

**COMMUNICATION POLICY AND 'CULTURAL IDENTITY'
IN CANADA AND MEXICO**

by

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ABSTRACT

Canada and Mexico conducted public debates on communication and culture during the years of 1981 to 1983. This thesis examines the "leading ideas" and arguments manifested via those "official forums" in which cultural identity was discussed through the questions of cultural dependency and marginality. This thesis also stresses the public hearing process itself as an important mechanism for public participation input in the communication-cultural policy process. The hearings examined here are: a) The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee 1981-1982 (Applebaum-Hébert Committee), and b) Los Foros Nacionales de Consulta Popular 1982-1983 (National Forums for Popular Consultation).

By way of an analysis that draws upon materials from these two public hearings, this thesis 1) examines the perspectives emerging in both countries in regard to communication and culture; 2) stresses the role of the public hearing in the process of policy-formation wherein it constitutes not only the starting point but also an important channel for the manifestation of public concerns; and 3) examines the symmetry between the two countries' concerns over and reactions to American cultural penetration via the broadcast media and across their common borders with the United States.

RESUME

Entre 1981 et 1983, le Canada et le Mexique ont tous deux convoqué des commissions d'enquête publique sur la communication et la culture. Ce mémoire examine les "idées principales" et les arguments présentés devant ces "lieux officiels" où fut débattue l'identité culturelle en se référant aux questions de dépendance culturelle et de marginalité. Il examine aussi le procédé d'enquête publique lui-même en tant que mécanisme important de participation publique à la formation de politiques communicationnelles et culturelles. Les enquêtes étudiées sont: a) Le comité d'étude de la politique culturelle fédérale (la Commission Applebaum-Hébert, 1981-1982) et b) Los Foros Nacionales de Consulta Popular (Comités Nationaux de Consultation Populaire, 1982-1983).

En se fondant sur une analyse inspirée de documents tirés de ces enquêtes publiques, ce mémoire: 1) examine les optiques qui en ressortent dans chaque pays en ce qui concerne la communication et la culture; 2) souligne le rôle de l'enquête publique dans le processus de formation de politiques où elle constitue non seulement le point de départ mais aussi une voie importante de manifestation de soucis publics; et 3) examine la symétrie entre les inquiétudes et les réactions de deux pays devant la pénétration culturelle américaine au moyen des médias de diffusion et devant le fait de leur frontière commune avec les Etats-Unis.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The present thesis attempts a cross-cultural comparison of Canada and Mexico at a particular moment in their communication policy's history. The comparison is based upon the most recent public hearings each country held on the question of communication and culture. (In Canada, the hearing conducted by the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, known as the Applebaum-Hébert Commission, 1981-1982; and in Mexico Los Foros Nacionales de Consulta Popular, (National Forums for Popular Consultation), 1982-1983.¹

During the hearings similar concerns were manifested in both countries on the question of cultural preservation and fostering of national identity through the media, in which broadcasting received special emphasis, since as neighbors of the United States, Canada and Mexico are subject to American cultural influence via the airwaves.

The arguments presented during both hearings are treated as representative of cultural and communicational goals and preoccupations in a particular point in time for both countries, where the issues of "national identity", cultural dependency and marginality, emerge as main points of discussion.

This thesis also addresses the analysis of the public hearing as central in policy-making since it constitutes a channel through which public participation is inputted into the policy-making process. The notion of public hearing is taken here as a form of inquiry, as suggested by Salter (1981), where inquiries are

mechanisms through which commissions and committees acquire the information they need in order to produce their policy proposals. The public hearing is one option they have for undertaking their inquiry. Therefore, all public hearings usually include inquiring purposes, but not all inquiries take the form of public hearings, or "official forums" as Crean (1976) calls them.

Policies are the general outcome of policy-making processes; they can be considered recommendations for public action produced by committees and commissions after a process of inquiry has taken place. These recommendations constitute policy proposals, which in turn are submitted to higher courts of decision, (Parliament or its legislative equivalent) in order to be adopted as public policies.

Public policies are generally expressed in policy documents which, according to Salter, are "the public face of public policy", but which as the products or endrums of a normal policy process are "systematically unrepresentative of the interactive, dynamic emerging nature of the policy process".²

Hence, the thesis aims to capture some of the policy-making dynamic nature by adopting the public hearing and the policy proposals as the focal point of the analysis rather than the static outcome of the document itself.

By examining 1) the Applebaum-Ebért hearing and 2) Los Foros Nacionales de Consulta Popular on communication policy and culture pertaining to two countries and to comparable topics mechanisms of

discussion, the thesis appears to extend Salter's and Slaco's initial undertaking in their analysis of public hearings in Canada.³

The "leading ideas" presented during the above mentioned hearings appear to be linked intellectually to the broader thematic of cultural identity (addressed in Chapter One) and to be focused practically through the mechanism of the public hearing (as an official forum for discussion) upon the narrower tasks of policy formation and communication and culture.

The content of the public hearings is discussed through the use of descriptive categories which were useful in selecting data within the range of available material (as explained in the Introduction). These categories are then used for the analysis of the two public hearings (presented separately in Chapters Two and Three). In Chapter Four the two hearing processes are reworked in order to develop the macro-analytical categories necessary for cross-cultural comparisons.

Thus, the Introduction of this thesis examines the history of the public hearing as a form of inquiry within the different communication policy processes of both countries as relates to broadcasting and culture. It also explores briefly the structure of broadcasting in both countries, and defines the categories of analysis developed for the study.

The first chapter provides a background to the notions of cultural and national identity as manifested from the point of view of particular Canadian and Mexican philosophies of culture.

The second and third chapters examine those

Canadian and Mexican public hearings chosen for the study and pinpoints the leading ideas expressed by the presenters on the subject of cultural identity, along with some specific policy proposals derived from the inquiries.

The fourth chapter compares the two public hearings as perceived through descriptive categories, interrelates these categories, and develops a macro-analytical schema for future analyses.

Notes

1. The Applebaum-Hébert Commission produced a report which was the result of the hearings on communication and culture and which was made public in November of 1982. As for Mexico, the public hearings were called in early 1983 and are likely to produce an evaluative report by mid-1984. The present analysis, however, uses their respective summaries of Briefs and Hearings (Canada 1981 and Mexico 1983).
2. Liora Salter. Lecture given on Communication and Policy-Making at McGill University, Nov. 2, 1983.
3. Liora Salter and Debra Slaco. Public Inquiries in Canada. Science Council of Canada, report no. 47, Ottawa, 1981.

INTRODUCTION

Defining the subject of study

Canada and Mexico share borders with the United States and both are affected by the political, economic, and cultural moves of their imperial neighbor. When broadcasting was first introduced, both countries felt the influence of American technology through imitation of American ideas and broadcasting standards in programming. This influence has had a lasting effect on the tastes of the Canadian and Mexican publics; to date both continue to be dependent on American cultural imports in broadcasting. Recently this "cultural dependency" and the "alternatives" proposed to reduce it were the subject of public hearings on communication and culture in Canada and Mexico, both undertaken with the express purpose of evaluating and redirecting public policy (1981-1983).¹

Cultural dependency in Canada and Mexico is commonly associated with a sense of loss of national/cultural identity experienced by both countries. Cultural identity itself is conventionally linked to communication-cultural policy often in the form of a regulative ideal. This double-sided issue of cultural dependency-cultural identity has been of particular importance in these debates directed at broadcasting and broadcasting policy. Within the public-formation process, the public hearing itself is an important mechanism of public access to policy-discussion. From the point of view of the present thesis, documentation

from these public hearings on communication-culture constitute a valuable source for research into the public dimensions of policy formation. Thus, for the limited analytic aims of the thesis, the public hearing constitutes a valuable source of information in policy analysis since records of public hearings usually include a considerable amount of raw material which is filtered after the process of discussion has taken place and the policy has finally been formulated.

Thus, in the case of this thesis, the public hearing:

- a) properly defines questions of method by determining the scope of the analysis and therefore suggesting ways in which to examine the material;
- b) establishes the nature of the research, namely the examination of the material available (briefs and hearings) through the use of categories developed according to the subject of analysis, i.e. the "notion of cultural identity";
- c) serves as a suitable vehicle for the comparison of two different broadcasting systems and cultural environments.

The scope of comparison, however, is limited in two significant ways: 1) there is emphasis upon the Mexican case due, in part, to the author's knowledge of the Mexican case, and, in part, to the fact that the public hearing chosen is the first full use of this mechanism in the area of communication and culture. By contrast, Canada is well known for its long tradition in the use of public inquiries and hearings in the matter of policy formation. The Canadian case is, therefore, crucial to providing a well-grounded perspective to compare and contrast the Mexican case. Mexico currently is coming to terms with the importance of public

participation and discussion outside the legislature and thus is beginning to get acquainted with the notion of the public hearing as a means for obtaining valuable information that previously was available only through private forms of inquiry.

This thesis does not undertake tasks other than the analysis of cultural concerns as expressed in the opinions of individuals and groups who presented their views during these public hearings. Because broadcasting was singled out by presenters from both countries as a vehicle of radical cultural influence stemming from foreign sources, the thesis focuses on testimony that concerns the preservation or imperilment of cultural identity through broadcasting. In analysing the content of these "testimonials," the thesis adopts three approaches:

- 1) An approach pertaining to "nativist" philosophies of culture in order to trace similar concerns over communication and culture in both countries.
- 2) A structural approach aimed at describing the form, pattern and mandate of public hearings in each country in order to place their claims into an appropriate context of possible influence over communication policy.
- 3) A methodological approach in which the categories developed for the analysis are justified and explained.

The first perspective is concerned with the elaboration of the notion of cultural identity and its preservation as that is expressed through philosophies of culture; the second perspective looks at how individuals, groups, and associations have conceptualized the problem and at the proposals they have made in order to translate their concerns

into concrete policy alternatives; and the third perspective approaches the subject of study, namely the hearings, by selecting the categories which will appropriately describe and explain the issues raised during the analysis.

1) Why Canada and Mexico? The philosophical approach

The question of 'cultural identity' and broadcasting

Both Canada and Mexico have consistently manifested concerns over the defense of their cultural identity vis-à-vis North American cultural products. As border neighbors of the U.S., both nations are heavily influenced by American communication media, especially broadcasting. Proximity and a history of accommodating trade and communication policies have allowed a largely unimpeded cross-border flow of information.

Although cultural penetration may often be more economic than social in nature, concern over cultural identity has been strong enough to permeate proposals for communications policies in both countries.

The relationship between the loss of cultural identity and the communication media is clear in that nations consume whichever cultural products are presented by their media and that in some cases such cultural products do not correspond to the society in question.

In the case of Canada and Mexico, a great percentage of their broadcast programming has its origins in the United States. This fact is independent of the state of technology

in either country. Furthermore, the relationship can be a direct one: technology can expand the impact of cultural penetration instead of diminishing it. As Melody, Salter, and Heyer put it:

Today, Canada finds itself in the anomalous position of being the world's most modern developing country. It is an advanced industrial society, pioneering in the development of telecommunications technologies - space-biased technologies that encourage the extension of empires. But it also has the problems of developing nations. Its history has been one of dependency upon the British and American empires. The dominant forces influencing the course of direction of the Canadian economy are the United States economic policy and the decisions of multinational corporations that control Canada's branch plant economy. Canada continues to operate primarily as a supplier of natural resources at the margin of the world economic system.²

The influence that the U.S. exercises on both Canada and Mexico is an outcome of the economic and political power it possesses. Though it is now aided by the media, imperialistic countries have exercised foreign cultural influence before: Great Britain and France in the case of Canada, and Spain and France in the case of Mexico.

As the Mexican thinker Leopoldo Zea points out, Latin America has borrowed foreign models because foreign models were thought to represent a superior culture. Frequently, however, such models could not be adapted to the native reality. Thus Mexico remains anxious to find its autonomous cultural identity, and on the other hand, the search for nationhood has been related to the painful recognition that other cultures are better than the native one, with the consequent success of foreign models. Therefore, because

culture and nationhood are functions of social and economic progress, as Zea points out, the Mexican nation ceased looking for models of its own. This state of affairs will not change and a true philosophy of culture will not emerge until some basic economic problems of underdevelopment can be solved.

In a sense, to admire others is to begin to be able to recognize one's own lacks, but awareness of limitations can also encourage a fruitful search for identity. Such questioning can be transformed into an anguished cry, a lament, an illusion that everything is determined by fate. Thus, the Canadian philosopher George Grant stated:

To use the language of fate is to assert that all human beings come into a world they did not choose and live their lives within a universe they did not make. If one speaks in this way, one is often accused either of being pessimistic or of holding a tragic view of life. Neither of these accusations is correct (...) It is quite possible to use the word 'fate', and to think that nature is good, and not contradict oneself. It is in my opinion a sensible way to talk about events, though obviously it is far from the liberal dogmas within which most people are taught to think.

Whether as a question of fate or history, Canada and Mexico exhibit parallel struggles to adopt the basic technology of broadcast media from the U.S. while attempting to adapt the uses to more indigenous ends. The date of the introduction of broadcasting technology in both countries show that:

"regular radio broadcasting began in Canada, as it did in the United States in 1919 when station XWA in Montreal received a licence to broadcast",

Just two years later, in 1921, Dr Adolfo Gómez Fernández used radio to broadcast from Mexico City for the first time.⁵ Actually, it was Sandal S. Hodges, colonel of the U.S. army who convinced Raúl Azcárraga Vidaurreta (from the Azcárraga family that to this day monopolizes commercial broadcasting in Mexico) of the convenience of installing a radio station in Mexico. Azcárraga then went to the United States to receive radio training and founded the "Casa del Radio" in 1923, the same year in which the Mexican government began licencing commercial radio stations.⁶

In Canada, during the early twenties, the development of broadcasting was beginning to speed up: "By 1923 (in Canada), sixty-two private commercial broadcasting licences had been issued. As early as 1925 many Canadians had begun to be concerned over the cultural effects of the predominant use that was being made of foreign entertainment programming on Canadian stations."⁷

In Mexico, the American company RCA, which had introduced and distributed records, phonographs and radios, served as an official aid to Azcárraga for the creation of the first commercial radio station XEW in 1934, which was automatically affiliated with NBC. In 1938, with the introduction of radio station XEQ, CBS started to compete with NBC in Mexico, but by 1945 both CBS and NBC abandoned their plans in order to devote themselves to the marketing of the newly introduced medium of television.⁸

Mexico officially initiated its television broadcasts in 1950, whereas "the first Canadian television station CFT in Montreal went on the air on September 6, 1952 (...) although Canadians first exposure to television was through

transborder reception of American broadcasting services which began to operate earlier than Canadian television stations".⁹

In spite of national programming produced in both Canada and Mexico, American influence is difficult to avoid. Moreover, the commercialization of broadcasting encouraged the importation of American programming, firstly, because viewers received the programming over the air anyway, and, secondly, because buying costs were lower than production costs. The difference in language, as in the case of Mexico mattered little: this country developed a high quality "dubbing system" which translates foreign material into Spanish.

The Canadian and Mexican broadcasting systems are characterized by the interplay of a public and a private sector, in sharp contrast to the United States. In Canada the public sector is constituted primarily by the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation), and in Mexico mainly by Radio México, Televisión Rural de México, and channel 13 which are government-owned radio and television stations.

The private sector plays an important role in the overall broadcasting performance of the two countries, especially in Mexico where it is responsible for more than 70% of the total broadcasting production, whereas the public sector is left with the task of producing culture and responding to other needs.

In both countries, the private sector was primarily responsible for the introduction of foreign commercial programming, and in both countries, the public sector has essentially followed the trend with few effective attempts to resist it. The following tables show the relationship between those two broadcasting systems in terms of size and

performance.

Percentages of viewing time devoted to imported programming, as well as the number of hours used to broadcast it, are significant both in Canada and Mexico, regardless of the difference in coverage and number of stations existing to date.

Table 1

Total of broadcasting stations in Canada and Mexico by type.

	AM	FM	TV	SW	MT	CANCOM	TOTAL
CDN	747	624	1229	0	51	240	2891
MEX	656	197	128	21	0	0	854

Sources:

CRTC 1981-82 Annual Report

and

Cámara Nacional de la Industria de la Radio y la Televisión.

Table 2

Percentage of distribution of viewing time

<u>Program Category</u>	<u>Canadian</u>	<u>Foreign</u>	<u>Total</u>
ENGLISH			
News	13.16	1.09	14.25
Current affairs	1.93	0.49	2.43
Information	1.05	0.11	1.16
Sports	5.47	1.14	6.61
Entertainment	8.72	66.18	74.90
Other	0.20	0.46	0.66
Total	30.53	69.47	100.00

FRENCH

News	14.31	0.00	14.31
Current affairs	4.04	0.00	4.04
Information	0.78	0.00	0.78
Sports	4.70	0.00	4.70
Entertainment	36.28	45.72	75.99
Other	0.09	0.08	0.17
Total	54.20	45.80	100.00

Source:

Special Report on Broadcasting 1968-78
and CRTC Research Directorate, television viewing patterns
during prime time.

Table 3

Programming categories of "Televisión de la República Mexicana"
Channel 13

(number of broadcast hours using the national federal microwave network)

	Hours ₁₉₈₁	Total (%)	Hours ₁₉₈₂	Total (%)
Entertainment	1477h13m	23.21	1062h56m	16.87
News	1449h25m	23.25	1355h11m	21.52
Cultural affairs	752h17m	12.07	743h26m	11.80
Education	2107h14m	33.80	2705h25m	42.95
Others	478h26m	7.67	432h13m	6.86
Total	6234h35m	100.00	6299h11m	100.00

 Source: Departamento de programación y continuidad. Dirección de Televisión de la República Mexicana.

Table 1 shows the differences in size between the two broadcasting systems. It should be stressed that lack of technology has placed Mexico at a disadvantage since the number of stations barely covers its extensive territory.

Table 2 shows clearly the preference of Canadian viewers for foreign entertainment programming, while Table 3 shows the efforts of government-owned Mexican television stations to produce educational programming even though cultural affairs programming receives fewer hours of broadcast time than entertainment programming. It is important to note, however, that a large percentage of entertainment programming is foreign in origin. Mexican government official data is unfortunately unavailable on this matter.

As shown in the tables above, the relationship between the size and development of the broadcasting system and dependency upon foreign cultural products is unclear: communication technology should mean autonomy in the production of native material; however, at least in the case of Canada, this does not seem to be the case, and with respect to Mexico, this country depends not only technologically but culturally on the United States.

Future policy-making attempts should assess this question, as Paul Audley points out:

(...) because the role of the broadcasting system is so central to any

strategy for cultural development in Canada or for the expansion of the cultural identity of Canadians, a successful broadcasting policy focused on clearly-stated cultural goals is of primary importance to Canadian cultural policy.¹⁰

Canada has proven successful in its quest for telecommunications advances, yet its relationship with the United States is still perceived to be a dependent one. As for Mexico, its dependency upon American technology and culture is more acute than ever. Nevertheless, the same import can serve as an instrument to transform and sustain the characteristics of each society's uniqueness.¹¹ Therefore, technological dependency should no longer be associated with cultural and developmental goals.

2) Why public hearings? The structural approach

Role and structure of public hearings in Canada and Mexico.

Canada has a long tradition of public inquiries as a substantial part of its policy-making process. Some of them take the form of public hearings though most of them can, generally, be considered as inquiries. The main characteristic of an inquiry is that it involves assessment of policy and the opportunity for participation.

A public hearing requires representation from the public. As a form of inquiry, the public hearing is a mechanism within reach of the members of a commission or committee for the acquisition of valuable information to be inputted into the policy-discussion process. However, participants to

public hearings are not always representative of the public at large. As a phenomenon already acknowledged by Salter and Slaco (1981), in hearings where public input is required, the degree of participation can vary, the same people associated with the subject under discussion tend to form a well known group of participants.¹² But in spite of the eventual formation of these closed groups, they convey information and raise questions that could have been overlooked when policy-making occurs behind closed doors. The calling of a public hearing implies a mandate to include direct public participation in the policy-making process, usually because of the complex nature of the issue involved.

One can distinguish different types of inquiries depending on the nature of their form, pattern, and mandate. For example, in Canada, some inquiries are instituted by Royal Commissions, others become part of the everyday practice of regulatory agencies, and so on. In general, however, most inquiries lead to policy recommendations or proposals. It should be pointed out, though, that inquiries do not seem to follow any particular pattern. Their procedures and forms appear to be dictated by the subject(s) under study. The public hearing has been a standard procedure for gathering information in the policy-making process regarding broadcasting, dating back to the Aird and the Massey-Lévesque Commissions, which are the immediate predecessors of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee which, in 1981, was appointed for that same task.

The Massey-Lévesque Commission was created by mandate as a Royal Commission, and formally called for an inquiry. The FCPRC was mandated by the Minister of Communications and

chose to conduct a series of public hearings based on written submissions which were to be further examined and discussed.

Table 4

Main commissions to deal with broadcasting in the history of
communications policy in Canada

1. Aird Commission (1928).
2. Special Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting (1932).
3. The Massey-Lévesque Commission (1949-51).*
4. The Fowler Commission (1955).
5. The Glassco Commission (1960).
6. The "Troika" Commission (1963).
7. The Advisory Committee (1964).
8. The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. (1981-82).*

* These are the two main Commissions to have given emphasis to cultural policy matters.

The use of inquiries in policy-making in Mexico has its own characteristics. Most inquiries are conducted behind closed doors by members of the legislature, and public hearings as chosen forms of inquiries are not common.

Most inquiries are performed by commissioners or members of appointed committees who undertake private investigations and hand in their reports, e.g. the informal Presidential commission given to intellectual Salvador Novo (see Table 5). Where more formal procedures are required, like elaboration

of Acts and Amendments, the report is submitted for discussion to a higher court (Cámara de Senadores ó Diputados).

Basically, there are two different kinds of commissions:

- a) one whose mandate comes from the legislature, that is, a commission formed by members of the legislative power, charged with an investigation, and which must report to the same house of representatives, or
- b) one whose mandate comes directly from the President of the Republic whose members are selected from different sectors of society (usually involved with the issue) to discuss a problem and report to the President.

The following table provides a basic overview of crucial policy-making examples on the basis of the nature of the commissions appointed and depicts their relation to broadcasting and cultural policy discussion.*

Table 5

Commissions to Undertake Tasks on Communication Policy
in Mexico

1. President Miguel Alemán commissions intellectual Salvador Novo to examine a Mexican alternative to the newly introduced medium of television, in order to ensure its appropriate use for the country (informal commission) (1948)*.
2. Commission on the elaboration of the Mexican Broadcasting Act and the creation of the National Broadcasting Council (formal commission) (1958-1960).
3. Commission to amend the content regulations of the Broadcasting Act (formal commission) (1970-72).
4. President López Portillo mandates the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a series of public hearings to discuss a recently amended article to the Constitution which guarantees the right to inform/be informed in Mexico (formal commission) (1978-1980)*.
5. President De la Madrid mandates a popular consultation aimed at discussing a National Development Plan which includes the elaboration of a new communication policy (formal convocation) (1983)*.

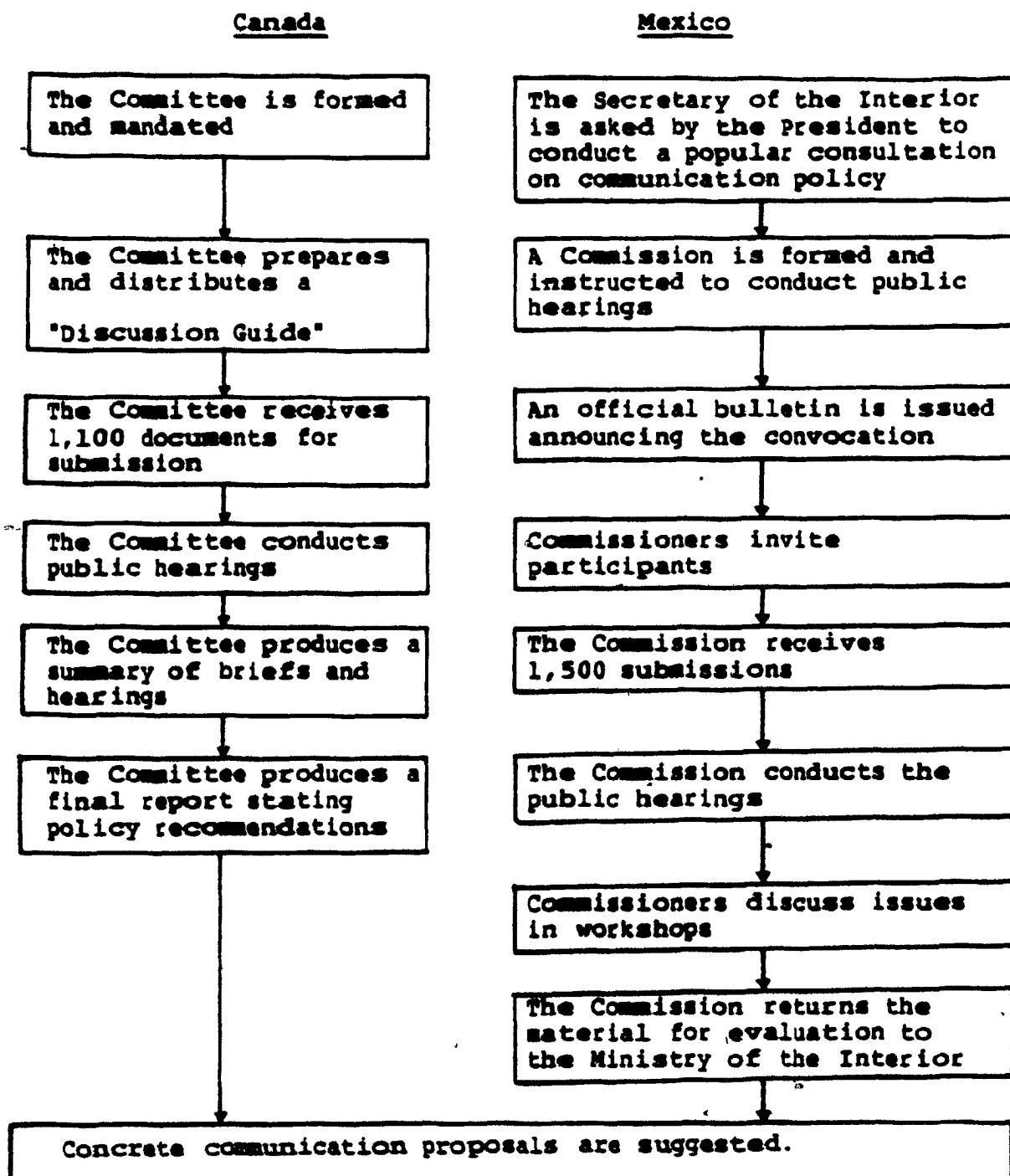
The last two commissions resulted in wide public participation. The first one did not examine questions of culture and communication directly, but concentrated more on the political and legal implications of the incorporation of a right to inform/be informed into the Bill of Rights of the Mexican Constitution. The second commission contemplated the wider scenario of media and culture.

On the basis of the most recent inquiries which resulted in public hearings, that is, the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee of Canada (1981-82), and the public convocation for popular consultation in Mexico (1983), the structure of the procedures involved is as follows: both had a mandate to undertake a review of the state of communication and culture in their respective countries, and both gave special consideration to the question of broadcasting. The

Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee was also asked to issue a final report stating specific policy recommendations, and in the case of Mexico, the members of the committee were instructed to conduct the hearings and provide the Ministry of the Interior with further details on the discussion though no final report has been produced to date.

Both inquiries started on the basis of written submissions to be presented during the public hearings. The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (FCPRC) consisting of 20 members received up to 1,100 documents for consideration. The Mexican Committee consisting of 4 members coordinating the areas of radio, television, press and film, organized the presentation of over 1500 submissions. The FCPRC presided over hearings in 18 Canadian cities, while the Mexican committee split itself into 4 important urban centers in which the presentations were heard. While the Canadian committee obviously travelled a lot more, and the Mexican committee was constrained by a larger bureaucratic apparatus in charge of making everyone meet in a single place, the procedural structure of the two inquiries followed a similar pattern:

Diagram No. 1
Structure of the Procedure of the
Canadian and Mexican Hearings.



3) The examination of public hearings in Canada and Mexico.
The methodological approach

Analytical categories developed for the thesis.

The analysis of the Canadian and Mexican public hearings is done in terms of the briefs presented before the committees. Although the policy-making process covers much more than the submission of a presentation, this thesis focuses on the issues examined during the hearings and therefore on the public participatory aspect of policy.

With the purpose of analyzing the material available, five categories were developed after careful readings of the briefs and hearings. These categories are by no means exhaustive, they are only meant to be useful to the researcher in selecting the material for examination. The above mentioned process helped in bringing to the surface important qualitative data. It helped in determining what Canada and Mexico have in common in terms of concerns manifested during the public hearings, but they were useful as well in providing contrasts and differences.

Thus, the categories are nothing more than a division of the main subjects raised during the hearings, and can be considered descriptive but valuable for the analysis. The subjects are then broken down into primary arguments or "leading ideas". Most of these are taken directly from the presentations themselves, others are paraphrasings of a

combination of arguments sharing a common concern.

Table 6
Themes involved and number of arguments presented.*

Number of arguments		
<u>Theme</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Mexico</u>
A) New communication technologies and availability of information	6	4
B) Freedom of communication (freedom of speech; freedom to inform/be informed)	6	5
C) The economics of the broadcasting industry	3	4
D) Roles of comm. institutions	2	1
E) Fostering of national identity and cultural sovereignty	7	6

*

The numbers represent the number of arguments related to a given theme. Although any number of people may have intervened on a given theme, they always repeated the same limited number of arguments.

The importance of these hearings resided in the fact that many groups, such as representatives of isolated communities, other than those directly involved, i.e. broadcasters, had the opportunity to talk about media-related matters. Moreover, to a certain extent, the question of American cultural influence was present in a majority of

arguments and at every level, from the situation of the broadcasting trade-market to the need for an increase in national productions in order to foster cultural identity. (The issues of Canadian and Mexican proximity to the U.S.) and of American influence were set forth as important parameters from which the comparison between the two countries became possible.

Finally, the findings of this study into public hearings are important enough to allow us to acknowledge not only the differences but also some of the coinciding cultural and communication perspectives of these countries as well.

The next chapter provides the reader with material found in the works of Mexican and Canadian philosophers of culture and dealing with the questions of cultural identity and nationality. This material makes clear that concern over national identity was present in both cultures long before its current re-emergence within the framework of recent policy discussions. It will also resurface in chapters 3 and 4 through the opinions of presenters to the hearings expressing their concern on the subject and also when "the leading ideas" posed during the Canadian and Mexican hearings are further examined.

Notes

1. The two public hearings which will be analyzed hereafter are: the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, also known as the Applebaum-Hébert Commission (Canada 1980-81), and the Foros Nacionales de Consulta Popular (Mexico 1983).

2. William Melody, Liora Salter and Paul Meyer. Culture, Communication and Dependency. The tradition of H.A. Innis, Norwood, New Jersey: Albex Publishing Corporation, 1981, p. 11.
3. George Grant. Technology and Empire. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969, p. 63.
4. Paul Audley. Canada's Cultural Industries: Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, publishers in association with the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, 1983, p. 183.
5. Fátima Fernández Christlieb, "La Industria de la Radio y la Televisión," in Revista Nueva Política, vol. 1, no. 3, Jul-Sept. 1976, p. 238.
6. Ibid., p. 238.
7. Paul Audley. Canada's Cultural Industries. Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, publishers in association with the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, p. 183.
8. Fátima Fernández Christlieb, "La Industria de la Radio y la Televisión," in Revista Nueva Política, vol. 1, no. 3, Jul-Sept. 1976, p. 244.
9. Paul Audley. Canada's Cultural Industries. Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, publishers in association with the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, p. 253.
10. Ibid., p. 332.
11. Solomon Lipp interpreting Leopoldo Zea. Leopoldo Zea: From Mexicanidad to a Philosophy of History. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980, p. 10.
12. Liora Salter and Debra Slaco. Public Inquiries in Canada. Science Council of Canada, report no. 47, Ottawa, 1981, pp. 199-208.

CHAPTER ONE**The notion of "cultural identity" in Canada and Mexico**

This chapter explores the notion of "cultural identity" as defined by Canadian and Mexican scholars and writers from the point of view of their respective philosophies of culture.

During the present analysis of the cultural identity concept, several notions seem to arise as importantly related, namely those of cultural expression, nationality, and national sentiment. Their definition varies according to the position and particular philosophy of culture involved.

Nevertheless, independently of the conceptualization attempts of Canadian and Mexican philosophers and writers, their examination of the "cultural identity" notion seems to convey the discussion of two main issues: cultural dependency and marginality, where strong references are frequently made to the American cultural pressure [Grant, 1969, 1970; Zea, 1968, 1974; Crean, 1976; Paz, 1967; Audley, 1983].

Canadian and Mexican attempts to define cultural identity have recently regained importance as part of the policy-discussion processes of 1981-83 in which subjects such as cultural penetration and cultural self-expression were brought up again during the Canadian and Mexican hearings, and particular policy proposals were made. It was made clear that cultural expression should become an essential part of any nation's cultural policy. Yet, those two terms are seldom defined. It is obvious that each country will use

different parameters to evaluate how this particular goal is achieved. For the purpose of this work, however, culture as well as cultural expression will be referred to as the basic ingredients of the notion of cultural identity. As Paul Audley points out:

(...) our culture is expressed not just in works of art or entertainment, but in all forms of expression that reflect attitudes, opinions, values and ideas, and in information and analysis concerning the present as well as the past. Just as an awareness of our collective past is an essential component of cultural identity, so too is an awareness of what is happening now.¹

Thus, if a given culture and cultural expression are the basic ingredients of a distinctive identity, an awareness of our collective past and future are the procedures to preserve it. Solomon Lipp has stated:

The search for identity, the attempt to define oneself - the result of the individual's sense of alienation - is not restricted to contemporary man alone; nor is it exclusively peculiar to the period of anguished questioning which follows the Second World War. It can also be applied to national groups, if not an entire continent.²

Canada and Mexico share aspects of their past with the U.S. in quite different ways. For Mexico, the same story has been ongoing: its destiny was once built by mother Spain and now by the "empire of the North". For Canada, a split nation which used to look back either to the British Empire or to France, it is also time to create its own destiny while the United States looks over its shoulder. In both cases there are economic factors forcing the nations to accept what might

be called 'powerful suggestions'. This is not to say, however, that only economic improvements can bring the situation of these countries to consciousness. According to the Mexican Leopoldo Zea, it is precisely when dependency relations become self-conscious that an authentic philosophy of culture can emerge. It is needless to point out the importance of this statement to the formation of a true notion of cultural identity.

For both Canada and Mexico, the search for nationalism is part of their history and is therefore integral to their future development. It is not clear how long this feeling has been alive, nor how one could pinpoint the exact moment in time when it appears. This feeling can certainly be related to the birth of a country as a nation but it can also be related to the process by which a country begins to search for the optimum use of its resources. A concern over resources and their optimum use is usually associated with the discovery or the elaboration of distinct cultural goals. It is for this reason, therefore, that the emergence of national consciousness is often associated with the introduction of technology. Following this line of thought, it is clear that the role of the media needs to be explained in the process of national consciousness formation for not only are the communication media a basic technology but they also carry the lifeblood of society: information.

From the time communication technology flourished in the U.S., American culture started to flow rapidly across borders. Thus, communication technologies have frequently been perceived as the key to the question of cultural

intervention. Although politically independent, Canada and Mexico have repeatedly adopted foreign (American) policies and formulas. It appears as if adopting American standards would guarantee economic success, and Canada and Mexico opted for competition on the same grounds as the U.S. though neither could avoid being affected by the strong influence of American culture.

With the rapid growth of the U.S. during the nineteenth century, Canada and Mexico started to become dependent on American technological and industrial conquests. At that point such influence was impossible to resist for almost everything required American equipment, i.e. telegraph, telephone, radio, etc., and operating standards which were established in the U.S. and then adopted by Canada and Mexico.

The adoption of communication technologies was important to Canada which rapidly realized their importance in linking a vast territory. Canada thus adopted measures not only to govern the importation of technology but also to develop its own telecommunications system itself. Even now Canada remains immersed in a great paradox: despite its advances in the field, it is still dependent on the United States as regards communication contents. As Williams, Salter and Heyer put it:

Although at the frontier of telecommunications technology, Canada has been, and continues to be a major victim of the consequences of space-based technology. Communication technology has permitted the Canadian communications environment to be permeated by the United States content. Canada is already several steps down the road toward

cultural colonization via
communications.³

If Canada is dependent on the United States, it is in part because it has borrowed American production patterns and must now conform to them. It must, in addition, increase its efforts to produce national programming, but being unable to meet its own needs, it imports American material. Because Mexico did not have the resources to improve its technology, it depends in a more "primitive" way on American imports. Either way the United States cultural export has been filling the programming charts of Canadian and Mexican stations for over twenty five years, and the mixture of cultures has led to interesting results. Even though it can be enriching, the threat of the mixture of cultures must not be underestimated. It enriches the array of experiences of people pertaining to a nation, but can minimize the opportunities for native cultural expression.

Both George Grant and Octavio Paz criticize the tendencies of Canada and Mexico to devote themselves to the wills of other empires which, according to Grant, in Canada is the consequence of the alliance into technology. It is not easy to share a border with a powerful economic empire whose technological developments are within easy reach of Canadians. To share the U.S. power is to share the supremacy of the West. For Mexico, Paz says, it has been only a matter of changing masters: yesterday Mexico obeyed Spain, now it turns to the United States. The submission of Mexicans to foreigners is as natural as the blood that flows through their veins. It is this cry for autonomy in the

philosophers' voice which is almost indistinguishable from one country to the other, and which is yet permeated by a culture and as well as by those accidents called 'circumstances in history'. As Grant puts it:

The supremacy of the American empire in the western world was important for Canada not only in the geographic and economic senses that our nation had to try to exist in the very presence of the empire, but in the much profounder sense that the dominance of the United States is identified with the unequivocal victory of the progressive spirit in the West. The older empire had some residual traditions from before the age of progress - the French more, the British less. The United States is the only society that has none. The American supremacy is identified with the belief that questions of human good are to be solved by technology; that the most important human activity is the pursuit of those sciences which issue in the conquest of human and non-human nature.⁴

The survival of the dependency pattern is rooted in history. To be independent in this sense will be to murder history, and to be able to create a present powerful enough to transcend others; but one cannot murder one's own past unless one is ready to define and accept one's real identity.

As Octavio Paz says:

The history of Mexico is the history of man seeking his parentage, his origins. He has been influenced at one time or another by France, Spain, the United States and the militant indigenists of his own country, and he crosses history like a jade comet, now and then giving off flashes of lightning. What is he pursuing in his eccentric course? He wants to go back beyond the catastrophe he suffered: he wants to be a sun again, to return to the centre of that life from which he was separated one day. (Was that day the Conquest? Independence?) Our

solitude has the same roots as religious feelings. It is a form of orphanhood, an obscure awareness that we have been torn from the All, and an ardent search: a flight and a return, an effort to re-establish the bonds that unite us with the universe.

It is the overall structure of thought of the two philosophers which conveys a sense of predestination. For them, the relationship between their countries and the 'empire' has always been an unbalanced one, with Canada and Mexico in a position of inferiority in relation to the United States.

The Canadian position is that of the friendly partner, or perhaps more than that: Canada is like the relative that has inherited wealth from his rich cousin; they belong to the same family because they both share the same roots although their goals in life have been different. Nevertheless, still related, the rich cousin keeps trying to protect his investments in what he has lent the other, because the inheritance turned out to be a simple loan. As George Grant says:

Nevertheless, below the surface the movement towards integration continues. The immediate reason for this is our position in the empire. We are not in that empire as are the exploited colonies of South America, but rather with the intimacy of a younger brother status. We have all the advantages of that empire, the wealth which pours in from all over the world, the technology which comes to us through the multinational corporations. Yet, because we have formal political independence, we can keep out of some of the dirty work necessary to that empire (...) Like most other human beings, Canadians want it both ways. We want through formal nationalism to escape the disadvantages

of the American empire (...) The distinction will surely be minimal between two nations which share a continent and a language especially when the smaller of the two has welcomed with open arms the chief instruments of its stronger brother - the corporations.

The Mexican case is different because this country is not related to the American empire in any way. Consequently, even though Mexico resists it, their relationship of dominator and dominated is more evident.

It is as important as it is painful to admit dependency. For Grant, Canada's younger brother status can impede the achievement of autonomy, but it is better than nothing. Canada can still participate in the alliance and receive the benefits of it in return. The Mexican philosopher Octavio Paz is more sarcastic. For him the pain of his people can easily be translated into a matter of benefit. To be exploited is to learn gradually the weaknesses of one's exploiter. Mexicans can certainly distinguish themselves from North Americans. Unlike Canadians, the people of Mexico can easily contrast their culture with the imperialistic culture; it is different although consciously integrated. In the following passage Paz articulates the difference in character between Americans (or what Mexicans call North Americans) and Mexicans, and he distinctly makes the dependency relation clear. Mexico is dependent because historically it has been dependent, and seems to enjoy it.

And our differences do not end there. The North Americans are credulous and we are believers; they love fairy tales and detective stories and we love myths and legends. The Mexican tells lies because he delights in fantasy, or because he is

desperate, or because he wants to rise above the sordid facts of his life, the North American does not tell lies but he substitutes social truth for the real truth, which is always disagreeable. We get drunk in order to confess; they get drunk in order to forget. They are optimists and we are nihilists - except that our nihilism is not intellectual but instinctive, and therefore irrefutable. We are suspicious and they are trusting. We are sorrowful and sarcastic and they are happy and full of jokes. North Americans want to understand and we want to contemplate. They are activists and we are quietists, we enjoy our wounds and they enjoy their inventions.

In any case, the North American is someone to look up to either with envy or despair. It is hard enough to depend economically on others, or to glance across the fence just to see what one is missing. But this is the wound that can make us realize that we are not the ones who can provide the elements necessary to produce in both nations a durable identity.

Octavio Paz continues to examine the unsettled identity of his country and explains that part of the reason that Mexico is still dependent on foreign patterns is that foreign patterns have traditionally been imposed on Mexicans and the country feels unable to produce its own.

In a certain sense the history of Mexico, like that of every Mexican, is a struggle between the forms and formulas that have been imposed on us and the explosions with which our individuality avenges itself. Form has rarely been an original creation, an equilibrium arrived at through our instincts and desires rather than at their expense. On the contrary, our moral and juridical forms often conflict with our nature, preventing us from expressing ourselves and frustrating our true wishes.

Out of this struggle a sentiment of national identity had to grow in Mexico. Its birth was the product of a Mexican sense of inferiority and of the nationalistic efforts of a State debating with itself the consequences of cosmopolitanism which, during revolutionary times, seemed to be the only way forward for the Mexican nation.

(...) it is wise to bear in mind that throughout the nineteenth century cosmopolitanism was a greater cultural force than nationalism, not only as the result of the continual interest of western nations in exploiting Mexico, but also as the manifestation of the Mexican's tendency to look to Europe and the United States as models.

Hence, the development of a national sense of cultural identity in Mexico has traditionally been related to political struggle, when the country has been forced to re-direct its steps towards autonomy. Now progress seems to be taking place, as suggested by the analysis of the hearings on communication and culture. If compelling results are achieved in the future, this could mean a great advance in the nation's achievement of autonomy. Yet, the real formation of a cultural identity is not complete unless the feelings of belonging and communitarian sentiment are examined.

As for Canada, it has long debated nationalistic feelings, cultural roots and a sense of belonging. The British and the French presence left behind opposing cultural traditions, and, consequently, some groups in Canada are still divided. Nevertheless, for the rest of the world, Canada appears to be a solid, unified entity. As Herschel

Hardin puts it:

Canada exists, but is invisible. There must be something wrong¹⁰ then with the way we look at ourselves.

A double value is inherent in all efforts to achieve cultural identity: there is the quest for general values, and universal ideas, but there is also a need for personal identity. The search for cultural identity is one that unifies us with the rest of humanity while at the same time making us distinct from the mass of mankind. The process involves a thorough examination of our sense of history and reality. Finding a concrete identity would imply finding a concrete way to 'live' the universal values that the concept aims for. Perhaps the problem resides precisely in that one wants to achieve a concrete undivided image of national belonging without realizing the dynamics involved in the notion of cultural identity itself.

As Octavio Paz points out:

The question implies a concept of the Mexican [or Canadian as the case might be] as a distinctive individual, a concept that makes up the second theme of this projected Mexican philosophy. We have never succeeded in creating a form that would express our individuality. As a result "Mexicanism" has never been identifiable with any specific form or tendency: it has always veered from one universal project to another, all of them foreign to our nature and all of them useless to our present crisis. Mexicanism is a way of not being ourselves, a way of life that is not our own. Sometimes it is a mask; sometimes it is a sudden determination to find ourselves, to gash open our breasts in order to release our true and most secret voices.¹¹

Thus, for Mexicans as well as for Canadians, the crisis of identity is a plea for shared principles that are not foreign in nature. The desire for self-expression has always been adequately grasped by the intellectuals, who in turn frequently call for preservation of national cultural products against the infiltration of alien cultural imports. In any case, the 'intelligentsia' has its own internal fights about how to achieve cultural identity and debates over whether it has been achieved or not. Among Canadians as well as Mexicans, authors refute what others conclude; and the question of identity seems to be an ongoing philosophical struggle.

Herschel Hardin says of George Grant:

(...) we are led to the conclusion that the Canadian identity does not exist any more. We don't any longer, identify as Canadians, or at least we're not supposed to. So funeral rites are in order, and many years ago were in fact prepared and delivered by the Reverend George Grant in his celebrated book Lament for a Nation. But Canada is alive and kicking as usual. And Canadians are as anti-American and nationalist as ever. Lament for a Nation is now a museum piece, valuable in insight but eclipsed by events. The picture of Canadians as an identifiably unique counterrevolutionary people, to the right of the United States, has now been overshadowed by a self-image on the left. Lipset suggests that in the long run this may "contribute strongly to eliminating the relatively small differences between the values of the two countries" for a democratic leftist ideology is synonymous with the social content of Americanism.

As a counterpart, Octavio Paz presents Samuel Ramos' attempts to define the Mexican character:

The majority of its observations are still valid, and the central idea - that the Mexican hides himself when he expresses himself, his words and gestures are almost always masks - is as true as ever. Ramos has given us an extremely penetrating description of the attitudes that make each one of us a closed, inaccessible being.¹³ (My underlining)

Ramos used a psychological approach to the problem of cultural identity, whereas the ideas of Leopoldo Zea and Edmundo O'Gorman are more universal than particular in nature; they can appropriately be applied to Canada as well as to Mexico. O'Gorman defines Mexican cultural characteristics as part of a higher identity namely America, while Zea considers the main focus to be the unequal, unbalanced relationship between dependent countries and imperial powers. Thus for Zea the main concern would be not only how to achieve cultural identity but also how to preserve it:

Zea has studied American alienation but although alienation is more basic to our character than our individual traits, it is now a condition shared by all men. We Mexicans have always lived on the periphery of history. Now the center or nucleus of world society has disintegrated and everyone - including the European and the North American - is a peripheral being. We are all living on the margin because there is no longer any center.¹⁴

The process of cultural identity contains inherent factors, one of which is consciousness of the position one occupies in relation to other nations, that is, the possible awareness of marginalization in which domestic and foreign interests engage in symbolic relationships.

Despite the fact that there is some kind of interdependency among nations that share partnerships, friendships or alliances, links should not change the status of independence and/or cultural identity. In some instances, however, such as the case of Mexico, nations depend upon other nations to define their independence and cultural differentiation. Let us remember that during the various internal political struggles of Mexico, successive governments invariably looked for North American approval in order to consolidate political or economic changes.

It has been widely agreed that Mexico forged its nationhood on the basis of values and guidelines imposed from abroad:

It is the colonial thesis of its history that Mexico remains dependent upon foreign life at the intellectual as well as the popular levels. Whether the foreign party involved is Spain, France or the United States, the inference is the same: the Mexican expression is suppressed or destroyed. The evidence supports some dark pages of Mexico's history, while the country's efforts to overcome the foreign yoke illuminate some of the brighter pages. The concern of intellectuals and political leaders to diminish foreign influence has occasioned an official soul-searching whose warnings are aimed at reinforcing mass appeal.¹⁵

Nevertheless, history is not responsible for the cultural changes that time has operated upon Mexican nationhood. As in the case of other countries, nationality is shaped in dramatic and profound ways through economic and technological influences which frequently arise from the internal developments of more advanced societies such as the United States. Foreign models are thus responsible for the

core social modifications at such levels as technological infrastructures and modern ways of thinking.

Two concepts can be opposed to the issue of national achievement, namely internationalism and continentalism. They constitute approaches that can often be associated with a rationalization of unachieved nationalism, for they represent a justification of the unsolved problem of cultural identity which itself frequently refers to the symbolic world-wide alliance only beneficial to the West and which is more economic than cultural in nature. Continentalism suppresses individual autonomy in favor of American progress; internationalism substitutes national independence for a place in the modern world.

For Canada, continentalism tied the Canadian economy to American interests in the form of trade-partnerships with the U.S. For Mexico, internationalism was the only path available to provide ways of access to the trends of modernization.

This assumption is consistent with the idea of some Mexican thinkers who state that modernity brought into Mexico a passive acceptance of foreign elements and the inevitable pattern of looking abroad for the answers to Mexican problems.¹⁶ For George Grant internationalism is indisputable, but for Leopoldo Zea it has only been an instrument of oppression. Both Grant and Zea consider the problem of U.S. influence over their respective countries as a fundamental one. Grant, however, maintains an implicit position in his "Defence of North America" in which he shares his country's destiny with that of North America, whereas Zea

contemplates the issue from the position of an outsider, i.e. of one who has never belonged to the first world and whose future is only explicable in terms of the parameters of 'alienation' of his country.

Zea has no choice but to be marginalized. For Zea, modern history has been made by the Occident (...) His experience is not that of being caught up in the technological whirlwind, but that of being excluded from full participation in modern life, of being a means to alien ends (...) He believes that the United States has failed to serve its ideals and that the torch of progress has passed to the oppressed peoples of the Third World who will promote a richer vision of universality on which community will be founded in the shared condition of "solitude, suffering, and in the need to resolve the urgent problems which assail all men, just by virtue of the simple fact that they are men" (...) Zea claims the right of the Third World to try to do better with technology and democracy than the American and Soviet empires have done.¹⁷

Grant's and Zea's attempts to define the relationship of their countries with the United States are relevant to the creation of a philosophy of marginality, relevant to both Canada and Mexico, since both are oppressed countries which have historically agreed to dilute their cultural autonomy in favor of "higher" interests, namely continentalism or internationalism. Hence, Canada and Mexico share a marginal condition towards their imperial neighbor.

(...) For Grant's generation exile prevailed over destiny and the greatest fruit of his vocation has been a "lament" for the absorption of Canada into the American technological complex (...) The Canadian contribution to social thought of the American empire has been great; Canadian liberals are the perfect

exponents of the technological cosmopolis. Grant stands out against the cosmopolitan alternative, which he understands to mean service to the American empire. Yet, he understands that Canada's fate is to be an auxiliary of American projects (...) In contrast to Grant, Zea speaks as an outsider, one who has not been welcomed as a participant in American adventures, but whose nation has been used, so far as possible, as "prime matter", a "resource", an "instrument" by the United States.¹⁸

Hence, social, economic and technological conditions have made both Canada and Mexico peripheral to the United States. This is not just a matter of developed vis-à-vis underdeveloped countries, it is a matter of center vs. periphery which has translated Grant's claims into a lament, and Zea's into a meaningful cry over the marginalization of his country:

Another trait which Zea criticizes is pride. Pride prevents the Mexican from developing projects he should never have undertaken in the first place. Mexico's past is responsible for wounded pride. To erase this past was the task of the nineteenth century. We tried without success to replace our discarded past, Zea reminds his audience, to repair our truncated being by attempting to emulate the political and educational models of the powerful neighbor to the North. But in vain. We keep on being the same. What we were did not coincide with what we wanted to be. Our projects did not conform to changed conditions. And so, out of pride we blame history, blood, race, and environment for our failures. But we refuse to change our projects. Instead of realizing ourselves culturally and materially in accordance with our possibilities, we prefer to lament because we cannot be equal or greater than Europe or the United States. And since we cannot be like them we prefer to be nothing (...) Instead of creating we prefer to imitate.¹⁹

Mexican imitation of foreign models has propelled the 'intelligentsia' to develop a philosophy of culture based on a 'non-imitation' rule and on the struggle for recognition. Zea is an outstanding figure in the movement critical of cultural imperialism in Latin America and in the Third World. This, Zea hopes, will reflect "the universalization of the Mexican problematic and the emergence of Mexico as a central factor in Third World politics."²⁰

In combining the concept of nationality with that of economic, political and cultural exploitation of their countries by the American empire, Grant and Zea explain the dependency of their countries on the U.S. in terms of a theory of marginality. Marginality is here equivalent to peripheral existence, since both countries depend on actions taken by the center (the U.S.). Cultural dependency is the logical outcome of actions propelled from the center, such as the importation and/or instrumentation of technological models which are foreign in nature to the peripheral countries.

Two great nations, Canada and Mexico, border the United States, which is the most powerful empire in the contemporary world and, indeed, the greatest organized concentration of power in human history. The sheer military supremacy of the United States over the nations which border it is the primary geopolitical fact which determines the character of Canadian and Mexican marginality (...). In addition to its coercive superiority, the United States exerts economic domination over its neighbors through the trade and investment of its corporations, and a growing cultural hegemony secured through the influence of its communications media.²¹

In short, economic and technological reasons have made the American identity prevail over the Canadian and Mexican nations. It is the importation of this very same technological pattern which has made Canada and Mexico dependent on the United States and has made them foresake their cultural autonomy.

Debates on the impact of cultural imports and the preservation of national identity have taken place at all levels. The unbalanced relation between imperialistic and marginalized countries is discussed every day in international arenas. For example, as Paul Audley reminds us:

Within UNESCO, the resulting debate has focused on the concept of a New International Information Order. In this context, information includes all aspects of what has been referred to above as cultural expression. The essential goal of the new order is to establish a pattern of more balanced two-way exchange in place of the largely one-way flows that characterize the relationship among many nations. Any move to alter the present imbalance, however, is predicated on government action in some form. The focus of a very heated debate has set those in favour of intervention against those in favour of free flow.²²

Most of these arguments have cristallized into policy proposals or documents at all levels. The arguments examined here are valuable examples of Canadian and Mexican concerns and belong to several interested groups and private individuals who organized their ideas about national cultural expression.

The common core of the cultural identity dilemma seems to be the preservation of an essential autonomy against

others, be they a country, a group or any other cultural influence. Nevertheless, since the United States remains the biggest industrialized center of cultural production, its effects on the two border neighbors are considered inevitable. Concerning Canada, Susan Crean says:

On reflection, it is entirely in keeping with our situation that our common boundary with the United States should be characterized in Canadian mythology as "the undefended border". Militarily as well as culturally, Canada has followed a policy of reducing defences to the point where this favourite epithet of speech-makers is close to being factual truth. (...) For Canadians, the myth of the undefended border thinly conceals a posture of surrender. The Americans are not swamped by a flood of Canadian culture; their media, their universities and schools, are not crowded with Canadian material and personnel, their culture is not confined to an unhealthy underground. But Canadians do suffer immeasurably from over-exposure to the U.S. The fact that the Canadian government submits to this by leaving the border undefended only makes the Americans' task that much easier.²³

In Canada as well as in Mexico, a concern for cultural identity has been present in works of philosophy of culture. These philosophical themes in turn appear linked to cultural realities when public groups make their voices heard over matters of cultural expression. There are ways in which they can pose their claims more effectively, and official forums of discussion can be located at international as well as national levels. At a national level, the public hearings constitute the ideal place in which public input can be evaluated and discussed. The value of such hearings resides not only in the information they supply to the public policy

process, but also in the fact that they are a way in which governments can orchestrate the performance, while simultaneously recognizing the need for public discussion. Let us remember, however, as Susan Crean suggests that "special commissions and public inquiries play such an important role in (...) public life, for this is the one official forum where discussion of our national situation and future options has been frank."²⁴

In the following chapters two distinct examples of public input mechanisms in the form of public hearings will be presented. During the examination of the "leading ideas" and opinions manifested in the course of these "official forums" some of the above stressed philosophical themes recur in the form of tangible cultural realities for which policy discussion is required.

Notes

1. Paul Audley. Canada's Cultural Industries. Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, publishers in association with the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, 1983, p. xxi.
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3. William Melody, Liora Salter and Paul Heyer. Culture, Communication and Dependency. The Traiditon of H.A. Innis. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1981, p. 11.
4. George Grant. Technology and Empire. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969, pp. 71-72.
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 7. Octavio Paz. The Labyrinth of Solitude. Life and Thought in Mexico. (translated by Lysander Kemp). New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961, pp. 23-24.
 8. Ibid., p. 33.
 9. Henry C. Schmidt. The Roots of Lo Mexicano. Self and Society in Mexican Thought 1900-1934. College Station And London: Texas A&M University Press, 1978, p. 29.
 10. Herschel Hardin. A Nation Unaware. The Canadian Economic Culture. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd., 1974, p. 8.
 11. Octavio Paz. The Labyrinth of Solitude. Life and Thought in Mexico. (translated by Lysander Kemp). New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961, p. 169.
 12. Herschel Hardin. A Nation Unaware. The Canadian Economic Culture. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd., 1974, p. 4.
 13. Octavio Paz. The Labyrinth of Solitude. Life and Thought in Mexico. (translated by Lysander Kemp). New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961, p. 160.
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 15. Henry C. Schmidt. The Roots of Lo Mexicano. College Station and London: Texas A&M Press, 1978, p. 57.
 16. Martin Luis Guzmán, "La Querella de México," in Henry C. Schmidt. The Roots of Lo Mexicano. College Station and London: Texas A&M Press, 1978, p. 84.
 17. Michael A. Weinstein, "Lament and Utopia: Responses to American Empire in George Grant and Leopoldo Zea," in Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, vol. V, no. 3, (Fall 1981), p. 49.
 18. Ibid., pp. 48-49.
 19. Solomon Lipp. Leopoldo Zea. From Mexicanidad to a Philosophy of History. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980, pp. 47-48.
 20. Michael A. and Deena Weinstein, "Marginality in Mexican Philosophy," in Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, vol. V, no. 3, (Fall 1981), p. 22.
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CHAPTER TWO

The Canadian Public Hearing (1981-1982)

As discussed earlier, historically Canadian policy-making has shown an important and perhaps growing concern over the performance of cultural institutions in Canada. It is not surprising, then, that such cultural themes happened to reappear when the public discussion over cultural policy began in the spring of 1981. The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee chose to conduct its inquiry through public hearings, in which an important debate took place over the role of the communication media, especially broadcasting. Presenters brought out the issue of technological impact, often in order to emphasize its role as an instrument of cultural expression or cultural penetration. During the debate, much emphasis was put on its implications for the future of a culturally independent Canada.

The above mentioned debate is perhaps a symptom of the revival of Canadian nationalism, which it is said resulted from the publication of George Grant's Lament for a Nation.¹

The ongoing relation between culture and technological development suggests, however, that the debate has been kept alive. Whether one institution or the other is in charge of cultural preservation, the feeling among Canadians remains essentially the same: more needs to be done.

The role of the communications media, particularly broadcasting vis-à-vis culture, seems crucial. Broadcasting

as a distinct means of technology can serve to fulfill cultural needs, those needs are not entirely defined for Canadians, since to a certain extent they accept North American cultural products as part of their culture. These commodities have not only caused a rupture in the economic balance of the broadcasting industry but are threatening the development of a Canadian cultural identity.

The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee was frequently reminded that

(...) broadcasting is important both because of the nature of its relationship to the other components of culture, and because of the sheer size of the audiences it attracts and the revenues it commands (...) [As the President of the CBC said:] Broadcasting (...) is the most powerful means by which modern nations and peoples share a common experience, learn about their national identity, learn about their culture, learn about themselves. But it is more than that, of course. There is a truly symbiotic relationship between broadcasting and culture.² The two are inextricably bound together.

The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee has been the most important commission to undertake a national review of cultural and artistic matters since the Massey-Lévesque Commission of 1949-51.³ The latter had stated that broadcasting is a public service and that as such broadcasters have a primary responsibility to serve their public, thus rejecting arguments for control of the service as a private industry. The need for authentic Canadian programming was then seen as a priority in broadcasting and this priority seems to have recurred in every debate over communication and culture in Canada. This time, however, the

Federal Culture Policy Review Committee (FCPRC) stressed the importance of public consultation and community involvement in the development of particular policy recommendations. Indeed: "The Committee's task, therefore, was to make a representative choice from among the briefs received and accomodate them into a tightly scheduled public hearings itinerary that would include 18 cities between 13 April and 10 July 1981 within Canada".⁴

The basic goal of the Committee was to put the different regions of Canada in touch with one another and to listen to all the parties involved in cultural production, (artists, producers, industry executives and general public). A basic chapter within the briefs document produced by the Committee was devoted to the presentation of all the main issues regarding broadcasting and those were translated into a final report stating the Committee's communication policy recommendations.⁵

The dominant communications issues in those two documents will be further examined below, especially as they were originally presented to the Committee. The Committee's official view will be analyzed later on, with special emphasis on the re-emergence of certain issues, amongst others, in the policy recommendations framework. It is interesting though to note that one of the main questions examined during the hearings was the role of broadcasting in cultural production and the fostering of a national Canadian identity. (A basic parallel will be drawn in the next chapter with a similar public convocation just recently undertaken in Mexico).

From a cultural and political perspective, the efforts made by governments to assess the problematic of culture and its diffusion must be regarded as a step towards more realistic parameters of policy creation. One of the core assertions heard by the Committee was precisely that "communication policy (should be put) at the service of cultural policy."⁶

This wish or goal was repeatedly raised during the hearings, and took the form of 25 arguments which will be discussed. These arguments formed part of the following categorical issues:

- A) New Communications technologies and availability of information.
- B) Freedom of Communication (freedom of speech; freedom to inform/be informed).
- C) Economics of the Broadcasting Industry.
- D) Role of Communications Institutions. (Governmental institutions).
- E) The Fostering of National Identity and Cultural Sovereignty.

(The arguments to be examined below, however, seem to go hand in hand with a concern for the preservation of Canadian culture, which has long been considered a basic

communications policy issue in Canada. This basic notion has often been widely discussed during the several regulatory attempts made by the government of Canada to control the industry. The necessity of control derives from the fact that: "Canadian broadcasting has historically been shaped by four interrelated yet separate pressures: a) The geographical size and location of Canada; b) economic resources and the resultant tensions between private and public broadcasters; c) the proximity and pervasiveness of American broadcasting; d) technological change. The relative importance of these pressures, or of combinations thereof, has varied with the historical conjuncture".⁷

As an industry, broadcasting has received wide attention from all sectors of society: its economic importance in the life of Canada, its organizational structure and its cultural role have been, and will certainly continue to be, the subject of continuous political scrutiny. The results of Royal Commissions, Review Reports and politicians' statements will constantly be returned to the arena of the public debate. As Susan Crean puts it:

Broadcasting has had a long and bumpy career in Canada. It has been the subject of passionate national debate, scheming and politicking at the highest levels. Since 1928 it has been studied by four royal commissions, a special senate committee and a succession of parliamentary committees, making it certainly the most scrutinized sector of our cultural life. This continuous political attention has produced no fewer than five separate broadcasting acts (in 1932, 1936, 1952, 1958 and 1968) - an acknowledgement that broadcasting has been perceived as a matter of national priority requiring government protection and regulation. No other cultural

undertaking in Canada has had this recognition.

Nevertheless, the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (FCPRC) is different from previous governmental regulatory efforts. Its importance resides in the fact that for the first time all the previous arguments expressed by former commissions were now brought into the public eye, and thrown along with political and private concerns into the same "melting pot".

The task of the committee was sufficiently difficult in that it had to rescue from the mass of individual claims the few recurring core issues. This thesis aims, however, to show how certain core issues and certain individual claims which will be the subject of a closer examination within the context of cultural identity goals.

The arguments presented before the Committee during the hearings are here dealt with as part of the previously mentioned analytical categories. The first of these is:

A) NEW COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGIES AND AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION.

Six different arguments were presented to the committee regarding the role of broadcasting and its improvements as a revolutionary communications technology.

1. Technological improvements should serve all Canadians.

This was an argument presented by the Canadian Cable

Television Association (CCTA) expressing the necessity of developing sufficient technological resources in order to reach Canadians in remote areas. The CCTA recalled that at one point the CRTC (Canadian Radio Television and Telecommunications Commission in charge of regulating and licencing broadcasting services in Canada) had decided that extended alternative services were a higher priority than the development of greater amounts of "Canadian content". In the CCTA opinion, new technologies should be used with this primary objective in mind, regardless of the nature of the content. The CCTA was therefore arguing that it is more socially valuable to reach all Canadians than to produce Canadian content.⁹

This argument was shared by the Centre for Television Studies and by the Video Exchange Society who claimed that the technological possibilities of broadcasting have not yet been widely exploited.¹⁰

As a counterpart to this, two more refined arguments were presented recognizing the importance of technology but assessing problems in the actual organization of the broadcasting system:

2. Centralization, particularly in broadcasting can overwhelm the culture of other regions.

Several individuals and groups presented ideas moving in this direction: Seymour Hamilton condemned the cultural bureaucracy of Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, which elects itself as arbiter of values and taste; Richard K. Pope of

Regina claimed the right for every Canadian to produce his or her own cultural mirror instead of borrowing the Toronto or the Montreal mirror for the two language groups respectively; and the Newfoundland Independent Filmmakers' Cooperative (NIFCO) protested the overprotectionism of the CBC (The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) and the NFB (The National Film Board of Canada) as regards their own in-house productions.¹¹

At the same time while responding to the organizational problems of media production, those presentations conveyed the importance of regional cultural expression free of inquiry or centralization. Under the same light another argument was set forth:

3. Community broadcasting services should be encouraged. Their role remains important, especially at a time when there is a strong swing towards concentration of media and centralization of programming.

This argument was expressed mainly in relation to radio, which is to be considered as "one of the great Canadian success stories" since this is still the only medium to reach listeners periodically on a national and international basis, as Betty Zimmerman, the director of Radio Canada International, pointed out.¹²

The production of cultural-community-interest programs resides mainly in its non-commercialization which of course conveys other kinds of resources and financial schema. The same topic seems to have been avoided during the hearings in

regard to television, where the existence of community stations poses greater difficulties. The community service television station in Canada has been replaced by cable television services.

4. Cable Television should be recognized as a third communications entity with its own distinct and complementary characteristics.

The Canadian Cable Television Association (CCTA) claimed for cable the "community-channel functions of public access and local origination and the selective nature of cable's special programming innovations". Cable should not be considered, they said, as the mixture of a common carrier and a broadcasting medium, though it should not be asked to contribute culturally, since it already complements the traditional broadcasting system.¹³

It was clear then that in the area of new communication technologies, even pre-existing commodities such as cable would become subject to continuous legal revision. The committee acknowledged later that cable, satellites, dishes, master antennas and so on should be reviewed as part of more recent communications policies.¹⁴

5. Cable has an uncertain regulatory status.

(In its written submission, the Canadian Conference of the Arts (CCA) pointed out that because of its rapid growth and its particular technological nature cable has

"circumvented the intent of the CRTC's Canadian Content Regulations: that the majority of programming delivered to Canadian audiences be of Canadian origin".¹⁵

It is well known that the success of cable is based on facilitating signal reception, selecting special features from American programming and making them available to Canadians. At first, cable was introduced in Canada in order to overcome a technical problem, namely the poor reception of television signals, but it has become the main deliverer of American communications products into Canadian homes. This continues as cable companies have tried to diversify their service by promoting top-rated American programming to their viewers. In this sense, the Canadian content quota established by the CRTC is being disregarded by the cable industry mainly in the case of pay-tv.¹⁶

6. Pay-television should strengthen Canadian (domestic) program production potential.

At the Toronto hearings the Canadian Film and Television Association posed the question of production of popular Canadian entertainment programs and of pay-television as the potential source of competition with the CBC and the National Film Board of Canada. It is precisely at the level of popular entertainment and children's programming that Canadians are most subject to American imports. The CFTA expressed the opinion that Canadian productions of this sort could take advantage of the benefits of pay-television and thus help to build a healthy industry currently dominated by

Americans. Yet, from another perspective, the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) declared itself opposed to any pay-tv organization which was not both independent and publicly owned.¹⁷

Indeed, it is the development of appropriate technology which acts as one of the main forces to shape communications policy. Canada has fostered advances in technology because of its vast territory and because international pressures have pushed it to remain one step ahead of its Southern neighbor in high technology communications devices, even though this has not always been the case, since the appearance of broadcasting in Canada was late as compared to U.S. broadcasting innovations during the 30's 40's and 50's. Today's political concerns center on catching up through greater technological specialization.

Paul Audley points out that:

all recent indications suggest that the preoccupations of both the CRTC and the Department of Communications are economic and technological. A 1980 study published by the C.D. Howe Institute noted that: 'The Department of Communications remains the lead agency for communications policy-making within the Federal Government, but its basic character seems to be changing. The Department is coming to be perceived more as a science-based unit promoting an increasingly important aspect of Canada's overall industrial strategy and less as a culture-oriented unit responsible for managing the instruments whereby Canadian identity is shaped.'¹⁸

As George Grant would put it, in this sense technology is truly giving meaning to Canadians' existence. For them, the myth of progress is not only part of the liberal dream

itself, but also a way to share the benefits of American culture which in its democratizing efforts gives a possibility for self-differentiation.

As Grant says

Indeed our involvement in the American empire goes deeper than a simple economic and political basis; it depends on the very faith that gives meaning and purpose to the lives of Western men. To most Canadians, as public beings, the central cause of motion in their souls is the belief in progress through technique, and that faith is identified with the power and leadership of the English-speaking empire in the world.

The English-speaking empire refers notably to the United States.

The second set of arguments presented during the PCPRC hearings can be found grouped under the following category

B) FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION (FREEDOM OF SPEECH; FREEDOM TO INFORM/ BE INFORMED)

Six arguments were presented to the committee concerning what we have called here "Freedom of Communication", i.e. the preservation of the independence and the sovereignty of the Canadian broadcasting system against political, economic or cultural intervention from American or any other sources. The term "freedom of information/communications" will also be examined extensively within the Mexican arena as part of the corpus of this thesis, although the reader will have to put into perspective both cases and realize that this is an essentially political notion. Consequently, the kind of

freedom of communications that one can find in the Canadian system differs considerably from the one in the Mexican. The notion is thus dyed with political tinctures depending on the structure of power of the nation involved. Nevertheless, its importance within the framework of this analysis resides in its recurrence as one of the main political arguments raised in communications policy proposals and as such it should be assessed. Therefore, emphasis will be put on those arguments in which freedom of national cultural expression prevails over other concerns for those are areas of the freedom of communications concept in which the Canadian and the Mexican claims coincide.

1. This nation should establish its own Canadian broadcasting system in the true sense.

Broadcasting was often referred to as one of the 'cultural industries' during the PCPRC hearings. The marketplace for Canadian cultural works was described as weak and peripheral. In that sense, even the president of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) asserted that

we really do not have a Canadian broadcasting system today. We have a radio system which is Canadian; we have a French-language television system which is Canadian, or substantially so. But we have an English-language television system which is substantially American.²⁰

Consequent to the above, argument 2 reads as follows:

2. There is an unbalanced flow of communications goods in the international market.

This idea is not exclusive to the Canadian arena. Its implications should be acknowledged both politically and economically, and as such they have been extensively discussed within UNESCO which has produced several recommendations for a more balanced world information order. In this case, however, every position taken is valid. The open Canadian relationship with the United States has taken the country into an unbalanced partnership, for, as was stated by the Canadian Association of Talent Representatives, Canada does not prevent free flow of U.S. talent, whereas the U.S. does prevent the free flow of foreign talent.²¹ Economic reasons have nurtured the existence of this kind of situation, as other arguments during the hearings clearly demonstrated.

3. Culture should not exist in any concentrated form but should be evenly and homogeneously distributed accross Canada.

This belief was asserted in relation to federal intervention in the production of culture. According to the Théâtre d'Aujourd'hui, Canada's national culture should not be broken down or compartmentalized into regional subcultures. But Toronto's Carmen Lamanna Gallery took the argument further in stating that this promotes English-French segregation. It was obvious for the committee that the

definition of region was being severely questioned, since, in the opinion of some presenters, this was a term constructed mainly for geographical, political or economic but certainly not cultural purposes.²²

On the other hand, from the point of view of its universality, the strength of the argument was lost by its presenters in favor of production, distribution and commercialization proposals for cultural works in Canada. The role of the Government as provider for regional cultural expression was not specified.

4. Canadians should be free to choose from the variety of programming made available through the broadcasting media.

This is an argument that springs directly from the liberal concept of freedom of expression although many variants have been developed such as the comparison between of broadcasting and the press, wherein broadcasting is considered to be a source of information and opinion such like the press and is, therefore, considered to be necessary for the well being of a free society.²³

Another variant is the idea that to control the broadcasting industry would be to prevent the Canadian public from acquiring information and that this would go against the freedom of choice principle, which Canadians essentially defend, as was stated during the hearings by the Canadian Cable and Television Association (CCTA).²⁴

On the other hand, the Canadian broadcasting industry and the Canadian cable companies claim no responsibility for

low levels of Canadian content consumed by their viewers. They state that over half the people of Canada are able to receive U.S. programming directly off-the-air. The Americans are, therefore, the ones to be blamed; Canadian programmers are only responding to the realities and influences of competitive broadcasting.²⁵

5. The availability of American programming poses problems for public-policy making and the administration of regulations.

This argument could be viewed as a consequence of the previous one due to the fact that a competitive broadcasting system relies on specialization to succeed, and that consequently there follows an inevitable fragmentation of the audience. This idea was presented at the hearings by Peter Herrndorf who reminded the committee that: "For the policy-maker, there is the complex problem of deciding how these new services, like pay-television, can be best administered, and how their proceeds should be controlled and invested".²⁶

6. Cultural industries do not appropriately reflect cultural diversity.

This argument embodies the claim of an equal/democratic access to cultural expression, and was presented to the committee mainly by Canadians with no direct professional interest in broadcasting but who nonetheless agreed that "the

broadcast media reflect a distorted -or at least incomplete- image of our society and institutions". For its part, the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship suggested that help was needed in providing a cultural balance for the images presented on radio and television.²⁷

In sum, this category of arguments underlines the fact that Canadians should be enabled to keep their cultural individualism while at the same time preserve their freedom of choice and of expression. Thus, for policy makers in Canada, the task is to encompass both: Canadian identity and cultural self-expression though they appear not to be in agreement with each other. As Northorp Frye stated insightfully:

When the CBC is instructed by Parliament to do what it can to promote Canadian unity and identity, it is not always realized that unity and identity are quite different things to be promoting and that in Canada these are probably more different than they are anywhere else. Identity is local and regional, rooted in the imagination and in works of culture; unity is national in reference, international in perspective, and rooted in a political feeling (...). Assimilating identity to unity produces the empty gestures of cultural nationalism; assimilating unity to identity produces the kind of provincial isolation which is now called separatism.²⁸

The third set of arguments expressed at the PCPBC hearings will be grouped here into the following category:

C) ECONOMICS OF THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY.

Three related arguments can be found under this heading.

Again, the categorical division is made here for methodological purposes although the reader may well find that each argument has ramifications that can be viewed from different secondary perspectives.

1. The United States is simply too big to compete with.

When confronted with the fact that Canadians are exposed to too much American programming, broadcasters, especially private ones, consistently claimed that the market did not favor Canadian communications products, and that U.S. experience and technology were simply too developed to compete with. Writing as an individual, Gordon Inglis of Newfoundland made the comment that "the arguments that if we make a good enough cultural product, then Canadians will want it, or buy it, or read it, is naive".²⁹

The reasons for the lack of Canadian cultural products may vary but in general they all coincide in that the impact of American cultural penetration is much too important.

2. The marketplace produces a double 'dis-incentive' that works in favor of American programming.

This could be considered a variant of the preceeding argument on which broadcasters rely in order to justify their production standards. They do not suggest that Canadian programs are of lower quality but they do indicate that the cost of production of national material exceeds their benefits and their responsibility to serve the Canadian

public. The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) and the Canadian Film and Television Association (CFTA) admit that American programs are 'dumped' at a fraction of their production cost.³⁰

3. Private broadcasting must be a successful business before it can effectively embrace public service requirements.

Such pleas were used to remind the committee of the nature of private broadcasting in Canada. While the government insists that broadcasting is a public service and that the allocation of frequencies is granted to private broadcasters in the form of a licence, private broadcasters are firm in maintaining their unwillingness to lose money in order to preserve policy goals. Thus, to force them to observe regulations would be to ruin the industry. Their only responsibility, according to the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) is to the advertising community and to their viewers: "If private broadcasters obtain a greater or equal viewing share when compared to the CBC for their Canadian programs, what is the justification for requiring detailed regulatory involvement in a station's scheduling policy?"³¹

Hence, cultural provisions in communications policies have little or nothing to do with the financial interests of private broadcasters,³² as Paul Attallah has pointed out:

Clearly the linchpin in the evolution of the Canadian broadcasting system has been the role of the private broadcasting sector. The private sector, as regards television at least, did not introduce

American programming, but it did turn the economic pressures which favoured its importation into the sine qua non of Canadian broadcasting. The private sector has consistently evaded regulatory intentions, always in the name of economic necessity, and the regulatory agencies, again in the name of economic necessity have refused to enforce regulations or to revoke licences.

Though this attitude is not rooted only in the private broadcast sector, it is certainly more evident there. Early media, such as the press and publishing, were established by businessmen. It was, therefore not surprising to see private broadcasting grow as another legitimate area for profit-making. Broadcasting is not only an industry but also a cultural undertaking. This precisely defines the incompatibility of its nature: culture and business simply do not mix, unless culture produces money, in which case the nature of its intentions is thrown into question. The fact is that if the industry's goal were to foster cultural development, it would not in all likelihood be profitable, and would therefore need to be subsidized as is the case with the CBC. The CBC's own performance was very much questioned during the hearings because of its tendency to commercialize its programming in order to compete.

The Canadian broadcasting industry, like any other industry, has to move with international communications industries. George Grant in Technology and Empire would argue that within the American industrial hegemony over the Western World, Canada is an easy victim for domination.³⁵

D) ROLE OF COMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTIONS

The next set of arguments presented before the PCPRC deals with the role that communications institutions should play in the Canadian broadcasting system.

The most questioned institutional roles during the meetings were those of CBC and the NFB. Their performance was evaluated in terms of the mandate they were given and the kind of function they perform. In this sense, the private sector was not subject to trial, their objective as profit-makers was clear to the Committee from the beginning. Two main arguments were used to evaluate institutional performance:

1. Governmental institutions have failed to fulfill their role.

Several groups such as the Atai Arctic Creative Development Foundation, the Canadian Film and Television Association (CFTA) and the Newfoundland Independent Filmmakers' Cooperative (NIFCO) stated that the CBC and the NFB had failed to carry out a mandate that includes "the responsibility to relate both the national and regional cultural mosaic which is Canada and Québec" and that these institutions are "narrowly stylized, bureaucratic and centralist in orientation".³⁶

2. One of the main reasons why these institutions have failed to accomplish their mandate is the lack of financial

resources.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) expressed its concern over insufficient funding for its projects, despite the large amounts it received from Parliament. At the same time, the Canadian Broadcasting League and David McQueen of York University expressed their concerns over the CBC's lack of success in fulfilling its cultural mandate, while the National Arts Centre went so far as to denounce the fact that "the government identifies cultural affairs as a separate area of policy and planning within the financial-administrative system".³⁷

This last remark is important for it poses problems which go to the foundation of the CBC. As it stands now, Cultural Affairs is part of Social Welfare policies leaving the Corporation with the task of coping with commercial competition in order to obtain revenues and report them to Parliament. As a genuine cultural institution, the CBC's three objectives in Canada, according to the Report of the Massey-Lévesque Commission (1951) are:

(...) an adequate coverage of the entire population, opportunities for Canadian talent, and for Canadian self-expression generally, and successful resistance to the absorption of Canada into the general cultural pattern of the United States.³⁸
(My underlining).

On the other hand, the present Broadcasting Act (1968) enforces on the CBC the parameters of balanced information and entertainment, which as objectives, are not applied to the private sector. According to Paul Audley, the objectives

of the 1968 Broadcasting Act suggested for the private sector are extremely vague, such as requiring that stations and networks be Canadian-owned and that programs be of high quality using predominantly Canadian creative sources, and cannot be considered successful.³⁹

For the CBC then, the failure to fulfill its mandate can be due to unclear legislation as well as to the existence of administrative problems in the allocation of financial resources. The above mentioned inconsistencies were acknowledged by the Committee in the final report, and recommendations were suggested in this area.

And finally in this succinct review of arguments presented to the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee, a large number of important reports during the hearings dealt with what we have called here the category of:

E) THE FOSTERING OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY.

A total of seven main arguments on this subject were presented to the FCPRC during its hearings. They all coincided in that steps must be taken to construct and preserve Canadian national identity. The understanding of the meaning of Canadian identity and the ways and suggestions offered to the committee varied considerably, however.

There were clearly two positions on this matter: there were those who claimed that Canadian self-expression as such is unnecessary since that would result automatically from the exposure of Canadians to quality and high culture regardless of its origin; and there were those who maintained

that Canadian self-identity should be fostered by letting the various Canadian cultural groups express themselves thereby avoiding all kinds of foreign, mainly American, influences.

The following arguments constitute interesting examples of Canadian concerns over nationalistic feelings, self-identity and the preservation of national culture.

1. Cultural objectives must be looked at in broader terms than just those of Canadian programming content.

The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) and the Canadian Cable Television Association (CCTA) agreed in exposing the benefits of varied programming to all parts of Canada despite CRTC requirements for Canadian content quotas.⁴⁰

This view, supported mainly by private broadcasters, underlines the efforts made by the industry to provide a wide range of choices to the Canadian public, and proposes cultural policy parameters different from those based exclusively on the origin of the material as the key notion in regulation.

2. Quality should be put before nationalism.

The Canadian Film and Television Association reminded the committee that if Canadian products are to be sold in the international market they ought to have quality, and that: "By meeting international standards of excellence, we are not being less Canadian".⁴¹

The same argument goes hand in hand with the notion that when Canadians are presented with quality they automatically ask for it every time. And by the same token it can be said that art recognizes no boundaries and what in that sense, broadcasting should be awarded artistic privileges.

3. The universal interest lies in the power of the particular experience. ✓

Maurice Yacovar, dean of the Division of Humanities at Brock University, argued that "by addressing Canadians with Canadian concerns and issues, Canadian arts can attract international respect", and Moses Znaimer suggested that such Canadian art could attain universal significance precisely because of its natural emergence.⁴²

For their part, there were those who made emphatic critiques and proposed alternatives to the threatening influence of American cultural products. These arguments were exposed along these lines:

4. There is a strong necessity to cease imitating foreign models.

A general concern in the need to foster Canadian individuality was expressed through particular cases such as the example of the recording industry. Canadian cultural industries, it was said, ought to succeed in order to reflect the Canadian cultural experience.⁴³

Up to this point the Canadian thrust towards the

preservation of its cultural experience is fairly obvious. As national identity has become one of the main cultural policy issues in Canada. Some particular and institutional viewpoints exclude the American influence as being threatening; others propose to assimilate what is good from it into the Canadian cultural stream, but of course the question of the meaning of 'good' remains. Yet, the conjuncture seems to lie in the recognition that American cultural patterns affect the Canadian scene. Although official policy recommendations have always stressed the need for an independent Canadian broadcasting system, it is paradoxical that this broadcasting system cannot maintain itself without the aid of American broadcasting products.

The Special Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting said, in 1932, the following, which is even more applicable today as regards broadcasting as a whole:

First of all this country must be assured of complete control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for the communications of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals, and without such control it can never be the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened.⁴⁴

The American sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset has elaborated the idea that Canadians are constantly looking for the virtues of being separate from the United States and that in a sense this Anti-Americanism fosters in them a vital need

for a Canadian identity.⁴⁵ In other words, what they
Canadians see are the benefits created by social envy.
But this is just one of the ways in which Canada generates
its own nationalistic feelings.

According to Herschel Hardin, there have been other
modes for Canadian self-expression that varied with the times
and the historical circumstances. The idea of cultural
definition and the concern for Canadian self-identity is not
in vogue by nature, it belongs to the same roots of North
American history, as Grant, Paz and others have already
explored. What remains interesting is that people seem to
forget what this identity struggle has achieved in the past,
for it is obvious that the subject recurs in Canadian public
policy matters, and especially in the area of broadcasting.

As Herschel Hardin puts it:

It is a peculiar anthropological puzzle
that Canadians don't know who they are,
although they have been trying to find
out, by introspection, almost from the
beginning of their history. Not that
they suffer from a lack of imagination.
The search for Canadian identity, and for
a definition of Canadian nationalism, has
gone on for so long, and is so gloriously
rich in idiosyncrasy, that it constitutes
one of the wonders of the world.⁴⁶

Thus, general remarks as to how to develop authentic
models instead of imitating American ones or petitions aimed
at the preservation of Canada's cultural heritage are just a
reflection of this natural drive for self-identity that
Canadians have.

As regards broadcasting, the PCPRC heard from the
Association for the Study of Canadian Radio and Television

ASCRT that "if we wish to build and maintain our Canadian cultural identity, it is absolutely crucial for us to preserve the national cultural record contained in the programs and background documents of our broadcasting institutions".⁴⁷

From the previous statement it should be concluded that radio and television are to be considered crucial in the social and cultural development of Canada due to their significance in binding the different regions together and providing means for cultural expression. This is something rarely acknowledged of a communications medium and it ought to have repercussions on Canadian cultural policy-making for years to come. And to the broadcasting industry it will certainly provide considerations beyond the range of the information-and entertainment-institutions frontier. Broadcasting should take advantage of these modifications in order to expand its abilities in the communications technology race. Information without meaning is a danger hanging over the heads of many societies including Canada. Foreign programming can sometimes be considered 'information without meaning' since it does not convey any sense to the society it is meant to inform.

5. Canadian policy in broadcasting has attempted to preserve Canadian cultural identity by means of Canadian content quotas.

The 1968 Broadcasting Act requires that the broadcasting service be "predominantly Canadian in content and character",

and that it contribute "to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity". As mentioned earlier, such a statement, although vaguely defined and unevenly applied, is one of the CBC's basic mandates. Most of the presentations before the PCPRC stressed the poor fulfillment of the regulations by broadcasting, and demanded a clear definition of the terminology used in the Act. The PCPRC was also reminded that these regulations which currently apply only to licenced broadcasters and their affiliates should be extended to cover the cable companies which are largely responsible for increasing the consumption of foreign programming. The general consensus seemed to be that "only after arriving at an administratively clear definition of 'Canadian Content' can we proceed to make rules, regulations and decisions".⁴⁸ There were other groups, however, who despised an administrative (bureaucratic) definition of Canadian content, specifically in quantitative terms:

6. The basic problem is not how much Canadian content is desirable, but rather what kinds of Canadian content.

Various independent groups, filmmakers, native Canadians and local artists' councils agreed that a qualitative definition of Canadian content was needed. They seemed, however, to acknowledge the fact that such parameters would bring even stronger institutional and administrative problems rather than solve the existing cultural dilemma. Nevertheless, they stressed the notion that quality standards

could enhance opportunities for regional self-expression and access to the presently centralized broadcasting system.⁴⁹ The existence of widely available quality content was also underlined. These groups also recognized that growing responses to foreign material create a vicious circle and fortify dependency ties with American culture.:

Another perspective was provided by Vancouver's Cineworks, whose written brief described Canada culturally as "an occupied country". It said, moreover, that "only by taking a radical stance, and by maintaining this stance, can the federal government hope to create a Canadian culture". The Director's Guild of Canada thought Canada "was losing its cultural awareness and warned that "the largest influence in this diluting effect on a Canadian heritage is the immense influx of media from other countries. While this media pressure, particularly from the United States, is greater on Canada because of (its) proximity (...)"⁵⁰

7. Communications policy should be put at the service of cultural policy.

It would be important to start the analysis of this final argument with one of Grant's recollections. In Lament for a Nation, he states:

It has been said that the inability of a country to have an independent foreign policy does not prevent it from being a nation. This means that Canadians have to recognize the limitations on sovereignty in a nation that lives beside the most powerful country on earth (...) nor is it simply that the United States is the most progressive society on earth and therefore the most radical force for the homogeneizing of the world. By its very nature, the capitalist system makes

of national boundaries only matters of political formality.⁵¹

The implications of this particular remark were well reflected during the hearings of the PCPRC as different cultural groups reviewed self-expression through broadcasting and stressed that Canada's remote regions are suffering from an "isolation of the mind". They are by no means interconnected with the rest of the nation, and by the same token they do not have a relationship with the American nation either. Along these lines, groups like the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Canada (AMNSIS) saw specialized broadcasting facilities as an incomplete solution to the problem. The question resides more in a total redefinition of communications policy in order to take the specific cultural needs of the regions into account.⁵²

These 25 arguments are only elaborations of the 5 main communications issues related to culture and broadcasting, which are: technologies; freedom of communications; industry; institutional roles and cultural identity. Of these, the ones referring to cultural identity, the preservation of national culture and cultural self-expression have been highlighted by this analysis. They constituted an important part of the overall presentations during the hearings and seemed to direct future policy recommendations from the Committee.

In the chapter referring to the Mexican search for cultural identity through communications policies, these five

main communications issues will be brought up again to review the presentations offered during the popular hearings that the Government of Mexico proposed as a first step towards constructing a new national communications policy. Similar concerns and directives, parallel to those previously presented in the case of Canada will be examined although to date no final policy report has been handed in. In both countries, however, broadcasting plays an important role and should play a more relevant one if cultural identity is to be fostered.

As an industry, broadcasting constitutes a vital force in Canadian economic life, but whether the economic side of the question is regarded as important or not, the broadcasting potential must reside in its abilities as a source of information, communications and cultural expression. Broadcasting is the only cultural industry fully regulated by the government and the stance that the Government of Canada should take in regards to it must be a definite one. The FCPRC learned from the different groups, associations, and individuals involved that the broadcasting issue was to be crucial in cultural policy-making during the next few decades and that whatever recommendations were to be presented as a set of guiding-principles will have to give the government a basis for decision-making.

The Committee was reminded that the process of policy-creation affects all Canadians, and that its primary task would have to be the preservation of Canadian culture.

North and South, East and West, the Committee found a concern that the benefits of Canada's cultural diversity would be lost unless the main different elements were brought in touch with each other. As the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council put it, a cultural policy must permit all Canadians, whether they are majority or minority group members to develop as they are and to be enriched by contact with different peoples in every sector of human activity (...) Canadian culture should give to all Canadians a sense of proprietorship and pride and of reaching beyond themselves.⁵⁹

The final report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee was made public in November 1982 and is now named the Applebaum-Hébert report after its co-chairmen. The report addresses immediate and long-range problems in its conclusions and recommendations. A great emphasis is placed on situating the recommendations within the framework of cultural preservation, intellectual heritage and artistic creativity in Canada. As regards communications, one of the key notions presented in the report was that: "one of the chief goals of cultural policy must be to establish strong and stable lines of communications between artists of all kinds and those who will see, read or hear their messages". In other words, in the area of broadcasting, besides listening to the claims of private and public broadcasters, the committee acknowledged the needs of the true producers of culture and its receivers:

We believe, moreover that culture and the arts will best flourish in Canada when our artists are able to present their work to audiences with a fair measure of freedom from social, economic and

political constraints" (...) "This idea has clear implications for the effects of public policy on cultural life; above all, that policy should facilitate self-expression⁵⁴ rather than control or organize it.

The Committee's remarkable tendency was to assess all its recommendations in terms of Canadian cultural improvement. The Final Report in its chapter on broadcasting stressed the importance of developing a completely new approach to the Canadian content question. It also proposed measures aimed at enhancing the CBC's contribution to cultural expression and rejected private broadcasting tendencies towards commercialization. It reminded broadcasters of their responsibilities to cultural programming and suggested more flexibility in the administration of regulations on the part of the CRTC. It even proposed the creation of a new Broadcasting Act which would implemented some of the recommendations of the Committee into a legal framework.

But perhaps the overall achievement of the report was to provide a view of the broadcasting environment different from past regulatory attempts which conceived the role of the government as a restrictive one. In the committee's opinion, restrictions are not the solution to the present broadcasting problem. A national broadcasting policy should recognize the Canadian public's tendency to demand from broadcasting more opportunities, more technology and more programming choices.

But if Canada is to retain a programming presence in its own broadcasting and telecommunications system, it must use all its technological and creative resources to provide Canadian programs

and services that Canadians want to see and hear, programs that are competitive in quality with those from other countries.⁵⁹

The Committee's recommendations were used as the basis for a new document called "Towards a New Broadcasting Policy" produced by the Department of Communications. In this document the DOC proposes several directions for communications policy and promises to submit them to further public discussion. The new strategies adopted as part of this broadcasting policy can be summarized as follows:

The policies and proposals which constitute this strategy have three fundamental goals: 1) To maintain the Canadian broadcasting system as an effective vehicle of social and cultural policy in the light of a renewed commitment to the spirit of the broadcasting objectives set out in the 1968 Broadcasting Act. 2) To make available to all Canadians a solid core of attractive Canadian programming in all programming categories, through the development of strong Canadian broadcast and program production industries. 3) To provide a significantly increased choice of programming of all kinds in both official languages in all parts of Canada.

The Canadian strategy is built over two sets of policy proposals. The first set is called "New Policies" and includes the following:

1. Expand programming choice. The DOC believes, after the recommendations of the Applebaum-Hébert report, that the new policy should follow permissive parameters rather

than restrictive ones. Therefore, one of the key statements of this strategy is to guarantee wide availability of choices to all Canadians

2. Strengthen Canadian programming. The Government of Canada establishes through this policy a special Canadian Broadcast Development Fund intended to assist private production companies and independent producers in the belief that this will necessarily provide the means to fill the lack of adequate quality Canadian programming.
3. Direct CRTC on policy matters. The DOC recognizes the need to adjust broadcasting policy to meet the present needs of the broadcasting system. Therefore and in agreement with the FCPRC recommendations and the chairman of the CRTC the Department of Communications proposes that the Federal Government be given the ability to issue directives to the CRTC in broad policy matters. The CRTC however will remain autonomous in deciding how to apply these policies and will retain its responsibility for regulating and supervising all aspects of the Canadian broadcasting system, including Canadian content requirements.
4. Abolish satellite dish licencing requirements for individuals. In agreement with policy goal number one, individuals will be able to purchase small television earth stations (TVRO) or satellite dishes to improve

their programming services.

The second set of policies consists proposals for consultation, and can be summarized as follows

1. Private sector thrust. Intends to encourage the private broadcaster to improve the quality and quantity of Canadian programming given that new funds and assistance, namely the Broadcast Program Development Fund, will be available.
2. French-language broadcasting thrust. Stimulate exports of broadcasting produced by the French-language broadcasting industry in Canada as well as the importation of other French-language material. Examine the establishment of a second French-language television network in Quebec.
3. Export thrust. Establish the means to distribute Canadian broadcasting products in the international market.
4. Equalization of services thrust. Encourage equal distribution of services to all Canadian through adequate uses of available technology, (including microwave and satellites).
5. Native Peoples thrust. Respond to the needs of native people in terms of their language and culture.

6. Regulatory thrust. Ensure an adequate and more flexible regulatory environment. Change Canadian content requirements. The CRTC is expected to develop measures to this end (proposed changes to its Canadian content regulations were presented on January 31, 1983).
7. Legislative thrust. Aims to realign Parliament's statutory objectives for broadcasting and proposes legislative amendments such as a re-elaboration of the 'broadcasting' definition in the 1968 Broadcasting Act.
8. CBC thrust. Intends to strengthen the performance of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and proposes a substantial increase in its Canadian content programming.⁵⁶

The general concern over cultural identity is thus reflected more recently in the above mentioned policy documents in Canada. The strong tendency seen since the 1940's and 50's for the affirmation of national identity is transported into the 1980's as cultural policy matters. For the first time the Canadian government seems to recognize that all previous attempts directed towards a more restrictive regulation to safe-guard cultural identity were wrong and doomed to fail. The unavoidable impact of technology has forced the pendulum to swing to the other side where freedom of choice and greater availability of programming ought to be granted. The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (FCPRC) as well as the Department of

Communications (DOC) hope, in this manner, to achieve a clearer solution to the problem, or at least to try to keep up with the "technological revolution" and the challenges that it poses. It also seems clear, however, that the original public thrust expressed during the hearings underwent a process of dilution from the moment it was presented, as an individual concern, to the way in which it was finally reflected, if at all, in the policy documents. It would be the purpose of a more detailed analysis to examine the transformation that the original arguments experienced from their presentation to the form they finally acquired within the official 'jargon', and still another to analyze how these policy statements are finally applied. Nevertheless, it is crucially important to assess here the similarity of the various public concerns voiced by Canadians over the need to preserve their cultural identity.

Previous statements by philosophers of culture and several other intellectuals have shown a remarkable similarity to the Canadian uneasiness about cultural identity. The enormous task with which the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee was confronted, reveals that this society is concerned with its social-cultural identity deeply enough to make it the vehicle for public policy changes. At least as regards the chapter on broadcasting, it seems fair to conclude that the cultural identity/sovereignty/foreign influence issue was the dominant aspect through which all the rest of the communications goals were put in perspective.

The importance of such hearings resided precisely in their ability to give direction to policy matters. When the

report was made public the reaction was impassioned, especially from the CBC, which claimed to be doing the best it could, and from the private broadcasters who threatened to do nothing more. After things calmed down the Department of Communications produced its Broadcasting Strategy document with which it attempted to please all parties involved while at the same time envisaging a renewed broadcasting policy for Canada. The results of this strategy will be visible only in the years to come. The main orientation, which is the recognition that the alliance of culture and technology can work for Canada, is a re-elaboration of the Massey-Lévesque report of the 50's. The concrete policy proposals, however, except for the establishment of the Canadian Broadcasting Fund, promise to maintain the status quo for broadcasting in Canada.

As was stressed before, not only through philosophical remarks but also in the form of public concerns, Canada needs a strong stance, and as regards culture Canadians are the ones who should define the means for self-identity.

If Canadians do not produce their own writing, music, theatre, films and television programs no one else will.⁵⁹

A strong emphasis is being given in international arenas to the issue of cultural expression, and Canada is just responding to the internal concerns of such a need. Its cultural policies and the steps taken to fulfill those policies will have an impact in the near future, not only in the lives of Canadians but also in the way international communications are talked about. Some other countries are

trying to take a stance vis-à-vis cultural intervention and the preservation of their own cultural expression. The route selected in this strategy could lead to the promotion of one or the other. Governments' willingness to adopt recommendations in this direction could mean the success of cultural policies as a true representation of the public will.

Notes

1. John Badertscher, "The Prophecy of George Grant," in Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory.
2. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications. Government of Canada. January, 1982, p. 213.
3. The Massey-Lévesque Commission was to examine a number of organizations and institutions including broadcasting relating to cultural development in Canada. For more information on broadcasting commissions see: Hindley, Martin & McNulty. The Tangled Net. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd., 1977; Shea, Albert. Broadcasting the Canadian Way. Montreal: Harvest House, 1963; Weir, Ernest Austin. The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965; and Smith, Anthony. The Geopolitics of Information. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. The latter will give the reader a wider scope in relation to American domination and cultural dependence in Canada.
4. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, Jan. 1982, p. iii.
5. For the purpose of the structure of this thesis, the present chapter will examine in detail the main broadcasting issues stressed during those hearings, leaving the discussion of general remarks between the Canadian and the Mexican case for the final chapter. This methodological division aims to stress the cultural concerns presented in the public arena as opposed to the institutional (governmental) views which will be

evaluated as national policy statements later on.

6. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, p. 228.
7. Paul Attallah. The International Flow of Television Programming and Structures of Broadcasting in Canada. Université de Montréal. Unpublished paper, May 1983.
8. Susan Crean. Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture? Don Mills, Ontario: General Publishing Co. Ltd., 1976, p. 27.
9. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, pp. 221-223.
10. Ibid., p. 235.
11. Ibid., pp. 13-14 & 231.
12. Ibid., p. 215.
13. Ibid., pp. 218-219.
14. A new regulatory framework has been established by a DOC document called "Towards a New National Broadcasting Policy", February, 1983. The above mentioned document is here referred to only as a secondary source and will not be examined in full as part of the cultural thesis expressed in this work.
15. Paul Attallah. The International Flow of Television Programming and Structures of Broadcasting in Canada. Université de Montréal. Unpublished paper, May 1983. "As regards Canadian programming, the CRTC requires all Canadian television stations to carry 60% Canadian content between 6 PM and 12 midnight, averaged annually. It requires the CBC to show 60% Canadian content, averaged annually, between 6 PM and midnight. It requires private stations to show 50% Canadian content, averaged annually, between 6 PM and 12 midnight. Canadian content continues to be very loosely defined".
16. The subject of Canadian content is particularly important as part of the arguments in cultural development and the fostering of national identity through the media, and will be discussed extensively later on.
17. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, pp. 223-224.

18. Paul Audley. Canada's Cultural Industries: Broadcasting, Publishing Records and Film. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, publishers in association with the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, 1983, p. 252.
19. George Grant. "Canadian Fall and Imperialism," in Technology and Empire. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969, p. 64.
20. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, p. 4.
21. Ibid., p. 9.
22. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
23. For further comments on this see: John Porter. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 457-490, where he examines the broadcasting-press analogy as suggested by Gladys Coke Mussen (1960) in her Ph.D. thesis.
24. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, pp. 224-225.
25. Ibid., pp. 219-221.
26. Ibid., pp. 222-223.
27. Ibid., p. 233.
28. Northrop Frye. Preface to the Bush Garden. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1971, p. 11, as quoted in: Hindley, Patricia, Gail M. Martin and Jean Mc Nulty. The Tangled Net. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd., 1977, p. 8.
29. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, p. 9.
30. Ibid., pp. 219 & 229.
31. Ibid., pp. 219-220.
32. In Montreal alone, during the period of Jan. 31 to Feb. 13, 1983, the CTV network with its affiliate CFCF Channel 12 devoted more than 50% of its entire broadcasting time to U.S. programming.
33. Paul Attallah. The International Flow of Television Programming and Structures of Broadcasting in Canada. Université de Montréal. Unpublished paper, May 1983.

34. For a more detailed discussion of the history and structure of power in Canada see: John Porter. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 466-467.
35. George Grant. Technology and Empire. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969, pp. 63-64.
36. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, pp. 227-228.
37. Ibid., pp. 26, 33 & 2.
38. David Ellis. Evolution of the Canadian Broadcasting System: Objectives and Realities 1928-1968. Department of Communications, 1979, p. 30.
39. Paul Audley. Canada's Cultural Industries. Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, publishers in association with the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy, 1983, p. 302.
40. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, p. 221.
41. Ibid., p. 8.
42. Ibid., p. 89.
43. Ibid., p. 8.
44. Patricia Hindley, Gail M. Martin & Jean Mc Multy. The Tangled Net. (on the special Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting, 1932). Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd, 1977, pp. 48-49.
45. For a more detailed view on the sociologist's ideas see: Seymour Martin Lipset. Revolution and Contrarrevolution. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
46. Herschel Hardin. A Nation Unaware. The Canadian Economic Culture. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas Ltd., 1974, pp. 2-3.
47. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, p. 236.
48. Ibid., pp. 214-218 & 220-221.
49. Ibid., pp. 227-229.

50. Ibid., p. 4.
51. George Grant. Lament for a Nation. The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism. Toronto: The Canadian Publishers, McClelland Stewart, Ltd., 1965, p. 42.
52. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, p. 228.
53. Ibid., p. 16.
54. Ibid., p. 4.
55. Ibid., p. 282.
56. Towards a New National Broadcasting Policy. Department of Communications: Government of Canada, February, 1983.
57. Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. Summary of Briefs and Hearings. Information Services: Department of Communications, Government of Canada, January 1982, p. 228.