nous voulons consacrer les meilleurs de nos demains.<sup>14</sup>

The only Union Nationale cabinet minister of the Duplessis regime to appear on Radio-Canada was Paul Sauvé and interestingly enough his presence in April, 1959 was in response to Jean Lesage's televised accusation that Duplessis and the Union Nationale were exploiting religion for political ends.<sup>15</sup> Once again he was filmed giving his speech to a favourable audience and he began by vigorously defending his leader. "Le Chef," he argued was only doing his duty in attacking those who wanted "la neutralisation" of schools and those, like Lesage, who defended the Soviet school system. Sauvé confidently predicted defeat for Lesage in a forthcoming election that would be fought with "le défenseur infatigable des droits de la province de Québec, ...[et] le gardien vigilant de son patrimoine."<sup>16</sup>

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14. L'Actualité: le 24 août, 1958.

15. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, Caméra 59: le 14 avril, 1959, (Radio-Canada, 1959) Producers: Morriset et Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8272-19.

16 Ibid.

With Maurice Duplessis firmly at the helm, the people of Quebec would be assured of a "guide sûr et éclairé qui conduit aujourd'hui comme hier et qui conduira demain comme aujourd'hui la province de Québec à ses plus hautes destinées."<sup>17</sup>

The change in attitude towards television by those with political power was as dramatic as the change in the attitude towards the State and society that Paul Sauvé, upon his succession to power after Duplessis' death, had launched with his famous "Désormais!" After being sworn in as Premier on September 11, 1959, Sauvé gave an exclusive interview to Radio-Canada television reporter Bruno Lafleur and promised to hold regular press conferences.<sup>18</sup> One month later Sauvé was in Radio-Canada's studios for a press conference on the programme Tribune Libre.<sup>19</sup> It was a first in Quebec television, when journalists Gérard Fillion of Le Devoir, Louis-Philippe Roy of Action Catholique, Camille L'Heureux of Le Droit, and moderator Pierre de

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17. Ibid.

18. Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, Caméra 59: le 13 septembre, 1959, (Radio-Canada, 1959) Producers: Morriset and Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins, 8272-39.

19 Archives d'émissions sonores et visuelles, Radio-Canada, Tribune Libre: le 26 octobre, 1959, (Radio-Canada, 1959) 16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins.

Bellefeuille of the National Film Board, interviewed the Premier of Quebec. According to Marc Thibault, Radio-Canada's Public Affairs Director at the time, it was an extraordinary event for the journalists who had been "frustre en maudit" by Duplessis' censorship.<sup>20</sup> They asked questions about federal-provincial relations, the reform of the education system, health insurance, economic development of energy and natural resources and electoral reform.

Another preliminary conclusion and one which is worthy of more research, concerns the evolution of the institution of Radio-Canada. The changes in the structures of television production seem to indicate that the creative flux of the early years had ossified as the bureaucracy of the corporation was consolidated.<sup>21</sup> The producers' strike clearly demonstrates this as does the eventual fate of Les Idées en Marche. The cancellation of the programme in 1960 can be traced to Radio-Canada's desire to exercise more

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<sup>20</sup>. Thibault interview.

<sup>21</sup>. This consolidation is clearly indicated by the post-producer's strike re-organization of the educational programming and public affairs department (SEEAP). The reasons the Department Director Marc Thibault gave for the changes were efficiency, increased capability for more rigorous planning of programming and for "travail en équipe vraiment professionnel". Service des Archives, Société Radio-Canada. Dossier: Organisation - Service des émissions éducatives et affaires publique, Marc Thibault, *Programmation d'automne et organisation du service*, le 1 septembre, 1959.

control over the content, format, and scheduling of the programme: the Service des émissions éducatives et affaires publiques (SEEAP) displayed an increasing reluctance to permit the adult education movement to keep the same level of control it had previously had over the content, the moderator, and the consultative process that had been so important to the programme

The problems seem to have begun with the appointment of Marc Thibault as head of the newly created Service des émissions éducatives et affaires publiques (SEEAP) in 1957.<sup>22</sup> He asked ICEA to consider a modification in the on-air formula of Les Idées en Marche and ICEA responded with a demand for more audience research on the programme, a better broadcast time, and with a wish to extend its collaboration to all of Radio-Canada's programming.<sup>23</sup> Radio-Canada's cool response to this proposal is reflected in its decision in the spring of 1958 not to broadcast the film of the ICEA symposium on "La promotion de l'esprit démocratique" because of technical difficulties and more importantly because a similar Radio-Canada produced programme had already been scheduled.<sup>24</sup>

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22. Hardy, 1.

23. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Marc Thibault à Claude Ryan, le 7 mai, 1957.

24. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61. Réal Charbonneau à Gérard Lamarche, le 22 mai, 1958; Jean Pellerin à Claude Ryan, le 10 juin, 1958; Hubert Aquin à Claude Ryan, le 27 mai, 1958.

In the fall of 1958 a conflict over the host or "animateur" of Les Idées en Marche arose. Gérard Pelletier had been the regular host of the programme since 1954 but he had been replaced by seven others in the 1957-58 season.<sup>25</sup> This had been unsatisfactory for Radio-Canada and they wanted to have Pelletier host at least half the programmes in the new season. ICEA objected, citing his involvement in the CTCC.

Il est évident qu'une personne acceptant un poste public dans un mouvement militant comme le syndicalisme, peut plus difficilement animer une discussion objective sur un problème intimement lié aux causes dans lesquelles elle est engagées.<sup>26</sup>

ICEA wanted to preserve the impression of the programmes' objectivity by using several different hosts. It insisted

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25. Gérard Laurence, *Histoire des programmes: Dictionnaire des émissions CBFT 1952-57*, 360 -361; They were Roger Chartier, Jean-Charles Bonenfant, Paul Lacoste (all from Université Laval), Pierre Juneau (ONF), Frank Scott (McGill), Roland Parenteau (HEC), and Adelard Savoie. Société Radio-Canada, Documentation Dossier, Les Idées en Marche 1957 (1) fichier.

26. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61, Jean Charbonneau Note soumis à l'attention de M. Gérard Lamarche, Directeur du réseau français, sur la question des animateurs pour l'émission Les Idées en Marche, le 2 octobre, 1958. Pelletier recalls: "J'étais... contesté à cause de mes activités professionnelles en-hors de l'émission. Permanent syndical et journaliste d'opinion, j'avais les moyens de m'exprimer et je m'en privais pas, de sorte qu'on savait de quel bois je me chauffais. Certains prétendaient, peut-être avec raison, que ce seul fait faisait de moi un mauvais animateur." Letter to author, December 13, 1988.

because it believed that the "animateur" was more than a mere performer - he had a profound influence on the content of the discussion.<sup>27</sup>

Problems in the collaborative process that had produced Les Idées en Marche arose in the spring of 1960. ICEA decided that changes were needed in the structures of collaboration in order to continue to produce a weekly programme and to enable the extension of the show to all the affiliated French stations in Radio-Canada's network.<sup>28</sup> The organization felt it could no longer afford to commit its office staff to the weekly effort of producing the programme.<sup>29</sup> A more efficient use of their resources could be achieved if Radio-Canada produced the programme with the help of the consultants selected by ICEA.<sup>30</sup>

Marc Thibault replied that the time had come for a comprehensive evaluation of the programme that would take into consideration the new ICEA suggestions and come to a new agreement on financing. However, for the next season

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27. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61, Charbonneau, Note soumise à l'attention...

28. These recommendations had arisen out their "Journée d'étude sur les émissions éducatives à la télévision, June 5, 1959. See Chapter 3, 70-71.

29. The three members of the ICEA office staff worked with the Radio-Canada producers and the "animateur" on the comité de production each week. See above Chapter 3, p.60.

30. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61, Claude Ryan à Marc Thibault, le 24 juin, 1960; *Projet de collaboration de l'ICEA avec la Société Radio-Canada*, le 22 septembre, 1960.

Les Idées en Marche would be moved from its Monday evening 10:30 - 11 p.m. slot to Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p.m.<sup>31</sup>

ICEA was furious at this schedule change which had taken place without consultation and a meeting between the Claude Ryan, the President of ICEA, and top-level Radio-Canada management was soon convened.<sup>32</sup>

Radio-Canada explained that the schedule change was necessary because its private affiliates had been pressuring for more choice in their local programming and that the Sunday afternoon slot was still an excellent time: CBC's Citizens' Forum had experienced a great deal of success on Sunday afternoon. However, the crucial problem seemed to be that Radio-Canada's own programming was now capable of providing more interesting public affairs than the joint ICEA/Radio-Canada effort. Faced with a choice between their show Tribune Libre and Les Idées en Marche, Radio-Canada stated their preference for the former because it was more topical. Indeed, Tribune Libre's guests had

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31. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61, Thibault à Ryan, le 27 juillet, 1960.

32. At this Oct. 13, 1960 meeting Radio-Canada's top management was present: Marcel Ouimet, Directeur générale de la radiodiffusion français; Gérard Lamarche, Directeur du réseau français; Roger Rolland, Directeur-adjoint du réseau français; Fernand Guérard, Directeur de la programmation, Montreal; Marc Thibault, Directeur du Service des émissions éducatives et affaires publiques; and Romain DesBois, Service de la recherche (formly with ICEA). Ryan was accompanied by his vice-president, Philippe Vaillancourt and the ICEA secretary, Madelaine Joubert. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61, *Compte-rendu recontre de l'exécutive de l'ICEA avec Radio-Canada*, le 13 octobre, 1960.

included none other than Paul Sauvé, the Premier of Quebec!

To Ryan the schedule changes were unacceptable as they made it impossible for the show to reach the audience ICEA had hoped for. He was adamant. Collaboration with Radio-Canada would end if the schedule was not changed.<sup>33</sup> Radio-Canada refused to reconsider: such a request was an infringement upon its exclusive right to schedule programming. So the partnership ended October 18, 1960 over the schedule change and the corporation's unwillingness to broadcast the programme across its entire network.<sup>34</sup> A few months after of "L'Equipe du tonnerre" and Lesages Liberals, the close co-operation between the community-based adult education movement led by Claude Ryan and the rapidly evolving bureaucratic social institution of Radio-Canada ended in acrimony.

While what we see on television may not be a mirror of society, the institution of television does reflect dominant social relationships. The particularity of Radio-Canada in the 1950s was that it reflected the secular, pluralist, "modern," society that was in the process of being born.

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33. Ibid.

34. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61. Madelaine Joubert à Gérard Lamarche, 1e 18 octobre, 1960.

Appendix I  
Rencontre Consultative ICEA  
le 3 mai, 1957<sup>1</sup>

@ - reformist

Grande et Moyenne Bourgeoisie

Association des Professionnels  
 Industriels:.....George-Henri Dagneau@  
 Chambre de Commerce  
 de Montréal:.....Jean Brunelle@  
   Maurice Chartrand@  
 Chambre de Commerce  
 de la Province de Québec: Jean-Paul Letourneau@  
   Marcel Robidas@  
 Canadian Industries Ltd.: Charles McLaughlin  
 Dominion Textiles:.....Walter Delaney  
 Fédération des Chambres  
 de Commerce:.....Robert Brisebois@  
 Association des  
 Forestières Québécoises:...Jules-A. Breton  
 Société d'Etude et de  
 Conférence:.....Mme. Jean Brunelle@

Petite Bourgeoisie

I. Traditionnelle

Association d'Enseignants  
 Français de l'Ontario:.....Laurier Leblanc  
   Maklan Smith  
 Commission des Ecoles  
 Catholique de Montréal:. ....Trefflé Boulanger  
 Conseil Canadien  
 de la Co-opération:.....Léo Bérubé  
   Thomas-Eugène Boivin  
   Dominique Dugas  
 Fédération des  
 Collèges Classiques:..... Jean-Marie Beauchemin  
   Abbé Adrien Bluteau  
 Fédération des Sociétés  
 St.Jean-Baptiste:..... Juliette Belanger  
   Lucien Metras  
 Fédération d'Ecole  
 des Parents:..... Mme. Simon Chartrand  
   Marc Lecavalier

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1. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Réal Charbonneau à Gérard Lamarche, Les Idées en Marche Mémoire préparé par ICEA à l'intention de la Société Radio-Canada, le 22 juin, 1957, Annexe B.

Appendix I (con't)Traditionnelle (con't)

Jeunesse Musicale Canada:... Serge Carreau  
 Andrée Desautels  
 Gilles Lefebvre  
 Société des Artisans:..... Roger Varin  
 Service d'Education Familiale: Jeanne Grise-Allard

II. Nouvelle

Université de Montréal:..... Louis-Philippe Brizard@  
 Monique DesLandres@  
 (étudiantes)  
 Université Laval:..... J.-C. Falardeau@  
 Napoléon Leblanc@  
 Université d'Ottawa:..... Gérard Gagnon@  
 Antoni Toupin@  
 Université Sherbrooke:..... Roger Maltais@  
 Ecole des Hautes Etudes  
 Commerciales:..... Pierre Harvey@  
 Université St. Joseph  
 (à Moncton, N.B.):..... Robert Lavoie@

Le Devoir:..... Jean Benoit@  
 Paul Sauriol@

La Presse:..... Jean-Marie Morin@  
La Patrie:..... Conrad Langlois@  
 CKAC:..... Ferdinand Biondi@  
 Office National du Film:..... Irénée Bonnier@  
 Pierre de Bellefeuille@

Société Radio-Canada:..... Armand Bérubé@  
 Romain DesBois@  
 Gérard Lemieux@  
 Henriette Mondor@  
 Jean Pellerin@  
 Pierre Rainville@

Action Catholique:..... Réal Charbonneau@  
 Jacqueline Massé@  
 Denise Messier@  
 Claude Ryan@

Associations des  
 Bibliothécaires  
 de langue française:..... Louis-Philippe Jolicoeur@  
 Joseph Leduc@

Association Canadienne  
 d'Hygiène Dentaire:..... Aberdeen McCabe@  
 Ephrem Vinet@

Centre Catholique de  
 Cinema, Radio et  
 télévision:..... Jules Godin@  
 Jeunesse Canadienne-  
 française:..... Maurice Sauvé@

Appendix I (con't)Ouvriers

Confédération des  
Travailleurs  
Catholiques Canadiens:.....Ferdinand Jolicouer@  
Jean-Paul Lefevbre@  
Gérard Pelletier@

Conseil de Travailleurs  
du Canada:..... Phil Vaillancourt@

Fédération des  
Travailleurs du Québec:..... Yvette Charpentier@  
André Thibaudeau@  
Jacques Thibaudeau@

Fraternité Canadien des  
Employés de Chemin de Fer  
et autres transports:..... Viateur St. Jean@  
Geo. J. Thibaudeau@  
Earl L. Swift@

Syndicat des Fonctionnaires  
Municipaux de Montréal, Inc.:..... Jacques Dupire@  
Jean-Robert Gauthier@  
Gérard Labelle@

Jeuness Ouvrier  
Catholique Feminine:..... Denyse Gauthier@  
Madelaine Guay@

Ligue d'Ouvriers Catholiques:..... Jean-Marc Lebeau@  
Aurore Nicolas@

Rural

Union Catholique  
des Cultivateurs:..... Marthe Beaudry@  
Paul-Henri Lavoie@

Union Catholique  
Feminine:..... Jeanne Larose

Union Catholique  
des Fermières:..... Marce Dupuis

Union des Cultivateurs  
Franco-Ontariens:..... François Séguin

Cercle des Fermières:..... Mme. Hector Moreau

Jeunesse Agricole  
Catholique:..... Gabriel Cossette

Jeunesse Agricole  
Catholique Feminine:..... Jacqueline Marselais

Société Canadien  
d'Etablissement Rural:..... Maurice Tremblay

Appendix I (con't)Gouvernement

Agriculture Canada:..... Evelyn Leblanc  
 Bureau Fédéral de  
 la Statistique:..... Ed Sheffield  
 Ministère de la  
 Citoyenneté et Immigration  
 (Québec):..... François Marchand  
 Citoyenneté Canadienne:..... Claude Doré  
 Ministère du Bien Etre  
 Social et de la Jeunesse:..... Louis-Philippe Audet  
 Département de  
 l'Instruction Publique:..... Mme. Fernand Oullet  
 Ministère de la Santé  
 (Québec):..... Pierre deLean

Autres

Cercle Juif de langue française:...Naïm Kattan  
 Conseil Canadien des Chrétiens  
 et Juifs:.....Roger Lapointe  
 Société Canadienne de la Bible:...René Turcotte  
 Fédération des  
 Scouts Catholiques:.....Roland Bourret  
 Troupe Molière de  
 Vancouver:.....Mme. George Lambert  
 ICEA:.....Celine Gratton  
 Pierrette Desjardin  
 Jean Charbonneau

Appendix II  
Liste des Delegates:  
Journée d'Etude sur les émissions éducatives  
de la télévision, le 5 juin, 1959<sup>2</sup>

## Grande et Moyenne Bourgeoisie

Marcel Allard.....	President, la Cie. Biscuit Stuart
Gérard Barbin.....	Assurance-vie Desjardins
Jean Brunelle.....	Association des Professionnels Industriel
Mme. Jean Brunelle.	Société d'Etude et de Conférence
G.H. Dagneau.....	Association des Professionnels Industriel
Anne-Marie Dionne..	Société d'Etude et de Conférence
C.E. Lebrun.....	Association des Professionnels Industriel
Marcel Robidas.....	Chambre de Commerce de la Province de Quebec

## Petite Bourgeoisie

## I. Traditionnel

<u>Roland Bailly</u> .....	Ligues du Sacré-Coeur
Paul-Emile Charron.....	Fédération des Caisses Populaires
Jules Godin, s.j.....	Centre Diocésain du Cinéma
Armand Godin.....	Société des Artisans
Wilfred Gariépy.....	Ligue du Sacré-Coeur
Père Hébert.....	École Pastorale de la Prédication
J.P. Larouche.....	Centre Diocésain du Cinéma
Jean-Paul Lafond.....	Société Saint Jean-Baptiste: Directeur, École des Adultes
Armand Massé, s.j.....	Directeur au Cours au Gésu, Association des Bibliothécaires de langue française
Abbé Marcheldon.....	Saskatchewan
Père Montminy.....	École de la Prédication
Gérard Turcotte.....	Fédération des Sociétés Saint Jean-Baptiste de Québec
Roger Varin.....	Société des Artisans

2. The categorization of these participants is based on the type of group they represent. The division of the petite bourgeoisie into traditional and 'nouvelle' is not hard and fast. The clerics from the Centre Diocésain du Cinéma could very well be part of the 'nouvelle' petite bourgeoisie as their training and duties were not those of traditional clerics.

Appendix II (con't)II. Nouvelle petite bourgeoisie

Irenée Bonnier..... Office National du Film  
 Jean-Charles Bonenfant.. Bibliothèque du gouvernement  
 (Québec)  
 Gérard Brady..... Association des Hebdomadaires de  
 langue française  
 Mme. Gustave Bédard..... Cercles d'économie domestique  
 Pierre de Bellefeuille.. Office National du Film  
 Roger de Bellefeuille... Office National du Film  
 Renaud Chapdelaine..... Action Catholique Canadienne  
 André Desautels..... Jeunesse Musicale Canada  
 Romain Desbois..... Société Radio-Canada  
 Mme. Lucille Fontaine... Cercles d'économie domestique  
 Fernand Guérard..... Directeur de la programmation  
 télévision, Radio-Canada  
 Laurent Hardy..... Société Radio-Canada  
 Paul Lacoste..... Université de Montréal  
 J.P. Lafond.... École Scientifique Lafond  
 Robert Lavoie..... Université St. Joseph  
 (Moncton, N.B.)  
 Gilles Lefebvre..... Jeunesse Musicale Canada  
 Gilles Marotte..... Office National du Film  
 Réal Michaud..... Société Radio-Canada  
 Mme. Paul Normandeau... Jeunesse Musicale Canada  
 Thérèse Roy..... Centre de la Culture Populaire,  
 Université Laval  
 Roger Rolland..... Société Radio-Canada  
 Vallier Savoie..... Office National du Film  
 Roger Tessier..... Jeunesse Étudiante Catholique  
 Marcel Therrien..... Association Canadienne d'Urbanisme  
 Antoni Toupin..... Université d'Ottawa

Appendix II (con't)Ouvrier

Bernard Buisson.....	Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique
Léo Lavoie.....	F.T.Q.
Jean-Paul Lefebvre.....	C.T.C.C.
Joseph Naud.....	Syndicat des Fonctionnaires Municipaux
Noel Pervisse.....	Fédération des Travailleurs de Quebec
Denis Pronost.....	Fraternité Canadienne des Cheminots
André Thibodeau.....	Conseil du Travail du Canada
Philippe Vaillancourt...	Conseil du Travail du Canada

Ruraux

Louis Boucher.....	Société d'Etablissement Rurale, Alberta
Mme. Collette Guertin...	Cercles des Fermières, Magog
Jeanne Larose.....	Union Catholique des Femmes Rurales
J.B. Lemoine.....	Union Catholique des Cultivateurs
Raymond Litalien.....	Jeunesse Agricole Catholique
Mme. Alfred Martin.....	Cercles des Fermières
Mme. H. Moreau.....	Cercles des Fermières
Fredéric Parrot.....	Cercles Lacordaire et Ste. Jeanne d'Arc
Mme. Raoul Provencher...	Union Catholique des Femmes Rurales
J.F. Séguin.....	Union des Cultivateurs Franco-Ontariens
Evelyne Tanguay.....	Société Canadienne d'Etablissement Rurale

Appendix III  
Commissions de travail  
Journée d'Etude sur les émissions éducatives  
de la télévision, le 5 juin, 1959

Commission patronaux<sup>3</sup>

Marcel Allard.....	Président, la Cie. Biscuit Stuart
Gérard Barbin.....	Assurance-vie Desjardins
Jean Brunelle.....	Association des Professionnels Industriel
Mme. Jean Brunelle.	Société d'Etude et de Conférence
G.H. Dagneau.....	Association des Professionnels Industriel
Anne-Marie Dionne..	Société d'Etude et de Conférence
C.E. Lebrun.....	Association des Professionnels Industriel
Marcel Robidas.....	Chambre de Commerce de la Province de Québec

Commission du Monde Ouvrier<sup>4</sup>

Bernard Buisson.....	Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique
Léo Lavoie.....	F.T.Q.
Jean-Paul Lefebvre.....	C.T.C.C.
Joseph Naud.....	Syndicat des Fonctionnaires Municipaux
Noël Pervisse.....	F.T.Q.
Denis Pronost.....	Fraternité Canadienne des Cheminots
André Thibodeau.....	Conseil du Travail du Canada
Philippe Vaillancourt...	Conseil du Travail du Canada

Commission Rurale<sup>5</sup>

Louis Boucher.....	Société d'Etablissement Rural, Alberta
Mme. Collette Guertin...	Cercles des Fermières. Magog
Jeanne Larose.....	Union Catholique des Femmes Rurales

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<sup>3</sup>. This is an estimation based on the delegates' list. See Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/108: Journée d'étude sur les émissions éducatives. *Liste de Délégués*.

<sup>4</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>. Ibid.

Appendix III (con't)Commission Rurale (con't)

J.B. Lemoine.....	Union Catholique des Cultivateurs
Raymond Litalien.....	Jeunesse Agricole Catholique
Mme. Alfred Martin.....	Cercles des Fermières
Mme. H. Moreau .....	Cercles des Fermières
Fredéric Parrot.....	Cercles Lacordaire et Ste. Jeanne d'Arc
Mme. Raoul Provencher...	Union Catholique des Femmes Rurales
J.F. Séguin.....	Union des Cultivateurs Franco- Ontariens
Evelyne Tanguay.....	Société Canadienne d'Etablissement Rural

Commission des Classes Moyens<sup>6</sup>

Thérèse Roy.....	Centre de la Culture Populaire, Université Laval
Roland Bailly.....	Ligues du Sacré-Coeur
Jules Godin, s.j.....	Centre Diocésain du Cinéma
Roger Varin.....	Société des Artisans
Armand Massé, s.j.....	Directeur au Cours au Gésu, Association des Bibliothécaires de langue française
Renaud Chapdelaine.....	Action Catholique Canadienne
Jean-Paul Lafond.....	Société Saint Jean-Baptiste: Directeur, Ecole des Adultes
Fernand Guérard.....	Directeur de la programmation télévision, Radio-Canada
Mme. Paul Normandeau....	Jeunesse Musicale Canada
Gilles Lefebvre.....	Jeunesse Musicale Canada
Vallier Savoie.....	Office National du Film
Paul-Emile Charron.....	Fédération des Caisses Populaires
Irenée Bonnier.....	Office National du Film
Pierre Martin.....	Canadian Association for Adult Education

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6. The membership of this committee is given in the *Rapport de les 'Classes Moyennes.'* Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/108: Journée d'étude sur les émission éducative.

Appendix IVProduction Budget  
Les Idées en Marche 1954<sup>7</sup>

<u>Item</u>	<u>\$</u>
1. Meneur du jeu (moderator)	100
2. 4 participants (\$65 each)	260
3. 2 actors (\$67.50 each)	135
or	
\$100 for film insertions	(100)
4. dramatic introduction	25
5. sets	300
mounting & dismantling	40
6. props	10
7. make-up & hair	12
8. titles and graphics	40
<hr/>	
Total	\$922

26 episodes per season at \$922 per episode:

26 x \$922 = \$23,972 per season  
           + 4,000 (ICEA grant)<sup>8</sup>  
           budget: \$27,972 (1954-55)

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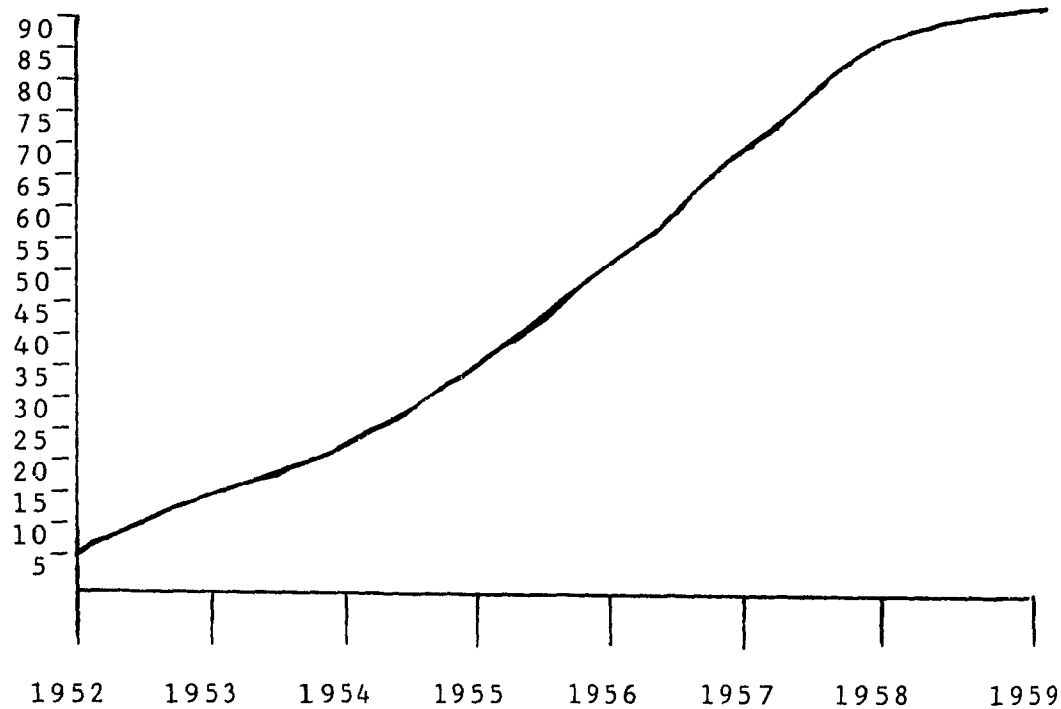
<sup>7</sup>. Société Radio-Canada, Documentation Dossier, Dossier Les Idées en Marche, Les Idées en Marche: Memoire de Yves Vien, le 5 octobre, 1954.

<sup>8</sup>. Fonds ICEA, 56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada. Alphonse Ouimet à Romain DesBois, le 29 septembre, 1955.

Appendix V  
Correspondents appearing on "L'Actualité"

<u>January - June</u>		<u>July - October</u>	
<u>Date</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>No.</u>
58/02/02	1	58/07/13	2
58/02/23	1	58/07/27	3
58/04/06	1	58/08/03	3
58/04/20	2	58/08/10	4
58/05/11	1	58/08/24	2
58/05/18	3	58/08/31	1
58/05/25	1	58/09/07	3
58/06/01	1	58/09/14	1
58/06/22	1	58/09/21	4
		58/09/28	1
		58/10/05	1
Total	12	Total	25

Appendix VI  
Increase in numbers of Radio-Canada Producers<sup>9</sup>



<sup>9</sup>. Laurence, 433; Roux, 195.

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56P2b/3, 56P2b/4: Conseil d'administration, procès  
verbal; 56P6/56: Relations avec CAAE; 56P11p/7,  
56P11p/8: Documents sur l'éducation des adultes;  
56P11q/61: Relations avec Radio-Canada; 56P11q/67:  
ICEA et bureau de sondages Radio-Canada; 56P11q/106:  
Comité pour les projets d'émissions; 56P11q/107: Panel  
sur la télévision et l'éducation populaire;  
56P11q/108. Journée d'étude sur les émissions  
éducatives; 56P11q/157: Mémoires de Radio-Canada sur  
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L'Actualité 1957 - 1958. (Radio-Canada, 1957-1960)  
Producers: François Morriset, Max Cacopardo, 16-mm,  
sd b&w kine, 28 mins, no. 8175-14 to 8175-56.

Camera 1958 - 1960. (Radio-Canada 1958-1960) Producers:  
François Morriset, Max Cacopardo, 16-mm, sd b&w kine,  
28 mins, 8272-1 to 8272-10, 8272-14 to 8272-57,  
8272-67, 8272-74, 8272-75, 8272-83 to 8272-107.

Carrefour: le 18 janvier, 1956. (Radio-Canada, 1956)  
Producer: Société Radio-Canada, 16-mm, sd b&w kine,  
296-53.

Je me souviens: Les enracinés, le 23 mars, 1956. (Radio-  
Canada, 1956) Producer: Florent Forget, 16-mm, sd b&w  
kine, 24.5 mins.

Tribune Libre: le 26 octobre, 1959. (Radio-Canada, 1959)  
16-mm, sd b&w kine, 28 mins.

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