

1-1-2002

# The success prospect of a Canadian foreign language international radio service

Wasim Ghani  
*Ryerson University*

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.ryerson.ca/dissertations>



Part of the [Film and Media Studies Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Ghani, Wasim, "The success prospect of a Canadian foreign language international radio service" (2002). *Theses and dissertations*. Paper 37.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ Ryerson. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Ryerson. For more information, please contact [bcameron@ryerson.ca](mailto:bcameron@ryerson.ca).

# NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) not included in the original manuscript and are unavailable from the author or university. The manuscript was scanned as received.

viii, 158

This reproduction is the best copy available.

**UMI**<sup>®</sup>



THE SUCCESS PROSPECT OF A CANADIAN FOREIGN  
LANGUAGE INTERNATIONAL RADIO SERVICE

by

Wasim Ghani  
M.A. International Relations  
Karachi University (Pakistan), 1977

A thesis

presented to Ryerson University and York University

in partial fulfillment of the  
requirement for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
in the Joint Graduate Program in  
Communication and Culture

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2002

© Wasim Ghani



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services

Acquisitiions et  
services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file    Votre référence*

*ISBN: 0-612-87156-8*

*Our file    Notre référence*

*ISBN: 0-612-87156-8*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

---

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this dissertation.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de ce manuscrit.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the dissertation.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

**Canada**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this thesis to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Signature

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this thesis by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Signature

Ryerson University requires the signatures of all persons using or photocopying this thesis.

Please sign below, and give address and date.

# THE SUCCESS PROSPECTS OF A CANADIAN FOREIGN LANGUAGE INTERNATIONAL RADIO SERVICE

## ABSTRACT

Canada's international image needs to be recast and enhanced. There are indications that her image does not reflect her achievements in science, technology and industry. Outdated and inaccurate perceptions of Canada in the world can have negative implications for her economic well-being as well as her ability to effectively participate in world affairs and international development.

The thesis considers whether Radio Canada International (RCI) can help in producing an appropriate image of Canada and serve her national and international objectives. It scrutinizes the organization, present state and past performance of RCI as well as contextualizing the broadcaster within certain social and political trends in the country.

The thesis concludes that RCI can help Canada in realizing her potential as a valuable player on the world stage and suggests that it should be assigned additional broadcasting responsibilities to this end.



## CONTENTS

Preface	ix
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION: MAKING THE CASE	1
The Canadian Advantage	8
Towards an Image-making Strategy	12
Radio the Right Medium	15
Radio Canada International	19
Benefits of a Foreign Language Radio Service	21
Summing Up	28
2. THE RCI DRAMA: FUNCTIONAL DYSFUNCTION?	29
The Failure of a Relationship	31
Causes of Discord	42
Working Together	50
Impediments to Effective Liaison	58
Conclusion	71
3. TOWARDS AN AUDIENCE THEORY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: A STUDY OF RCI'S AUDIENCE IN PAKISTAN	75
Review of Current Audience Theories	78
Determining RCI's Audience in Pakistan	82
Model for Determining RCI's Audience in Pakistan	88
Conclusion	99
4. DEVELOPING PERFORMANCE INDICATORS FOR RCI	101
RCI's Objectives	102

RCI's Evaluation of its own Performance	106
Redirecting RCI's Role	110
Evaluating RCI's New Objectives	112
5. BBC WORLD SERVICE	115
International Broadcasting and the Foreign Office	119
Operational Arrangement	122
World Service Programming and its Impact	123
Comparison of RCI and BBC World Service	127
6. NEEDS ASSESSMENT	131
Environmental Products and Services Demand in Developing Countries	132
Needs Assessment of Environmental Industry	137
Foreign Language Radio Need Among Ethnic Communities	138
Benefits for RCI	143
7. TOWARDS A GLOBAL PUBLIC SPHERE FOR PEACE	145
Habermas' Concept of the Public Sphere	150
Organizing the Global Public Sphere	154
The Global Public Sphere Model	158
8. CONCLUSION	167
Information for Peace	167
Window of Opportunity	169
Considerations	171
Proposal	173

## Appendix

1. RADIO TIMELINE IN CANADA	179
2. TIMELINE OF RADIO CANADA INTERNATIONAL	185
3. CHRONOLOGY OF CBC'S LAND GIFT RETURN	191
4. BIBLIOGRAPHY	193

## PREFACE

*Can Radio Canada International (RCI) or an expanded Canadian radio service in foreign languages help enhance Canada's image overseas; raise Canada's profile in the world; promote the Canadian sustainable development industry in foreign markets, and increase her role in international development?*

The paper is informed by the view that Canada should play a more influential role in world affairs and international development. This objective could be served in part by disseminating appropriate information among various world regions through Radio Canada International.

There are three major issues to consider in addressing the above-mentioned inquiry:

- (1) Does Canada need to modify or enhance its image?
- (2) Does Canada have the necessary credentials to enable it to perform the desired role?
- (3) Is RCI suitable for helping Canada achieve the objectives mentioned above?

The first two issues are addressed in Chapter One ('Introduction') which studies Canada's image problem and its negative consequences. Additionally, it reviews Canada's qualifications and credentials for playing a more influential international role. As a strategy for improving and enhancing Canada's image, the chapter proposes disseminating information through RCI at the global level, with special attention to the Developing World.

The third issue, that of determining RCI's suitability for serving Canada's international agenda, is the main concern of the rest of the thesis. A systematic and detailed examination of RCI and its operations is made in the following manner:

(a) The present state and history of RCI is studied in Chapter Two ('The RCI Drama: Functional Dysfunction?'). The chapter finds that RCI has (arguably) not been successful in realizing the potential it was thought to have at the time of its founding and studies its reasons. In doing so, it discusses the apparent failure of RCI's relationship with the Department of External Affairs (the present 'Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade,' or DFAIT); the causes of discord between the broadcaster and the Department; their working dynamics; and the difficulties hindering an effective liaison and an efficient working relationship between the two.

(b) RCI's performance and effectiveness is examined in chapters three and four: Chapter Three attempts to rectify a gap in information about the reach and effectiveness of RCI's broadcasts. The chapter develops a model to estimate the probable number of RCI's Pakistani audience and its response. The model is not meant to be a replacement of established audience research methods, rather, it is a device to gain some understanding on audiences in countries where domestic conditions are not conducive to using those methods. Pakistan has been selected for this conceptual exercise as an example of one such country.

Performance is an essential part of judging the effectiveness of any organization. Chapter Four develops Performance Indicators for RCI and describes how RCI evaluates its own performance. The chapter also reviews current audience theories.

(c) The BBC World Service is widely recognised as a leader in international broadcasting. Chapter Five studies the evolution and structure of the World Service, the impact of its programming and its relationship with the British Foreign Office. The chapter compares RCI with the BBC World Service to see whether RCI is structurally suited to performing the role recommended in the thesis. The chapter looks at the relationship between BBC World Service and the British Foreign Office and the impact of World Service programming, etc.

(d) Chapter Six ('Needs Assessment') tries to evaluate how RCI's broadcasts can help in marketing the goods and services of the Canadian environment industry in the Developing World by scrutinizing the need for RCI broadcasts within Canada. Within Canada, the chapter evaluates how the domestic re-broadcasting of international programming can serve the needs of Canada's ethnic communities. An assessment is also made as to how domestically re-broadcasting international programming can be beneficial for RCI and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).

(e) With the objective to securing a greater international role for both Canada and RCI, Chapter Seven ('Towards Global Public Sphere for Peace') extrapolates and applies Habermas' concept of the 'public sphere' at the global level and develops a model for setting up and operating a 'global public sphere.' The chapter discusses the

implications of such a move with reference to Developed World-Developing World relationship and concepts of hegemony, sovereignty, etc.

(f) Chapter Eight argues that the present world political situation offers a window of opportunity to Canada to realize her potential of being a more influential international player. The chapter suggests that a development-oriented broadcasting project should be assigned to RCI and that the broadcaster should be moved to the country's capital, Ottawa, so as to ensure its close cooperation and coordination with various government departments and non-governmental organizations aligned with the government. The chapter also examines the regulatory position of the proposed international radio service as well as the broadcasting industry's and the general public's probable response to the move.

The remainder of the paper is made up of three appendices and a bibliography.

#### Note on Nomenclature

The names of both the short-wave broadcaster and the government department handling external affairs have changed over time. Radio Canada International, before 1972, was named, 'CBC-International Service.' The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade was previously known as the 'Department of External Affairs.' The name change took place in 1993. The previous and present names of the two entities are used according to the period discussed.

## CHAPTER ONE

### **THE CASE FOR A REDIRECTED FOREIGN LANGUAGE RADIO SERVICE**

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter observes that Canada's image in many parts of the world, including the Developing Countries, is not representative of the level of her economic, technological and social development. It argues that inaccurate and outdated perceptions of Canada can hinder her progress towards becoming a more influential country in world affairs as well as limiting her prospects of increasing her role in international development. The chapter proposes that RCI can help in recasting and enhancing Canada's international image and bring her closer to realizing her potential.

Canada has an image problem. Despite being a major industrial and technological power and one of the leaders of the environmental industry, she is not perceived as such. A survey conducted in 2000 by the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada found that only 21 percent of the respondents associated Canada with high-technology. Her economy was not considered dynamic enough and her ability to produce quality goods was not viewed too favourably either. The respondents were 447 senior decision-makers from the private and public sector in five Asian countries.<sup>1</sup> People who should have known better but didn't. This perception obviously can't help Canada's international economic activity in a very competitive economic environment.

---

<sup>1</sup> Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, "Canada's Brand in Asia," *Canada Asia Commentary*, no. 15, October 2000. [Journal on-line]; accessed 22 August 2002; available from <http://www.asiapacific.ca/analysis/pubs/pdfs/cac15.pdf>, Internet.



In the backdrop of the survey, the Minister for International Trade, Pierre Pettigrew, stressed in September 2000 that "Canada must become synonymous with innovation, dynamism and excellence." The then Industry Minister (and the present Finance Minister) John Manley revealed that the federal government was developing a strategy to discover "what we can do to change the image of Canada." (Asia Pacific Foundation, 2000)

The need for transforming an image appears connected to the change in the world itself. The fall of the Soviet Union and the opening up of hitherto inaccessible markets presents new political and economic opportunities for Canada. So far, Canada has followed the policy of trade dependence on the United States of America with almost 85 percent of her trade with that country. The rest of her trade is with other countries having 'developed market economies'<sup>2</sup> (henceforth referred to as the 'Developed Countries'). Roughly five percent of Canadian trade is carried on with the former Soviet Bloc European countries and countries with developing economies<sup>3</sup> (henceforth the 'Developing Countries'). The economies of the Developed Countries are closely connected and susceptible to the "domino effect" i.e., their economies can decline or even collapse one after another; the risks involved in directing all economic activity towards one market block or "putting all the economic eggs in one

---

<sup>2</sup> Europe excluding European transition economies or former socialist countries, Canada, USA, Japan, Australia and New Zealand as defined by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations in *World Economic and Social Survey 2001* (New York: 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Countries in Africa, Asia and Pacific (excluding Japan, Australia, New Zealand and members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (an alliance of 12 of the 15 former Republics of the Soviet Union); Latin America and the Caribbean; Western Asia plus Islamic Republic of Iran; Eastern and Southern Asia including China. (United Nations, 2001)

basket" cannot be overstressed. The Canadian economic slowdown (2000 - 2002) which began in tandem with a similar trend in the US economy underscores this risk.

There is some urgency for Canada to diversify her trade relations. As former Minister of Foreign Affairs, John Manley warned in January 2001, "... Canada is unlikely to continue to be the largest trading partner of the United States beyond this decade – Mexico will fill that role." (Alan Thompson, "Canada's New Face." *Toronto Star*, 20 January 2001. K1) As if to support this view, George W. Bush's office announced on 22 January 2001 that his first foreign visit as President was not going to be to Canada, as the tradition has been for past US presidents, but to Mexico. The United States' imposition of a \$2 billion fine in 2002 on the Canadian lumber industry strengthens the perception of the superpower cooling down towards its northern neighbour or at least treating her roughly. York University's Schulich School of Business professor David Wheeler is one of those who resent the United States' overbearing behaviour towards their country. Wheeler criticizes the "US-dominated regional economy which seems so clumsy in its impacts on Canada..." and cautions:

... this may not be the last example of tough tactics from our southern neighbour as the US economy slows and the Bush administration comes under more pressure to protect other sectors of the American economy.<sup>4</sup>

Notably, Canada has a greater reliance on trade than any other G7 country ( a grouping of the world's seven most industrially developed countries)

---

<sup>4</sup> David Wheeler, *Re-Branding Canada in the Global Economy* [Online]; accessed on 16 August 2002; available from: <http://www.sustainablecanada.org/resources.htm>; Internet.

and her exports constitute 41 percent of her Gross Domestic Product (GDP) whereas USA's exports make 10 percent of her GDP.

In an article entitled, 'Trade and the Canadian Economy: Why Trade Matters', the Department of Foreign Affairs argues that Canada's economy cannot grow unless we continue to develop markets outside our borders." Elaborating this point, the article informs:

Only one out of every 200 people in the world is Canadian. If we ignore what the other 199 have to buy and sell, Canada's cash registers will soon turn quiet and increasing numbers of Canadians will find themselves out of work. Every \$1 billion increase in Canada's exports sustains 10,000 Canadian jobs. One out of three Canadian jobs depends on exports.<sup>5</sup>

The Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada addresses this theme in its annual survey, maintaining that Canada has missed trade and investment opportunities in Asia because "business has been transfixed by the allure of the American market."<sup>6</sup> How big are those missed opportunities? To give an idea, India with a GDP of \$US 470 billion is the 11th largest economy in the world with a population of over one billion.<sup>7</sup> Her middle class alone numbers some 300 million people – almost the total population of Canada and USA. Being technologically and industrially underdeveloped, she needs both technology and machinery, besides other goods and products.

---

<sup>5</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Trade and the Canadian Economy: Why Trade Matters?* [Online]; accessed 12 May 2002; available from <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/tna-nac/text-e.asp>; Internet.

<sup>6</sup> Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, *Canada Asia Review 2000* [Online]; accessed 11 April 2001; available from <http://www.asiapacific.ca/analysis/pubs/index.cfm#1>; Internet.

<sup>7</sup> Canada India Business Council, *Facts* [Online]; accessed 22 March 2002; available from [http://www.canada-indiabusiness.ca/india\\_facts.html](http://www.canada-indiabusiness.ca/india_facts.html); Internet.

The Developing Countries comprising some five-sixths of the world population are generally technology deficient and could be markets for Canadian expertise in the field. This may be particularly relevant for the Canadian environmental products and services industry as the Developing Countries are "becoming an increasingly important source of demand" for the industry as their quickly expanding industrial sectors "come under increasing pressure to develop in a more sustainable fashion." <sup>8</sup> It is significant to note that during Pierre Pettigrew's trade mission to India, 22-26 April 2002, Canadian and Indian firms signed agreements in the field of waste water treatment and disaster relief management. Pettigrew thought India was "becoming one of the most attractive markets in the world." <sup>9</sup>

This 'attractiveness' is sometimes marred by the Developing Countries' not having sufficient foreign exchange to pay for imports. However, the Canada's Export Development Corporation (EDC), mandated to provide flexible financing and payment options to buyers of Canadian capital goods and services, can facilitate increased trade with those foreign exchange deficient countries. Another way to help such trade would be the creation of a development finance institution (DFI) as suggested by the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada in February 2000 to "deal with the special financing needs of private-sector investment in developing economies."

---

<sup>8</sup> Industry Canada, *Canada's Environment Industry: An Overview* [Online]; accessed 15 August 2002; available from <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/pg00015e.html>; Internet.

<sup>9</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Press Release* [Online]; accessed 27 July 2002; available from <http://www.tcm-mec.gc.ca/india/menu-en.asp>; Internet.

It is evident that Canada has problems with her image as well as with the orientation of her trade. She needs to improve her image in order to reach new markets and thereby strengthen and protect her economy. This is not simply an economic matter: it requires an accompanying socio-political and cultural initiative in foreign policy making.

In a joint statement in the year 2000, Lloyd Axworthy, then Minister of Foreign Affairs and Pierre Pettigrew, Minister for International Trade noted that, "Canada will have to raise her profile among the people of the world and be a more active player in world politics." In the field of trade, they stressed support for "exporters in the developing markets beyond the United States as well as in finding new markets for new products..."<sup>10</sup> Calling foreign affairs an economic file, Manley in January 2001 challenged: "Name me one country in the world that has a foreign policy that isn't intimately linked with its economic policy." (Alan Thompson, 2001)

An international presence requires, most importantly, a clear enunciation of the policies and objectives of a country. Thus communication has acquired a central position in the management of those interests. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) underlines this point by declaring: "...a country that does not project a clearly defined image of what it is and what it represents, is doomed to anonymity on the international scene." The document goes on to stress that the overseas projection of Canadian values "are key to the achievement of

---

<sup>10</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2000-2001 Estimates, "Report on Plans and Priorities" (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing), 2000

prosperity within Canada and to the protection of global security."<sup>11</sup>

A similar view was presented in 1982 by the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee which urged that: "Multicultural and bilateral cultural exchanges with countries of the Third World should be actively sought by all federal cultural agencies in cooperation with the Canadian International Development Agency, the Department of External Affairs and the Canadian Commission for Unesco."<sup>12</sup>

The above mentioned perceptions and suggestions formulate a broad international agenda for Canada, i.e., the country should act as a positive influence on world affairs as the global economic and socio-political situation has a crucial bearing upon her own well-being.

The tools of communication are the currency of the information age. A country like Canada with, as Lloyd Axworthy put it, an "internationalist vocation" naturally places a great deal of importance on all means of communication.<sup>13</sup> When the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1995 expressed its inability to continue to operate Radio Canada International, Lloyd Axworthy (then Minister of Foreign Affairs) expressed his support for RCI saying that its demise would have been a great loss at a time when the country was undertaking the development of the Canadian International Information Strategy (CIIS).<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Canada in the World*, [Online] accessed 14 July 2002; available from <http://dfait-maeci.gc.ca/English/foreignp/cnd-world>; Internet.

<sup>12</sup> Canada, *Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada), 1982.

<sup>13</sup> Lloyd Axworthy, *Foreign Policy in the Information Age* (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1996.)

<sup>14</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Press Release* no. 243 [Online]; accessed 02 May 2002; available from <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/media/menu-e.asp>; Internet.

The Minister of Canadian Heritage, Sheila Copps, discussing RCI's importance noted that, "Often the best sense of who we are as Canadians comes from the impressions of people who live outside our country."<sup>15</sup>

These "impressions" have so far been limited to a few countries which understand Canada's two official languages or that are among those countries with whom Canada speaks in their languages through RCI's foreign language broadcasts. As for the rest, RCI does not speak to them. For instance, RCI does not (and never did) broadcast in any of the languages of South Asia having a combined population of about 1.3 billion. Canada seems to have limited priorities. This approach seems out of step with the trend of globalization and can have negative consequences for Canada's ability to play an effective role on the world stage.

## THE CANADIAN ADVANTAGE

Canada has the potential to become a more influential country in the world as well as increasing her trade with the Developing Countries. Her relationship with a large number of Developing Countries has been mainly positive historically and the presence of significant numbers of immigrants on her soil from Developing Countries has given a more solid and even intimate basis for the links.

There seem to be opportunities, particularly in the Caribbean and South and Central America for a greater regional role for Canada. During the meeting of the Organization of American States held in Windsor, Canada in June 2000, George

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

Odium, Foreign Minister of the Caribbean country St. Lucia harshly criticized US hegemony in the area:

The richer a country becomes, the meaner and more insensitive it becomes. My country Saint Lucia has been on the receiving end of a banana war with the richest country in the world, which incidentally does not produce a single banana.

Odium declared that the St. Lucia farmers "are feeling more and more insecure as the United States touts the merits of globalization, and free trade." <sup>16</sup>

There is reason to expect that the region may not be averse to the projection of Canada as a counterbalance to the USA. Moreover, Canada has in the past followed an independent policy on Cuba in defiance of the USA and thus has positive history for a more influential role. Moreover, Canada has the second highest GDP in the Americas and a substantial number of her immigrant population speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, besides English and French – languages spoken in the region. A similar political role for Canada in other regions of the world also seems possible.

### **Strong Economy**

The Canadian economy is diverse and well-developed. Her conventional industry, technology and services sectors are sophisticated while her environmental products and services are state-of-the-art; she has an advanced knowledge sector, and has substantial agricultural, fishery, forestry and mineral resources. Canada has the seventh highest GDP among the 30 members of the Organisation of Economic

---

<sup>16</sup> Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [News online]; accessed 13 April 2002; available from <http://cbc.ca/cgi-bin/templates/view.cgi?news/2000/06/06/oas000606>; Internet.



Cooperation and Development (OECD). She is ranked third in growth competitiveness and fifth in business efficiency in the OECD group.

The Canadian economy has out-performed the United States' economy in tackling the economic downturn affecting the industrialized countries since 2001. It is growing at a rate of over 3 percent annually as compared to under 2 percent for the United States' economy.

### **International Languages and Information**

The country is rich in human capital. Due to an ethnically diverse population, she has a reservoir of societal and business information (of various countries) besides having foreign language resources.

Many immigrants have knowledge of, and connections with, businesses in their native countries. Such links are particularly important in areas where much of the business is conducted on the basis of personal connection and trust. It is perhaps for this reason that the former British Columbia Premier Ujjal Dosanjh, while on a family holiday to his native India in 1998, was able to sign a memorandum of understanding with the Government of India's Punjab province to seek cooperation on a variety of matters.<sup>17</sup> Dosanjh was then BC's Attorney General with no direct responsibilities for trade.

Ethnic businessmen in Canada through bilateral trade organisations are active in developing business relationships between their countries and Canada. The same societal information and links can help in developing political stature and influence of Canada in those countries. It is important therefore to maintain such resources.

The immigrants have another important resource – language. The diversity of languages in Canada is in itself quite unusual: Besides English, French and Aboriginal languages, over one hundred languages are spoken in Canada representing all the major language families in the world.<sup>18</sup> In 1996, almost 17 percent of the population spoke a language other than the official languages. During the period 1991 to 1996 about 80 percent of immigrants to Canada did not have English or French at home. In large city centres such as Toronto, about a third of the people claim a non-official language as their mother tongue.

The Department of Canadian Heritage has drawn attention to the language resources of Canada in a study which maintains that language resources and cultural information almost directly contribute to business and economic success. The study author, Karim H. Karim, quotes a 1932 article in a journal of the Spanish teaching profession which, to a considerable extent, attributes the success of German businesses in Central America (before 1914) to the fact that their representatives and agents spoke fluent Spanish:

The German firms sent as agents and representatives only men who were trained in Spanish and who spoke the language fluently and had been given a good idea of the psychology of the people with whom they were dealing. Most English and American representatives did business through interpreters and constantly got into trouble of various kinds because of their ignorance of the language and customs of the people they had to do business with.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Shari Graydon, BC Premier's press secretary, communication with author, 12 January 2001.

<sup>18</sup> Ulla de Stricker, Sheila Serio and Vicki Casey, *Information Resources in Canada: A Checklist for Non-Canadian Searchers* [Online]; accessed 13 May 2002; available from <http://www.onlineinc.com/database>; Internet.

<sup>19</sup> Karim H. Karim, *Economic Dimensions of Minority and Foreign Language Use: An International Overview* [Online]. Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage; accessed 04 September 2002; available from <http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/perspectives/english/econo/part2a.htm>; Internet.

In the present age, the study goes on to say, "business firms, especially multinationals, appear to have been the most active in promoting the learning and use of foreign languages, mostly because they have recognized the impact that this has on the bottom line."

A director of the well-known Berlitz language school confirmed Karim's thesis when she told Reuters news agency last December that knowing a foreign language when doing business overseas "absolutely helps".<sup>20</sup>

The language resources and the intimate society and market information that the immigrants have gives Canada a special edge. The special relationship that exists between Canada and England, Ireland, Scotland, France, etc., because of cultural and language affinities can be extended to all those countries from which her other immigrants have come.

A Canada less economically dependent on trade with US has the potential to provide alternate leadership to the Developing Countries. An image-building or rather a relationship-building initiative will serve to not only improve Canada's trade and increase her effectiveness in the world, it could be a rite of passage: a coming of age of Canada.

## TOWARDS AN IMAGE-MAKING STRATEGY

The Developed World, Canada's main trading partners, comprise about one-tenth of the population of the world. She now needs to turn her attention to the five-sixths of the world population living mainly in Africa, Asia and South and Central America,

---

<sup>20</sup> "Language Schools Key to Exceeding Expectations," *Today* (Toronto), 20 December 2000. 13

speaking scores of languages. Presenting the desired image to such geographically and linguistically diverse people is a difficult job requiring efficient image-building strategies.

### **Image-Building Strategies**

Image-building strategies revolve around information dissemination. There are three basic considerations in information dissemination:

- (a) Accessibility: The information must be technically receivable and understandable by the majority of the target listeners.
- (b) Timeliness: The information should be delivered in the shortest time.
- (c) Cost: The information should be sent and received at the lowest cost.

The medium for delivering information must fulfill the above conditions in order to be successful. This is because some significant characteristics of the target countries and their people are : Low literacy rate, low income, underdeveloped power and telecommunication infrastructure as well as power shortage, etc. Worldwide one in three persons has no access to electricity. Only four of every 1,000 inhabitants of the Developing Countries have a telephone. There are 27 television sets and 178 radio sets per one thousand persons in the poorest 66 countries. About one percent of India's population has a computer as compared to some 60 percent of Canada's population having computer access.

### **Elements of Strategy**

As noted above, Canada needs to achieve two objectives in the international arena i.e., attaining:

- (a) Greater social and political effectiveness worldwide equal to her geopolitical situation and economic power;
- (b) A larger share of the overseas and international markets for her goods and services.

The achievement of those objectives entails the involvement of two groups of people among various nations: The decision makers and the general public.

The first group, the decision makers, comprises politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen. The bureaucrats are governed by state policies and have limited maneuverability. Their decision-making powers have to operate within the government's economic and political policies and guidelines defining the level of political and trade relationship with a certain country or group of countries. Additionally, international institutions and agreements limit the bureaucrats' actions. The businessmen have no recourse but to be guided by domestic and international policies and laws (too).

A country's fundamental political and economic policies often evolve, in one way or the other, through the involvement of its people and institutions thus reflecting, to some extent, the desires and demands of its people. Befriending the general public of a foreign country is thus a more effective way for establishing a favorable, long-term relationship with that country. The process of decision-making thus includes the politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen and the general public.

## RADIO THE RIGHT MEDIUM

Reaching a large number of diverse people will necessitate using a mass medium with the capability to reach the largest number of people speaking various languages, having different economic and literacy levels and living in diverse geographic regions. The mass medium that can operate best under the circumstances is radio. (See Table 1)

Taking into consideration literacy rates, the state of communication and electricity infrastructure in the Developing World, reliance on a text-based medium of communication will not be appropriate. This means both the hard-copy printed text material as well as Internet text communication cannot be accessible to the majority of the people of the world. English is the language of the Internet dominating 80 percent of its content. The understanding of English in South Asia and China, is extremely low. For instance, only 0.6 percent of the Chinese people can read and write in English.

Only one person in 10,000 persons in South Asia has Internet access and half the world's people have never made a phone call.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Doug Schuler, "What is the Public Sphere?" *The CPSR Newsletter*, vol. 18, no. 3, (Summer 2000)

**TABLE 1. SUITABILITY OF MEDIUM FOR DELIVERING INFORMATION**

Media	Access Technical	Access Intellectual	Access Financial	Information Delivery Cost	Information Receiving Time
Internet	<i>Negative</i> 1. Need electricity and phone lines (wireless equipment not widely used). 2. Small number of people can use computer and Internet. 3. Internet websites can handle limited number of users or hits.	<i>Negative</i> 1. Large number of people are illiterate.	<i>Negative</i> 1. Large number of people are poor, cannot afford the hardware and Internet use cost.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Internet inexpensive way to transfer information compared to media like print (mailing cost) and TV (satellite, antennas, cable, etc.)	<i>Positive</i> Short to Instant.
Print	<i>Positive</i> 1. Printed information can reach all areas.	<i>Negative</i> 1. Large number of people are illiterate.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Printed information relatively inexpensive.	<i>Negative</i> 1. Mailing, courier cost can be high considering the need to reach high number of people on a regular basis.	<i>Negative</i> 1. Information delivery can be delayed due to poor communication infrastructure.
Radio	<i>Positive</i> 1. Broadcast information can reach all areas. 2. Radio receivers can operate on batteries so electricity transmission lines not crucial. Also, mechanical wind-up radios are available.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Literacy not an issue. 2. Religion or tradition no bar. 3. Tradition of radio listening.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Radio receivers relatively inexpensive. Majority of homes in the developing countries have a radio receiver.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Lower than print, television. Internet.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Instant.
Television	<i>Negative</i> 1. Televised information cannot reach all areas without infrastructure i.e., electricity transmission lines, satellites, boosters, cables, etc. 2. Need electricity for TV and antenna.	<i>Negative/Positive</i> 1. Literacy not an issue. 2. Religion or tradition can be bar.	<i>Negative</i> 1. TV sets, antenna, satellites expensive.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Higher than radio, print and Internet.	<i>Positive</i> 1. Instant.

There are other drawbacks to Internet use in the Developing Countries: (a) It is expensive and unaffordable; (b) normally only one person uses the equipment at one time although more than one connection can be made on a single line; (c) it requires phone connections which are neither available nor easily affordable and, (d) it needs electricity. Additionally, a website can serve a limited number of users at a time. For instance, BBC World Service web page "hits" are 39.3 million a month (in 2000-2001) as compared to 153 million listeners per week for its radio.

The effectiveness of radio to reach large numbers of people in the Developing World can be seen from (the number of) radio receiver ownership as compared to other media of communication. A sample of nine countries of South and West Asia (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.) shows an average of one radio receiver for 9.5 persons as compared to one television receiver per 19 persons and one telephone line per 27 persons.<sup>22</sup> The Canadian non-governmental organization, 'Development World Farm Radio' which uses radio for rural development internationally believes that radio has "enormous global potential reach" adding that "no other medium has the potential of radio to create conditions that provide people with genuine access to useful information..."<sup>23</sup> A major reason for radio's popularity is its usability with or without electricity. Most radios in India and Pakistan can be operated both by electric power and batteries.

---

<sup>22</sup> Figures derived from individual country information in *Canadian Global Almanac 2002* (Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 2001).

<sup>23</sup> Development World Farm Radio, *The Importance of Radio?* [Online]; accessed 22 July 2002; available from <http://www.famradio.org/english/program.html#whyradio>; Internet.



Both radios and batteries have a low price in Pakistan. A lesser-known brand short-wave radio can be bought for as little as twenty dollars.

Short-wave listening is popular in the Developing World. In India, for instance, a BBC World Service survey conducted in the 1990s found that "almost all the radio sets had short-wave."<sup>24</sup>

Television as a medium for information and entertainment is restricted in its scope due to the relatively high cost of the receiver as well as producing programs. More over, television usage requires electricity which is often in short supply in the Developing Countries.

Historically, radio has been used to reach out to diverse peoples in distant areas. Through its broadcasts, radio can not only propagate information, ideas, as well as entertainment and views but also generate a feeling of community among the listeners. Canada's publicly funded radio (and to some extent, also private radio) served that purpose particularly in the second quarter of the twentieth century when far-flung towns and settlements of this vast country were gathered together through the radio waves. It is currently playing (with other information media) much the same role for the scattered Aboriginal people in northern Canada. There can be little doubt that the social cohesion achieved thereby has been beneficial for all of Canada.

Extending the same historic use of radio, the mandate of the Canadian public radio can be enlarged to link the people of the world into a global community of listeners receptive to the Canadian world view. This will help in forming the desired image of Canada as well as achieving its international political and economic

---

<sup>24</sup> Novjot Gill, "The BBC in India," in *Global Audiences: Research for Worldwide Broadcasting*, Graham Mytton, ed. (London: John Libbey and Company, 1993). 215

objectives.

Since most of these people speak neither French nor English, the radio should broadcast its programming in some of the important foreign languages spoken in the world. This task is not new to Radio Canada International (RCI).

## RADIO CANADA INTERNATIONAL

Radio Canada International began its career in 1945 as the 'Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's International Service' (also referred to as 'CBC-International Service'). The name change took place in 1972. RCI describes its mandate as being "to develop an awareness of Canada and the realities of Canadian life" as well as to give information about the country to expatriate Canadians.<sup>25</sup>

RCI broadcasts programs in Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Spanish, and Ukrainian besides English and French on the short-wave. The programming is also available through the "Hotbird" satellite as well as the Internet. Some of its programs are rebroadcast on FM/AM through partner local radio stations in other countries. In the past it has offered programming in Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, German, Hungarian, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Polish and Swedish.

RCI uses 90 hours of self-produced programming, 110 hours of CBC produced programming and 117 Radio Canada productions.<sup>26</sup>

RCI does not give separate figures for short-wave broadcasts in the seven languages but from its published program schedule (April to October 2000), the radio

---

<sup>25</sup> Radio Canada International, *General Information* [Online]; accessed 12 August 2002; available from <http://www.rcinet.ca/Scripts/default.asp?s1=RCI&s2=infosgenerales>; Internet.

<sup>26</sup> Maggy Akerblom, RCI, e-mail to author, 7 August 2002.

has daily programming on the short-wave for 23 hours and 30 minutes or 164 hours and 30 minutes per week. Of this, the total broadcast duration of the five foreign languages (Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Spanish, Ukrainian) is 31 hours and 30 minutes per week or 19.1 percent of the total short-wave broadcast hours. It does not have correspondents in other countries and so uses secondary news sources.<sup>27</sup>

The Department of Foreign Affairs exercises a general control over RCI's programming to the extent of selecting the languages RCI broadcasts in, the countries the programming is to be directed and similar issues. In the early years of RCI, all the broadcast languages were European, and Asian languages were first chosen only as late as the eighties. There are still huge gaps in linguistic coverage. For example, no broadcast is made in any language of South Asia that has seven countries (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) with a combined population of about 1.3 billion.

That radio can serve as a crucial tool in internationally projecting a country's values and national interests is evidenced from the influence the United Kingdom enjoys in the world, specially in Africa and Asia. The country's voice is given as much, if not more, importance as the world's most powerful country, USA.

---

<sup>27</sup> Hélène Robillard-Frayne, Director Communications, Marketing and Research, RCI, interview by author, 14 November 2000.

## BENEFITS OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE RADIO SERVICE

The redirected foreign language service can bring the following additional benefits:

### **Increased listenership for RCI**

Radio listenership in Canada is on the decline. RCI is listened to by around 3.8 million persons per week. The breakdown is as follows: Latin America 200,000, Caribbean 450,000, Western Europe 150,000, Eastern Europe 1,000,000, Middle East 400,000, Africa 1,000,000, Asia 600,000. (Hélène Robillard-Frayne, 14 November 2000). The breakdown shows a curious pattern i.e., RCI can reach only 600,000 listeners from Asia having about 3.5 billion or over half the world population. There are obviously huge areas that RCI can cover and increase her listenership.

RCI also has a potential domestic audience in some 3.5 million recent immigrants in Canada (in 1996) who came from countries where English and French are not the mother tongue. (More on this topic in the next section, 'Meeting Information Needs of Linguistically and Culturally Diverse Canadians.') If the proposed foreign language service is broadcast on AM or FM, a large portion of recent immigrants in Canada can also become its listeners. The BBC World Service also transmits some of its programs on certain medium wave frequencies in the United Kingdom. The expected rise in listenership can be particularly significant for CBC Radio in a very competitive market.

Former CRTC commissioner John Hylton ascribes RCI's low public support to the fact that it is "absolutely invisible domestically" which results in it not getting

due government attention and funding.<sup>28</sup> The local broadcasting of RCI's international programming will put RCI in the public eye (and ear) thereby creating a potentially significant support group that may provide funding justification to the government. Ryerson University's John Ivory proposed something similar in the report of the biennial conference, 'Challenges for International Broadcasting,' when he said:

Maybe, instead of thinking of international as being external to our country: if we redefined international, as including those communities within our host country as being part of our receptive audience, and as a way of increasing and improving our position, in terms of public value or worth....With all the Arabs and Chinese in Toronto, why RCI could not be broadcasting part of its service within Toronto and build up the constituency of support that exists in Metro-Toronto.<sup>29</sup>

A number of considerations need to be taken into account in re-broadcasting RCI programs for domestic audiences:

- (a) There are few AM or FM frequencies left in Canada and none in Toronto. This means that the metropolitan centre with the greatest concentration of ethnic groups can not be served with a separate frequency for local audience.
- (b) RCI programs can be rebroadcast domestically if CBC gives RCI the use of its frequencies.
- (c) With the exception of certain Aboriginal broadcasting, CBC does not normally engage in ethnic broadcasting; it will have to take a policy decision in this regard. Moreover, selecting ethnic language programming for domestic re-broadcasting can become controversial among the various ethnic communities of Canada.

---

<sup>28</sup> John Hylton, interview by author, 10 July 2002.

<sup>29</sup> François Demers, Howard Aster and Elzbieta Olechowska, eds, *Challenges for International Broadcasting* (Quebec: Les Presses Inter Universitaire, 1993), 119

(d) The domestic private broadcasting industry may be opposed to CBC/RCI using public resources (broadcast spectrum and/or money) by rebroadcasting its overseas programming on its domestic network of AM and FM stations. But Hylton, who practices communications law, suggests the broadcasters "may not object too vigorously because CBC and RCI do not carry advertising and so won't have a direct impact on domestic advertising revenues. Moreover, it is costly and time consuming to try to oppose a matter such as this before the CRTC. However, some ethnic broadcasters may consider RCI's programming would be directed at their core audiences and might be opposed." (John Hylton, 2002)

### **Meeting Information Needs of Linguistically and Culturally Diverse Canadians**

While Canada has a need to disseminate information about herself to the world, a section of her population needs information about both Canada and the world.

The mother tongue of over 16 percent of the Canadian population (one in six persons) was neither English nor French in 1996; for Ontario alone, the figure was 21.6 percent and for Toronto, 33 percent. (Statistics Canada, 1996)

In a five year period, 1994-1999, 86 percent of immigrants came to Canada from countries where neither of the official Canadian languages are spoken as the mother tongue (not including countries of the Developed World). Over 42 percent of immigrants during the three year period, 1997 to 1999, had no ability to speak either of the official languages.<sup>30</sup>

This situation results in three main problems:

- (i) Under-utilisation of human capital.
- (ii) Inaccessibility to vital information.
- (iii) Hindrances to integration and participation in the mainstream society.

(i) Underutilization of Human Capital:

Immigrants bring with them valuable resources in terms of language, societal information, etc. These resources cannot be utilized unless they find a channel to exhibit and express them. If used, these resources could result in considerable benefit to Canada.

(ii) Inaccessibility to Vital Information:

Official government information, laws, regulations, procedures, etc., are available in either English or French. This bars the majority of immigrants from having a direct understanding of the system which in turn causes misunderstandings and hinders the process of their becoming 'good citizen'.

(iii) Hindrances to Participation and Integration in Society:

Language disability also prevents immigrants from participating in the mainstream society, generating a feeling of alienation among them. The feeling of alienation on the one hand pushes them to interact only with their own ethnic kind and on the other hand, makes it difficult for them to integrate in the mainstream society.

Integration of immigrants to mainstream Canadian society is of great value for the country. A conference on 'Canada In The Asia-Pacific Economy: The People Dimension' held at Simon Fraser University, 1997 concluded that, "people who immigrate to Canada are fulfilling two interrelated roles: integrating into Canadian society, and aiding Canada in its integration into the global economy."

---

<sup>30</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures 1999: Immigration Overview* [Online]: accessed 10 November 2000; available from <http://www.cic.gc.ca>; Internet.

The conference discussed "issues related to achieving maximum value... from the human capital and potential that immigrants bring with them to Canada" and found that "it is imperative that we produce the conditions necessary to integrate immigrants into a domestic social polity and economic environment."<sup>31</sup>

Besides information about their new home, the immigrants also need to know what is happening in the former home, the country they left. Having been born and brought-up outside Canada, the immigrants have both practical and emotional links to their original countries. Many have relatives and friends as well as investments and property in those countries and want to be in touch with developments in those places. The news and current affairs programs offered by the Canadian public and private radio and television besides being in English and French, do not regularly cover their native region or country (except when there is natural or man-made disaster, etc.) and thus do not fulfill a genuine information need. As noted earlier, the Internet can be of some help in fulfilling the information need but a large number of immigrants have limited or little experience of the medium and cannot use it. Moreover, many of them may not have the financial means to afford the expenses attached to using the Internet. For many immigrants from India and Pakistan, the main source of news of the home country is the Urdu and Hindi news of BBC World Service rebroadcast by a local ethnic radios. There is also rebroadcast of news from Indian and Pakistani state-controlled radio stations.

---

<sup>31</sup> Alec McGillivray, *Canada In The Asia-Pacific Economy: The People Dimension* [Online]; accessed 10 August 2002; available from [http://www.riim.metropolis.net/research-policy/research-policy2/comment\\_e.html](http://www.riim.metropolis.net/research-policy/research-policy2/comment_e.html); Internet.



There are a number of private ethnic radios broadcasting programming in a variety of languages but at least in the case of the South Asian services, their content is substandard or negative as they are mostly run by amateurs having little broadcasting or journalism experience.

What is needed is a reliable news and information source for both local and international audience. The proposed foreign language radio service will not only project Canada internationally but also fulfill the information needs of the immigrants.

The foreign language broadcasts by public radio will also serve as an acknowledgement of the value and importance the Government of Canada attaches to immigrants. Such an acknowledgement will lessen the feeling of alienation and speed up their integration into the mainstream society. This will be in accordance with the ideals of multiculturalism in the country.

Immigrants are becoming an increasingly important part of Canada. In a Toronto Star article, Royson James argues that "Immigrants are now considered our country's – our city's lifeblood," and urges that the sooner they are integrated "fully into all facets of city life...the sooner we'll soar as the great international city that our makeup promises."<sup>32</sup>

### **Promoting Canadian Cultural Industry**

By concentrating on promoting the Canadian entertainment and cultural industries, Canadian artists and thinkers and their work can be showcased to the world at large. The Department of Foreign Affairs publication, "Canada in the World" identifies

cultural affairs as "one of the pillars of ...foreign policy," suggests that "Canadians want to highlight their achievements internationally."<sup>33</sup>

The proposed foreign language radio broadcasts can introduce and promote Canadian artists, cultural performers and thinkers to the world. This would give much needed exposure to Canadian artists and arguably generate considerable revenue for the beleaguered Canadian entertainment industry and as well as profile Canadian ideas.

Entertainment is a huge industry and Canada can increase her share of the business internationally. Both Pierre Pettigrew, Minister for International Trade, and Lloyd Axworthy, as Minister of Foreign Affairs while discussing ways to enhance worldwide awareness of Canada's culture and promoting exports of her products stressed the need to assist "artists and cultural groups in activities abroad, ... and providing export services to Canadian artists and suppliers." <sup>34</sup>

Earlier, in 1992, the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee reminded Canadians that "the extension of knowledge of Canada in other countries is a fundamental element in federal cultural policy." Thus the proposed radio service would fulfill an important policy objective of the Government and help the Canadian entertainment industry.

---

<sup>32</sup> Royson James, "Immigrants are now our lifeblood," *Toronto Star*, Toronto, March 13, 2002. 1

<sup>33</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Canada in the World* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing, 1999).

<sup>34</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *2000-2001 Estimates: Report on Plans and Priorities* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing, 2000).

## SUMMING UP

Canada is a major world power, albeit a reluctant one. While her economic and technological advancement has given her a privileged economic status, her ethnically diverse immigrant population has linked her with all nations and areas of the world. Canada is now truly multiracial, multicultural and, multi-talented. So why the reluctance?

One explanation could be that Canada still sees herself as having a white European-Canadian identity. Taking an interest and establishing close relationships with different racial and cultural peoples does not appear to be an endeavour of high priority. But isolationism is no more an option for any country. The opening up of hitherto inaccessible economic areas offers business opportunities which the country would be ill-advised to miss. But international trade is an activity increasingly dependent on political prowess. Canada can not be an economic power without being a political power – the two go together.

Among the paraphernalia of an influential player on the world stage is having a 'voice' which can be heard by the international community. In Canada, that voice may be the proposed redirected foreign languages radio broadcasting service.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE RCI DRAMA: FUNCTIONAL DYSFUNCTION?

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter studies the organization of RCI, its present diminished state and turbulent history and tries to understand the reasons for its arguably unhappy career. The object of this study is to know if there are certain historic trends within the organization and within Canada's decision-makers which may affect her ability in the future to serve Canada's international needs and agenda.

Arguably the Radio Canada International (RCI) struggle for survival has been a constant in its short life. But during the last decade the skirmishes over resources have been life-threatening. The RCI that has emerged from this controversy is a much diminished version of its old self, lacking the means for the substantial (international public broadcaster's) role first envisioned in 1942. RCI seems to have failed to succeed.

Many of RCI's difficulties appear to originate with the manner in which domestic and international short-wave public broadcasting has been organized in Canada. RCI's mandate, authority and obligations have been subject to interpretation and reinterpretation and RCI's accountability for the results unclear. Today it is neither the core business of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) nor is it of significant interest to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). The success of RCI depended on the support and confidence of both the

public broadcaster and the agency responsible for external affairs. Arguably misunderstandings, mistrust and distance have led to the deterioration of this service at a time when it could again play a crucial role on behalf of Canada.

The failure of the Canadian government to realize RCI's full potential is a failure of governance. But not quite.

This chapter is divided into four broad sections: The first section ('The Failure of a Relationship') seeks to establish the failure of the relationship between the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's International Service (CBC International Service) and its policy supervisor, the Department of External Affairs to allow the Service to thrive. It does so by recording the sequence of degeneration of the relationship between the two entities during the first ten years of their ties i.e., 1945-55, which was a decisive phase in their association. The section gives an overview of the relationship up to the 1990s and then focuses on the present status of RCI to illustrate the breakup of bonds. Additionally, it explains why it is important for RCI to have close links with DFAIT in order to carryout its original task of serving as a foreign policy instrument.

The second section looks into the various reasons for the discord between the CBC International Service and the Department of External Affairs again, during 1945-55. It examines the difference of opinion between the two parties over the broadcaster's mandate as well as the terms of collaboration between them. A study of the nature of their differences is also made. Furthermore, the section describes how the broadcaster and its policy supervisor worked together in the period under review,

recording External Affairs' efforts to control the International Service and the latter's response to it.

The third section examines certain underlying factors that played a crucial role in putting strains on the working relationship between the short-wave broadcaster and its policy supervisor, and harmed the interests of the International Service. The short-wave broadcasting project had two underlying factors which weakened it: They were, firstly, the physical distance between the operational bases of the International Service, located in Montreal and, External Affairs, situated in Ottawa. Secondly, a seemingly uncaring attitude of the CBC (with lead administrative responsibility for the International Service) towards the resources and interests of the international broadcaster. The section investigates the rationale for these factors with reference to Quebec, and particularly francophone politics.

The chapter is concluded in section five.

## THE FAILURE OF A RELATIONSHIP

### **The Present State of RCI**

2001 was an eventful year for RCI: The organization lost its status of a separate entity and was integrated into the French Radio of the CBC. Before the integration was completed, its executive director of three years, Robert O'Reilly suddenly "retired" in March. His successor, Denis Doucet who stressed that RCI must integrate with the French Radio, also quit the job in just five months. (CBC radio has two national networks, the English Network and the French Network. The latter is also identified as, 'French Radio' by the CBC.)

Earlier in the year, a 'redeployment plan' was introduced under which RCI's broadcasts were slashed, suspending live programming, including news on weekends. Six out of 20 technicians were removed from their jobs at the short-wave transmitters at Sackville while seven staff members were told that they would no longer be part of RCI but of French Radio. A new director, Jean Larin, took over RCI in August 2001. In a statement to RCI staff, Larin, declared: "A chapter in RCI's history is now closed..."

The mystery of these developments is that they all happened in a year with a budget surplus. Wojtek Gwizada, spokesman for 'RCI Action Committee' insists that the developments are not due to a lack of government funding. (*The Sackville Tribune-Post*, 24 October 2001)

The process that led to RCI's integration into the CBC and the drop in its status began when DFAIT announced that it would cease funding RCI after 1995. Since 1991, RCI had existed as an organization under the umbrella of DFAIT (The Department of External Affairs was renamed as the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 1993) while being administered by the CBC. Making public the Department's disengagement with RCI, Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet suggested in December 1995 that RCI should find "subscribers" from other government departments. (*The Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 19 December, 1995.)

The CBC which could not afford to operate the short-wave international radio by itself announced that it would shut it down on 1 April 1996. There was much public outcry over RCI's impending demise. A few weeks before the deadline, Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy issued a statement underlining RCI's importance

for Canada and urged that it be saved but refrained from offering the institutional support that it needed and had indeed received in its earlier days of existence.

Eventually Heritage Minister Sheila Copps arranged funds to save RCI and the international short-wave service fell under Canadian Heritage patronage. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade maintained a distance from the broadcaster which once served as a tool of foreign policy.

### **The Bonds That Could Not Hold**

The relationship between the Department of External Affairs and the CBC International Service became problematic once World War II ended and the spirit of wartime camaraderie disappeared. The changed international atmosphere removed one of the main rationales for having a Canadian short-wave radio i.e., broadcasts to occupied and enemy territory.

The end of the war marked the end of one conflict and the start of another. The Western world's rivalry with the Soviet Union and the socialist world began the Cold War which created a strong need to have short-wave broadcasts. The Cold War era, specially in the early 1950s, was accompanied by paranoia about communism in Canada. Early in CBC International Service's career, the Department of External Affairs suspected that some of its key staff were communists or communist sympathizers which soured their relationship from the beginning.

The Department of External Affairs showed signs of irritation with the CBC International Service as early as July 1946, fifteen months after its launch in February 1945. Arthur Siegel in his book, *Radio Canada International: History and*



*Development* (Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1996, 86-87) quotes an External Affairs' memorandum strongly attacking the broadcaster over a German language program.

By 1948, this unhappiness was expressed by higher External Affairs' officials. Siegel claims, "It was an open secret that Lester Pearson was troubled by the short-wave operation." (127-128) John Hilliker and Donald Barry in their history of the Department of External Affairs reveal that Under Secretary of State Lester Pearson's Department became "increasingly concerned during the early post-war years that the impartial approach attempted by the International Service ...was out of step with the policies that the Department favoured..."<sup>1</sup>

The unhappiness with CBC-IS was not limited to the Department of External Affairs. Prime Minister St. Laurent asked his secretary in July 1950 to tell the Under Secretary of State A.D.P. Heeney that "he did not feel too happy about ...[the] situation since he had heard critical reports of some of the activities of that service." (i.e., factual errors in reporting, the 'presence of communists at the broadcaster, etc.)"<sup>2</sup> St. Laurent was so dissatisfied with the broadcaster's performance that he wanted the General Supervisor of CBC International Service, Ira Dilworth, removed. (Siegel, 103) Dilworth was gone in eighteen months. The unhappiness was perhaps also reflected in a cut of 10.2 per cent in the service's budget for 1950-51.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Hilliker and Donald Barry, *Canada's Department of External Affairs Volume 2: Coming of Age, 1946-1968*, (Montreal: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada and McGill-Queens University Press, 1995), 496.

<sup>2</sup> National Archives of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records, ser. RG 41, vol. 990, file 21-1

In the next two years, External Affairs' displeasure with the International Service kept on growing and the department's declassified internal correspondence shows that options to cut down or abolish CBC-IS were being discussed.

The Department's supercilious attitude towards CBC-IS was itself the cause of much discontent at the broadcaster. Tom Benson, CBC-IS Liaison officer with External Affairs, wrote an anxious "Secret" letter (dated August 2, 1950) to CBC Board of Governors' chairman A.D. Dunton about the Department's thinking on CBC International Service which was contained in two documents. One of the documents is a letter dated July 1950 from John A. McCordick, a Department official seconded as policy coordinator to the International Service and is addressed to the Deputy Under Secretary of State, Charles Ritchie.<sup>3</sup> In the letter, McCordick recommends a gradual approach in bringing the International Service in line but a handwritten margin note (apparently written by Ritchie) disagrees: "I don't agree- It's about time they know what the score is". Further in the letter McCordick suggests that "the relationship is such that the Department could ultimately demonstrate and assert its right to issue policy directives as distinct from guidance and the I.S. knows this to be so." (Words underlining as per document.) He then mentions how the British Foreign Office "solved the problem of its relations with the BBC by successfully infiltrating" it. He doubts if the Department can emulate this method although, he adds optimistically, "a little may already have been achieved through my presence in Montreal and Pidgeon's (CBC International Service's liaison official) contacts with the Department. Carrying forward the idea of 'infiltration', McCordick talks about Ira

---

<sup>3</sup> National Archives of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records, ser. RG 41-1: 988

Dilworth's expected departure from the service, hoping that the Department would be able to influence the choice of his successor. Again, a handwritten note (presumably by Ritchie) on the margin observes: "This is essential but how do we go about it". The Department found a way to do it, by employing the 'infiltration' approach which seems to have had the blessing of Prime Minister Louis St Laurent.

Accordingly, when International Service General Supervisor Ira Dilworth left the service towards the end of 1951, he was replaced on 1 January 1952 by a serving External Affairs official, Canada's Ambassador in Rome, Jean Desy. His appointment, according to Siegel, was "arranged in secret" by St. Laurent and Pearson. Desy was given a special designation at the International Service, that of 'Director General' to allow him greater power. (His successor's title was 'director'.)<sup>4</sup>

Despite the fact that one of its own was heading the International Service, the Department was seriously critical of the service at times and confidential communication reveals that the option to close down the International Service was still being considered. A few months before Desy was to leave CBC International Service, Lester Pearson had made up his mind to wash his hands of the International Service. In May 1953, Under Secretary of State Dana Wilgress wrote a memorandum to Minister Pearson presenting four options on the International Service:

- a) To carry on with the present operation, and guidance for the International Service and urging the International Service to complete its own organization to the desired level;
- b) To abolish the International Service. ...

---

<sup>4</sup> The title of the head of the CBC International Service kept on changing. The first head of the Service was called 'General Supervisor.' Desy's title of Director General conveyed the fact that he had more authority than other heads of the broadcaster. Later heads were called 'directors.'

- c) To restrict the CBC-International Service's activities to a much smaller volume of short-wave broadcasting and to have the International Service concentrate on making recordings for medium-wave broadcasts in foreign countries... The time of the CBC short-wave facilities and transmitters then be made available to the Voice of America, BBC and UN radio;
- d) To have this Department take over full operations as well as policy responsibility for CBC-International Service...

Pearson's response to the memo expresses the dominant thinking on the future of the International Service. He writes on the memo beside option 'b' which suggested ending the Service : "I am coming to this view re CBC-International Service."

About option 'c' which recommended cutting down the Service, Pearson suggested, "this might be tried – and afterwards we would see whether we should then recommend 'b')." As for point d), recommending that the Department takeover the Service, Pearson just wrote "no". (Siegel, 185)

A few months after Desy took charge, the broadcaster was severely criticized by External Affairs over a Russian program and two senior department officials, Charles Ritchie and Escott Reid made the following comments:

Ritchie: I am disturbed by the trend reported... If we broadcast insulting diatribes we might as well close up the service (International Service) entirely.

Reid: I agree with Mr. Ritchie. If CBC-International Service cannot be brought into line, we must take it up with the minister. (Siegel, 134)

On the whole, Jean Desy's tenure at the International Service considerably improved communication between the two organizations but not the morale within the Service. But apparently External Affairs had not developed any greater trust in the International Service entirely. Desy's departure from the Service in July 1953 was a

turning point in the relationship between the Department of External Affairs and CBC-International Service: It was the beginning of External Affairs' disengagement with the Service. The timing of this development is interesting. The cold war, so heavy on propaganda, was at its height while the propaganda weapon, the International Service went into decline.

After Desy's departure, External Affairs very considerably scaled down liaison with the International Service. External Affairs withdrew his deputy, Yvon Baulne, and stopped sending "Top Secret" information to the broadcaster (though less sensitive documents continued to be sent). By 1960 External Affairs was sending just one official every week to Montreal for liaison purposes.

Within a few months of Desy's departure, CBC International Service suffered an "unexpected" budget cut towards the end of 1954. The cuts were substantial, forcing it to slash its operations and investing its remaining resources mainly on eastern Europe broadcasts.

It appears that External Affairs' urge to disengage was so strong at times that Pearson whom Siegel counts among "the early deserters of the RCI ship" even tried to give away the short-wave service to the United Nations.

In March 1957, a report of the subcommittee on CBC-International Service (sent to Davidson Dunton, Chairman, CBC Board of Governors) recommended, among other things, that "the short-wave broadcasts should be discontinued except for the Eastern European service..."<sup>5</sup> On the original document containing these recommendations, somebody has put two check marks beside this recommendation.

---

<sup>5</sup> National Archives of Canada, Privy Council Records, ser. RG 2 A-1-a:181.

The Interdepartmental Committee on the CBC International Service tentatively concluded on May 17, 1957, that (i) CBC-IS operations should be "concentrated" on Eastern Europe; (ii) Western Europe and Latin American broadcasts "did not appear to be justified" and; that the CBC-IS transcription service should be expanded. The meeting also felt that the International Service should be integrated with the CBC.

These recommendations are noteworthy for they follow almost exactly one of the four options on CBC-IS favoured by Pearson. The options were presented to Minister Pearson by Under Secretary Dana Wilgress in the above-noted memorandum of May 1953.

By 1965, External Affairs had evidently become so disinterested in the International Service that the Report of the Committee on Broadcasting (Fowler) observed: "At present, the Department of External Affairs gives desultory attention to program policy for international broadcasting, and maintains only informal contacts with CBC-IS." <sup>6</sup> The Committee recommended fundamental changes in the International Service's status.

Two years later, after a rather successful role at Expo '67, CBC-IS faced a closure threat from the Treasury Board.

The Department of External Affairs' response to the proposed demise of the International Service is mystifying if not suspicious. It showed little sympathy or concern for its former 'instrument of foreign policy'. There was much public outcry over the issue with Globe and Mail columnist Dennis Braithwaite suggesting ulterior

---

<sup>6</sup> Canada, *Report of the Committee on Broadcasting*. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1965)

motives behind the idea. Braithwaite asked: "Have President Charles DeGaulle, or some of his Quebec followers, perhaps, objected to the IS broadcasts in French?" adding, "For a nation that this year spend hundreds of millions on an almost hysterical effort to catch the world's attention, haven't we become strangely reticent and isolationist all of a sudden?"<sup>7</sup>

At a time when the International Service needed friends in high places, the prime minister happened to be the unsympathetic Pearson.

After a series of crises, the International Service was integrated into the CBC's funding structure and its financing included in the CBC budget in April 1968. The integration ended the International Service's financial independence: Prior to this, the Service had two financial resources which gave it monetary independence. First, the government gave it an annual grant to cover its expenses and second, it owned the Radio-Canada Building in Montreal and rented it out to CBC's domestic services. After the amalgamation, the government's grant for the International Service was included in CBC's annual budget while its assets, valued at \$3,155,000 including Radio-Canada building and the Sackville transmitters were transferred to the CBC Proprietor's Equity Account. The loss of financial independence left the International Service at the mercy of CBC's operational priorities.

---

<sup>7</sup> *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 4 December 1967.

### **RCI's Need to have Close Links with DFAIT**

RCI's ability to perform its fundamental role of articulating Canada's foreign policy objectives ("an indirect aid for foreign policy"—Fowler Committee Report 1965) is largely dependent on having a trusting relationship with the Department of Foreign Affairs. RCI requires classified information from the Department to properly carry out its responsibilities. However, its increasing administrative and organizational closeness to CBC makes it unsuitable for that kind of relationship with the government department handling foreign affairs. James L. Hall, author of *Radio Canada International* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997), believes that External Affairs felt that "it might be difficult ...for [it] to continue to offer adequate political guidance for international broadcasting purposes..."

External Affairs' preference for keeping the International Service separate from the CBC had financial implications for the broadcaster. It could only facilitate funding for the International Service if it was able to maintain a confidential relationship with it; if such a relationship was not possible, the Department was not inclined to offer its good offices for financially supporting the broadcaster. Robert O'Reilly, former RCI Director said in January 2002 that RCI should be placed under the Department of Foreign Affairs in order to ensure the broadcaster's existence.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Robert O'Reilly, statement [Online] (London: 29 January 2002); accessed 07 February 2002; available from <http://www.mw.nl/realradio/features/html/canada020129.html>; Internet.



## CAUSES OF DISCORD

### **Differences over Mandate and Responsibilities**

Today there is a lack of clarity between what RCI claims as its mandate and what it does. H       Robillard-Frayne, Director Communications, Marketing and Research, RCI, identified the broadcaster's primary target audience as expatriate Canadians while at the same time claiming that the objective behind the foreign language service is to "reflect Canada to the world." (Interview by author, 14 November 2000) RCI's website defines the organization's role as being to: "develop an awareness of Canada and the realities of Canadian life. Thanks to RCI, Canadians living abroad or travelling around the world can keep in touch with their country everyday."<sup>9</sup>

RCI's zest for foreign listeners is evident from the fact that within seven years of its inception, besides English and French, it was transmitting programs in Czech, Danish, Dutch, German, Polish, Portuguese, Slovak, Spanish, Swedish, Russian, and Ukrainian. Later on Arabic, Cantonese, Chinese and Hungarian programs were added.

The same desire for a foreign audience led it to beam programs at the former Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc countries during the Cold War "in an effort to let those people know what was really happening around them." It also claims to have been during the 1980s, "one small but important element in helping to ignite the

---

<sup>9</sup> RCI, statement, [Online]; accessed 22 April 2002; available from <http://www.rcinet.ca/Scripts/default.asp?s1=RCI&s2=infosgenerales>; Internet.

eventual changes that swept across Eastern Europe." <sup>10</sup> In the mid-eighties, RCI beamed 'Everyday English' lessons to an estimated 20 million listeners in China, again proving its interest in attracting foreign audience.

The Annual Report of CBC for 1999-2000 underscored the importance of the international service: Referring to the present globalization era, it maintains that, "providing a view of Canada beyond our frontiers has become an even more important part of CBC's role." The Report then clarifies CBC's view of RCI's function as projecting "Canada's presence abroad".

Under the Broadcasting Act of 1991, CBC is mandated to provide an international radio service. The department responsible in Parliament for broadcasting, Canadian Heritage says "RCI is the chosen instrument for implementing that mandate."

CBC Corporate Policy No 14 which came into effect May 13, 1980 says,

RCI is to provide "daily short-wave broadcasts designed to attract an international audience with the purpose of further developing international awareness of Canada...through short-wave and other means...The responsibility for the implementation and application of this policy rests with Radio Canada International."<sup>11</sup>

The lack of clarity in RCI's mandate has harmed the short-wave broadcaster right from its early days. Most of the problems in the relationship between the International Service and the Department of External Affairs can be traced to the unclear mandate of the broadcaster. The working arrangements (the governance

---

<sup>10</sup> Andrew K. Finnie, *History of Radio Canada International*[Online] (Montreal: Radio Canada International, 1996), accessed 27 April 2002; available from <http://www.rcinet.ca/Scripts/default.asp?s1=RCI&s2=Historique>; internet.

<sup>11</sup> RCI Action Committee, documents, [Online], accessed 03 September 200; available from <http://www.geocities.com/rciaction/history.html>; Internet.

edifice: rules and regulations, duties and responsibilities) for the short-wave broadcasting project did not clearly address fundamental issues such as explaining the mandate, authority and obligation of CBC-International Service. Neither was the command structure, the terms of relationship with its policy supervisor laid down. It was not made clear what the International Service was required to do and what was its level of responsibility in carrying out the task? Additionally, it was not properly explained what was the authority and obligation of its policy supervisor, the Department of External Affairs.

The ambiguity in the mandate of the broadcaster and related working arrangements were a major cause of difference between the International Service and the Department of External Affairs. According to James Hall , "The organizational positioning of CBC-IS within the corporation, while quasi-connected to External Affairs in a non-supervisory, but advisory capacity, was never fully understood by even the most informed observer in Ottawa" (Hall, 102) The organizational arrangement of CBC, International Service and External Affairs were thought to be "ill-defined" by the Committee on Broadcasting (under Robert Fowler's chairmanship). The Committee observed that "the most serious aspect" of the arrangements governing the operations of the short-wave radio was "that CBC-IS is suspended in constitutional space between the CBC and the Department of External Affairs with each ascribing responsibility to the other."<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Report on the Committee on Broadcasting, [Fowler] (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965), 187.

The general policy rules for the broadcasts were first set down in April 1948 during a meeting between the chairman of the CBC and senior officials. The International Service's mandate as defined in the "guidance notes" was overtly anti-communist, warning, among other things:

1. Nothing should be said or done that suggests Canadian approval of communist-controlled governments. In 1954, the Department added psychological warfare in the list of activities that the International Service was to engage in.
2. Use every opportunity to encourage democratic elements.
3. Avoid situations that could lead to diplomatic protests, as technically Canada is on friendly terms with the communist countries. (Siegel, 91-92 )

Two years later (in 1950) External Affairs added more detail to the International Service's role which was to:

- I Project Canada by:
  - (i) explaining Canadian policies and principles and their background, and
  - (ii) presenting a picture of Canadian life, people, industry etc.,
- II To participate actively on behalf of Canada in the 'cold war', which would include:
  - (i) giving an adequate account of what is going on in the world through a news service which is comprehensive, true and objective;
  - (ii) striving constantly to identify communism as an instrument of Soviet imperialism;
  - (iii) appealing to the national self-respect of subject people, without attempting to incite them to revolt;
  - (iv) unmasking the hypocrisy of communist "democracy" in elections, trade unions, labour camps, religion, etc., and the hypocrisy of Soviet "peace propaganda" and its inconsistency... etc.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> National Archives of Canada. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records, ser. RG 41-1: 990

Besides general guidelines, External Affairs did send confidential information with varying frequency but that information was often only for the head of International Service.

The CBC International Service was uncomfortable in the role of a propagandist. "Our basic conception of the Service was that it should be, as far as possible, a friendly service," explained former Supervisor Ira Dilworth CBC-IS in 1952.<sup>14</sup> The short-wave broadcaster saw itself as a public broadcaster with the function to: Project Canada for listeners in the area of the international world communication in order that Canada may take her place and be understood among other peoples. It is the function of the Service to develop abroad an intelligent appreciation of Canadian resources, activities, thought and general culture.<sup>15</sup>

Dilworth who left CBC International Service in 1950 believed that "a positive presentation of Western thought and accomplishment" was more effective in achieving the goals of broadcasting than anti-communist propaganda. For this, he fell out of favour with the Prime Minister and the Minister for External Affairs although he did alter his policy later on.

After Jean Desy's appointment as Director General, International Service's broadcasts became more combative, coming closer to External Affairs' expectations. But even Jean Desy offered a somewhat tame version of the broadcaster's mandate:

1. To expound and develop the aims and policies of the Western democratic powers and particularly of Canada.

---

<sup>14</sup> National Archives of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records, ser. RG 41-1: 988.

<sup>15</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 4: May 30, 1951. Ottawa: Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1951.

2. To combat communist ideology and Soviet Imperialism.
3. To project as far as possible a picture of Canadian life with special reference to social, cultural and economic development. (Hall, 71)

Desy's successor at the International Service, Charles Delafield who apparently did not believe in confrontation with External Affairs toughened the mandate. In James Hall's words: "Reflecting the philosophy of External Affairs, Delafield implied a direct propagandist approach to the broadcasting operations." (Hall, 72)

However, Delafield's hard-line version of the mandate apparently failed to endear the broadcaster to External Affairs. In March 1956, a report of the subcommittee on CBC-International Service (sent to Davidson Dunton, Chairman, CBC Board of Governors) recommended the discontinuation of the short-wave broadcasts excepting those of the Eastern European service.

But later in 1959, External Affairs changed its mind, demanding that the broadcaster should "...ease off or cease political warfare broadcasts to Eastern Europe" because anti-communist propaganda, in its view, was counter-productive and that a positive presentation of Western thought and accomplishment would be more effective. That was the idea that the former General Supervisor Ira Dilworth propounded and because of which he had fallen out of favour with the Prime Minister and the Minister for External Affairs. (Siegel, 147)

The two parties just could not find a common understanding to work with. The result was that they could never work together successfully and eventually, the relationship between them just deteriorated to a state of dysfunction.

Despite trying to bring its role closer to the expectations of External Affairs, CBC-IS could not satisfy the policy supervisor. The two sides had different interpretations of the same idea. There was a general charge that CBC-IS did not adequately respond as the cold war heated up. (Siegel, 147-148.)

### **Nature of Differences between the Broadcaster and the Supervisor**

#### Administrative and Cultural Reasons

The differences over the interpretation of CBC-IS mandate between the Department of External Affairs and the short-wave broadcaster appears to be greatly due to their administrative background: External Affairs personnel were civil servants, answerable to government, and were solely engaged in implementing government policy and direction in the international field.

The CBC International staff on the other hand, were drawn from a Crown corporation which was free of direct government control, independent, and answerable to no one but Parliament. The CBC International Service core staff members never lost their administrative and cultural connection with the CBC and it was not uncommon for them to switch organizations back and forth. It was therefore not surprising that they tended to naturally go along with the way of thinking and working of CBC journalists rather than that of government bureaucrats.

There was also a difference of 'culture and class' between the External Affairs and CBC-International personnel. The department and its well-educated and sophisticated officials enjoyed unusual power and prestige. They were the ruling

elite: from Mackenzie King to Lester Pearson, four successive prime ministers had held the portfolio of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The Department officials' feeling of power over the ordinary, low-paid broadcast journalists is revealed in confidential inter-departmental correspondence. The constant closure threats, arm twisting and humiliation of the International Service was part of that superior attitude. External Affairs followed a policy of supplying information according to what it thought the broadcaster needed to know.

The International Service broadcasters, being mostly journalists, had a different approach to handling a subject generally based on journalistic objectivity, balance and a search for truth which have a low priority in the propaganda game. They thought their involvement with propaganda diminished their prestige in the eyes of CBC's domestic service journalists.

An important reason for discord seems to be around International Service's desire for editorial freedom and independence. Former Canadian Ambassador Robin Higham attacked this very attitude of the Service's staff, saying, "they think they are journalists."<sup>16</sup>

### **Mutual Distrust**

A natural result of the difference in culture between External Affairs and the International Service was the growth of mutual mistrust. Neither side trusted the other but External Affairs' distrust of International Service had serious consequences for the future of the Service as well as the career of its staff.

---

<sup>16</sup> Robin Higham, interview by author, 26 July 2000. Higham teaches at the Centre on Governance, University of Ottawa.



External Affairs thought the International Service's occasional error of judgment or their soft propaganda tone was due to the presence of communists among their staff. Such suspicions and allegations made the International Service unreliable and unpatriotic in the eyes of the anti-communist lobby and External Affairs.

## WORKING TOGETHER

### **External Affairs' Efforts to Control CBC-IS**

Short-wave broadcasting had three arrangements facilitating decision-making, supervision and interaction among the involved parties:

- (i) Joint decision making mechanism;
- (ii) a one-way guidance/instructional mechanism and;
- (iii) a mechanism facilitating personnel liaison.

Under the first mechanism, a committee, simply named, 'Short-wave Joint Committee' had the powers to make final policy decisions about the short-wave broadcasting undertaking. The first such committee established in 1944 had representatives from External Affairs, CBC, the International Service and the Wartime Information Board.

Hall finds the composition of the Short-wave Committee "worthy of analysis", pointing to the fact that CBC, which did not have a policy role in the operation of the International Service nonetheless had two members on the Committee, the same as the Department of External Affairs. (Hall, 20) The struggle for power in the short-wave broadcasting project was on right from the first beep.

Later in 1947 when External Affairs wanted to have more control over the International Service, the Short-wave Joint Committee was reconstituted with External Affairs representation going up from two to five and was renamed, 'Advisory Committee on the CBC International Service' (Siegel, 87)

External Affairs believed that if the short-wave broadcaster was to act as a "meaningful instrument of foreign policy and psychological warfare", it needed to be taken into its confidence. Thus the International Service was made part of the External's information loop.

The second mechanism was oral and written comments coming from External Affairs to the International Service. These included 'Top Secret', 'background notes' and other confidential material sent thrice a week in diplomatic bags. Verbal comments were delivered by telephone or during face-to-face meetings at External Affairs offices in Ottawa or in International Service headquarters in Montreal. Most of the material was for the top management. Written advice was made through letters and the teletype.

External Affairs' policy supervision for the most part consisted of giving broad policy guidelines (noted above), sharing some confidential information and comments on broadcasts although it at times participate in closer working arrangements. The Department did not want to be publicly seen to be too close to the broadcaster. It clearly refrained from accepting any more responsibility than policy guidance and left the interpretation and execution of the policy to the CBC

International Service.<sup>17</sup> However it did keep a close eye on the broadcaster through a third mechanism, personnel liaison. Both the Department and the broadcaster would station a member of their staff at each other's head-office to provide a constant point of contact between themselves.

In March 1951 the 'policy coordination' section was established at the International Service with a policy coordinator seconded from External Affairs heading it. The policy coordinator held daily meetings with the International Service key personnel in the language section to pass on the "correct view" on various issues. Once the scripts were prepared, they were checked by the policy section before being sent for broadcasting.

In February 1953, a Political Coordinating Section in the Department of External Affairs was created and another External Affairs' official was temporarily transferred to Montreal to assist in exchanging information with Ottawa. (Hall, 62)

External Affairs' stated role in short-wave broadcasting was to give policy guidance to the International Service while CBC was to provide technical and administrative support. However, the Department frequently asserted itself in personnel matters at the broadcaster. The removal of Director Ira Dilworth, and other senior staff members and the appointment of Jean Desy, etc., are proof of External Affairs' mastery over the broadcaster which grudgingly accepted it.

The 1965 Committee on Broadcasting (Fowler) too thought that the organizational arrangement of CBC, International Service and External Affairs was

---

<sup>17</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 2, February 26, 1953. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1953. 44

"ill-defined". The Committee found that the International Service's "broad program policy is, somewhat indeterminately, subject to direction by or under the influence of the Department of External Affairs... But the most serious aspect of the present arrangements is that CBC-IS is suspended in constitutional space between the CBC and the Department of External Affairs with each ascribing responsibility to the other."<sup>18</sup> Even basic accountabilities like who was responsible for the International Service was not sorted out and was a matter of concern for some parliamentarians.

Gordon Graydon, M.P., asked Dana Wilgress, Under Secretary of State:

...I think the government ought to give consideration right away to making sure there is one boss and one final person who is responsible for the international service broadcasts. As it is now, it is certainly very confused. We have evidence before the committee that the CBC-IS is serving two masters...<sup>19</sup>

Graydon also quizzed Lester Pearson over who the International Service was answerable to:

Graydon: "...Is your department the boss of what goes on and what is beamed to other countries (by CBC-IS) , or is Mr. McCann, or the Prime Minister, or is it a combination, or what is the situation?"

Lester Pearson: "As you know, the C.B.C.I.S. is part of the CBC which comes under the jurisdiction, not of the Department of External Affairs, but of the Department of National Revenue." <sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> *Report on the Committee on Broadcasting*, [Fowler] Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965. 187

<sup>19</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, *Minutes of Proceeding and Evidence*, No. 2, February 26, 1953. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1953

<sup>20</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, *Minutes of Proceeding and Evidence*, No. 1, February 19, 1953 and February 23, 1953. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1953.

The situation was not made much clear by the External Affairs appointed Director General Jean Desy, who explained his position and the broadcaster's responsibilities to the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, on March 1953 as:

...I and the C.B.C.I.S. staff are responsible in turn to the management of the C.B.C. and to the Board of Governors who report to parliament through the Minister of National Revenue. I am not serving two masters. Whereas the Minister of National Revenue may be compared to my Father Superior, as they say in clerical circles, the Secretary of State for External Affairs is more like a... spiritual director. I am at liberty to follow the advice of my spiritual director, but should I commit any sin, I have to turn to my Father Superior, either for absolution or reprimand.<sup>21</sup>

A fine bit of obfuscation!

### Intimidation and the Communist Hunt at CBC-IS

The early 1950s was an era of Cold War, of suspicion and persecution. The answer to communism was found in McCarthyism and persecution of communists, not only in the USA but also in Canada. Around this time, the relationship between CBC-International Service was "floundering" because of the Department's suspicion over the ideological leanings of staff members of the International Service. (Siegel, 99)

Several key persons, including the International Service Director Ira Dilworth were either suspected of being communists or too soft on them. Under pressure from External Affairs, CBC-IS had initiated through the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), a process of vetting and investigating its staff. The investigations revealed nothing more than some staff members' past Leftist affiliations but there was no proof

---

<sup>21</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 6, March 12, 1953. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1953.

of their being unpatriotic or disloyal to the country. However, External Affairs wanted them out of the International Service otherwise the Department was reluctant to send confidential information to the broadcaster. The Department's wishes were upheld and some of the controversial staff members were removed.

The Department's communist persecution reached a new level when Jean Desy became Director General of the International Service.

It seems that another goal of the government was to tame the International Service's journalists and broadcasters for Desy's "style was to instill fear in his subordinates." (Siegel, 115) He was strongly anti-communist and anti-Semitic with a distrust for foreigners, a large number of whom worked in the International Service's foreign language sections. One of the problems he identified to Pearson with regard to the International Service was that many staff members in key positions "were foreign national or recently naturalized immigrants." (Siegel, 126) Desy who had no broadcasting experience ran the service harshly, causing "a storm with his house-cleaning at the International Service" to the satisfaction of the anti-communist, right-wing media. (Siegel, 126) Aloof and snobbish, the former ambassador to Italy demanded that CBC-IS staff address him as 'Your Excellency' and according to Siegel, once even returned a memo that did not address him in that manner. (Siegel, 121) Soon after taking over his new post, Desy asked diplomat Yvon Beaulne to join him as his deputy. Thus there were two External Affairs officials in the top management of the broadcaster in addition to one more official doing the work of liaison. Beaulne believed in the rule of 'guilty by suspicion' and had concerns about the 'foreigners' at the International Service. (Siegel, 123)

Desy was well-suited for the job of purging the International Service of 'leftist influence.' He was rumoured to have been the "indirect source of information" on the 'communist past' of Canada's Ambassador to Egypt, Herbert Norman, during the US Congressional hearings in the 1950s. Norman committed suicide in 1957 when allegations doubting his loyalty to Canada persisted. It is also thought that Desy helped the Vatican "find safe havens in Brazil and Canada for a number of important and controversial Europeans with problematic wartime records." (Siegel, 119)

Jean Desy's deputy, Yvon Beaulne,

had concerns about the foreigners of the foreign sections and about security... Beaulne took his concerns to Dunton —asking for dismissals— but was rebuffed; he was asked if his evidence would stand up in a court of law. He ...presented his own view that even if it did not stand up in a court of law, where there was doubt about a person's integrity, i.e., guilty by suspicion, the Government should have the benefit of the doubt.(Siegel, 123.)<sup>22</sup>

From the perspective of the health of the International Service, Desy's tenure did more harm than good and demoralized the Service's staff. It was said that his successor "took ..19 years to repair the damage caused by Desy in 18 months." (Siegel, 130)

The communist hunt was not limited to the International Service, CBC itself was under intense suspicion and scrutiny. Former CBC president Alphonse Ouimet recalled (during an oral history interview) a conversation he had with a minister in Louis St.Laurent's government (probably in 1956):

---

<sup>22</sup> Beaulne later made a career in human rights which he described as his "calling" and "passion." He was Canada's representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights from 1976 to 1984 and chaired the Commission in 1979.

Minister: 'You are having a bunch of communists on the air!'  
Ouimet: 'We have no communists on the air. Who are you talking about?'  
Minister: 'You know goddamn well... Marchand, Trudeau, Pelletier,  
Gagnon, Laurendeau... Get rid of them all!'

Social Credit MP Ernest Hansell agreed, saying simply, "Fire them all... There should be a complete housecleaning." <sup>23</sup>

Marc Raboy in his book, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) records Prime Minister John Diefenbaker ordering an investigation into charges that "the CBC's French language network had been subject to 'left wing communistic infiltration.'" (176)

#### Fighting Back: CBC International Service's Response

The International Service was uncomfortable with the prospects of detailed regulation by the Department of External Affairs right from the early days of their relationship. The General Supervisor Ira Dilworth had resisted the Department's more than necessary control and thought that "...to invite the Department to regulate our Service in detail, would...in my opinion, be dangerous and could be destructive of some of the finest aspects of our Service as we have built it." <sup>24</sup>

Jean Desy's harsh rule of the International Service and External Affairs' moves to dominate it and its later coldness towards it demoralized the broadcaster's staff and apparently made them less inclined to cooperate with the Department. It was said of Desy's successor, Charles Delafield, that he was good at taking advice from External

---

<sup>23</sup> Knowlton Nash, "The Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayal at the CBC". Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1994. 220-221

<sup>24</sup> National Archives of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records, ser. RG-41-1: 988



Affairs but did not pass it on to the staff, which must have been rather frustrating for External Affairs. An External Affairs report dated September 24, 1956 may be pointing to this situation when it observes that "The Department has wondered whether the CBC-IS directing staff might be able to improve its methods of giving policy and editorial guidance and direction to the different language sections and to the Eastern European sections in particular."<sup>25</sup>

After the first big budget cut in 1954, International Service was asked (in 1955) to launch a propaganda offensive (code named the 'Lobster Festival') regarding political developments in the Soviet Union. The International Service opposed the idea of launching the propaganda campaign. One of the broadcaster's staff involved in the campaign said later that "it was difficult to take the lobster festival seriously" and called the exercise an "absurdity". The External Affairs official handling the 'Lobster Festival' wrote "rather bitterly" that the International Service responded to the propaganda plan "with the rapidity and subtlety of turtles." (Siegel, 144)

## IMPEDIMENTS TO EFFECTIVE LIAISON

### **The Location Controversy**

It is a logical idea to keep the supervisor and supervisee together. In the case of the CBC-International Service, it was particularly reasonable to keep the broadcaster in the country's capital from where it was to gather all the information and guidance.

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

The decision in 1943 to place the CBC-International Service in Montreal is strange indeed. But one can discover some reason and rationality in the decision from a remark by the broadcaster's organizer and first supervisor, Peter Aylen. According to Aylen, one of the basic considerations in organizing the International Service was: "...Should the studio be located in Ottawa, as a convenience to watchdogs in Ottawa?" (Siegel, 63) The conclusion to this consideration appears to have been, 'no, the studio should not be in Ottawa so that it is not convenient for the watchdogs to watch.'

### **Problems Due to Distance**

One serious impediment in developing an understanding and working relationship between the Department and the International Service was the physical distance between the two. While the Department was in Ottawa, the International Service was based in Montreal making frequent and effective liaison between the two very difficult. The Department had to depute its officials as couriers to carry sensitive information and advice on a regular basis to the broadcaster in addition to having a tri-weekly diplomatic bag sent to Montreal. Yet, communication was not smooth and misunderstandings persisted.

One effect of this separation was on a very human relations level: Robin Higham believes that: "RCI people were not able to meet with government officials casually face to face and develop relations with them. It is difficult to develop relations if you don't eat together and meet informally. The physical distance between Ottawa and Montreal prevented that." (Higham, 26 July 2001)

While the personnel of the two organizations could not influence each other, the International Service staff was constantly exposed to the staff of CBC's French language network, Radio-Canada, as both worked in the same building. This meant that the International Service staff, quite naturally, could have been more receptive to ideas generated by the arguably politicized French network journalists.

The separation of the International Service from its policy supervisor and "advocate," the Department of External Affairs, was an obviously impractical and controversial arrangement. Neither the Department nor the CBC ever gave a convincing explanation for separating the two. Gordon Graydon, MP, thought the idea of separating CBC International Service from Ottawa was incomprehensible. Graydon interrogated the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs Dana Wilgress over this matter:

Graydon: ...why in the world should we separate the CBC International Service by putting Jean Desy [CBC-IS Director General] in Montreal and then having a commuter service where a man commutes back and forth once or twice a week to tell him what the Department of External Affairs wants beamed to other countries is quite beyond me. I think what we should have is a CBC International Service right here in Ottawa... ...it seems to me you still separate them [CBC-IS] from the Department of External Affairs where the policy in the final analysis, should be made and should originate and where consultations on a continuing basis ought to exist.<sup>26</sup>

There were more reasons to keep the two together than keeping them separate. So why place the International Service in Montreal? The issue is intriguing firstly because the Department of External Affairs knew about the problems the British

---

<sup>26</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 2, February 26, 1953. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1953.

Foreign Office had in developing a good working relationship with the BBC World Service despite the fact that both were situated in London. (Ultimately the Foreign Office had to "infiltrate" the BBC World Service) Secondly, placing the International Service in Montreal meant that it was situated under the operational control of CBC's French language network. Heritage Minister Sheila Copps' insistence in June 2001 that the short-wave broadcaster should integrate into the French Radio seems to be the culmination of the Montreal move. What were CBC's interests in moving the International Service to Montreal?

### **Predation: CBC Feeding on the Short-wave Project ?**

Radio Canada International's former Executive Director, Robert O'Reilly has revealed a surprising aspect of CBC's relationship with the short-wave radio: O'Reilly told an international conference in January 2002 that RCI "should be taken away from the CBC... to ensure that its continued existence and output is directly reflective of Canadian foreign policies, rather than to *the domestic broadcaster's financial requirements, and other predatory practices to which they are currently subject*". (Italics author's) <sup>27</sup>

Due to the two official languages of the federal government in Canada, CBC Radio has to serve two distinct audiences, the Anglophone and the francophone. As noted earlier, CBC Radio comprises two fairly autonomous radio networks: CBC English network and the French network known as 'French Radio' based in Montreal.

---

<sup>27</sup> Radio Netherland's Media Network, features [Online]; accessed 12 February, 2002; available from :<http://www.rnw.nl/realradio/features/html/canada020129.html>; Internet.

According to former RCI Director Betty Zimmerman, "there are two CBCs...there is an English CBC and a French CBC..."<sup>28</sup>

Polarization along linguistic lines seems to be increasing in CBC's central structure, strengthening the structural duality of the organization. One instance of this process is the appointment in July 2001 of a unilingual Chair of CBC Board of Directors. Carole Taylor is the first non-French speaker and the first Westerner to be appointed to the position. The Chair's office has moved from Ottawa to Vancouver. Furthermore, all CBC International Service/RCI records have been moved from Ottawa to Montreal.

So, the short-wave service's placement in Montreal under the supervision of CBC meant practically placing it under the CBC's French language network. In 1968 when it was included in the CBC budget, it again meant that it was in effect associated with in the French network's budget. The integration process that the short-wave broadcaster went through in 2001 formalized this situation when it was announced in April 18, 2001 that the broadcaster will henceforth report to the vice-president of CBC French Radio. Finally, Heritage Minister Sheila Copps put the official approval of the absorption process when she advised in May 2001 that the short-wave international service must integrate in CBC's French Radio. The short-wave service, Radio Canada International is now part of the French Radio. The process that began by the decision to locate the International Service in Montreal seems to have reached its logical conclusion. It appears that the problems between the Department of External Affairs and the International Service apparently were all part

---

<sup>28</sup> <sup>28</sup> Betty Zimmerman, former director of RCI, interview by author, 21 June 2001

of the process to push the short-wave broadcaster in the direction of the CBC French Radio.

RCI Action Committee's spokesman Wojtek Gwizada strengthened this impression when he declared in October 2001 that the changes brought about in the short-wave broadcaster's status and organization were not due to a lack of government funding. Speculating on the motivation for the cutbacks at RCI in the last few years, he claimed that it "may be CBC's way of trying to integrate the short-wave service into the domestic [i.e., French] service." (*The Sackville Tribune Post*, 24 October 2001)

But why did CBC's French Radio want to own a short-wave service? How did it stand to benefit?

The plan to create the International Service was a particularly viable financial opportunity for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The short-wave international broadcasting project was started with a great deal of enthusiasm and matching funds.

The entire cost (\$1,300,000 in 1943) was to be absorbed by a war appropriation and after the end of the war Parliament was to arrange the funding. CBC was to purchase two short-wave transmitters and build the transmission station at Sackville, N.B., and operate the International Service on behalf of the government.<sup>29</sup> More government money could be expected for housing the International Service.

---

<sup>29</sup> House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 2, June 11, 1943. 39

The CBC, formed in 1936, had decided to acquire a building in Montreal for its studios and offices but did not have the funds to do so. Its revenues at the time, mainly generated from radio license fee, were insufficient for that kind of expenditure. The inflation of the period after the end of World War II raised its expenditure and put the corporation in the red. In 1948-49 CBC's budget deficit was \$43,449.85 which rose to \$242,000, in the next financial year.

In 1947, CBC was in an "alarming" state in terms of its need for studio and office space in Montreal where it was housed in four separate buildings and was "at least at one of them... threatened with eviction within a couple of years...", consequently, pleaded CBC Chairman Davidson Dunton, "we may find ourselves without studios at all in Montreal if we do not take steps without any further delay to obtain new accommodation."<sup>30</sup>

Despite its "alarming" space situation, in 1946 CBC returned a plot of land gifted to it by the city of Montreal for the purposes of constructing studios and offices.

Around 1946-47, according to CBC officials, the government asked the corporation to look for a building in Montreal to house the offices and studios of the International Service. The CBC went shopping and purchased the Ford Hotel with "about 700 or 750" rooms at a cost of \$2,200,000 in 1948. It then set about tearing down the interior structure to build studios and offices at a cost of \$1.3 million. The equipment for the studios cost another \$800,000. The building had 12 floors and a

---

<sup>30</sup> House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 6, June 5, 1950 and June 8, 1950. Ottawa: Controller of Stationery. 29

total floor space of 173,000 sq. ft. With 26 studios and state of the art facilities it was simply "the most important and modern Radio Centre in Canada".<sup>31</sup> The building was renamed the 'Radio-Canada Building' (not named after its owner, CBC International Service). It was equipped to handle massive broadcasting activity, and was to house the national headquarters for Engineering, Personnel and Administration, the French Network Services and Montreal TV Service of the CBC besides the International Service with a staff of about 200, producing some 16 hours of daily programming. All the above-mentioned costs were borne by the government under the budget line of the International Service.

A few months after the building was purchased and architectural changes were being carried out, CBC began moving its various sections to it and were not required to pay any rent until the building became officially operational in 1950. In that year, CBC itself fixed a rent of \$1.79 per sq. ft. which was found by the Auditor General to be too low and "... not...adequate to recoup the cost of specially installed facilities and depreciation, nor provide any return on capital investment in the premises."<sup>32</sup>

The building CBC decided to have in 1939, it got in 1948. One reason behind selecting the impractical location of Montreal for International Service headquarters could be CBC's need for a headquarter building for its French network. If the International Service had gone to Ottawa, CBC's French network could have missed this lucrative opportunity.

---

<sup>31</sup> House of Commons Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence* No. 6, Monday June 5, 1950 and Thursday, June 8, 1950. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1950. 255

<sup>32</sup> House of Commons Special Committee on Broadcasting, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 4, Thursday, April 6, 1953. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1953.



The entire exercise of purchasing and refurbishing the building displayed an extraordinary disregard for rules and established practices by both the CBC and the government.<sup>33</sup>

The CBC:

1. Did not consult any outside agency to examine and assess the Ford Hotel building.
2. Did not call for tenders to carry out the refurbishing work nor for manufacturing some of the equipment (which it manufactured itself). It did not have its cost estimates approved from the government.
3. The Corporation itself fixed the rent it was to pay to the International Service/government.

The government:

1. Allowed CBC to use public money (marked for the International Service) to purchase and refurbish a building and purchase equipment for use of its domestic French Radio and Television. The building and equipment acquired was far in excess of the International Service needs and was officially meant for the operation of the French network. The government also allowed the CBC to occupy the building for about two years without paying rent. (Being a Crown corporation and funded mainly through license fee collected from the viewers, the CBC was not entitled to use public money.)
2. The government did not insist that CBC follow normal procedure in purchasing and construction exercises. It did not send any official from Public Works or relevant departments to inspect the Ford Hotel building that the CBC was negotiating to purchase.
3. The government did not seek Parliament's permission to give any of the above-mentioned concessions to CBC.

The CBC essentially got carte blanche from the government. This is strange behaviour from a government recovering from war and faced with the task of massive reconstruction. It seems that the government wanted to do the CBC's French network a favour but could not do it openly as it may have become controversial. It therefore found a roundabout way, through the International Service, to deliver the favour. And it was not a one-time favour. The International Service continued to benefit the French network. In 1968 when the International Service was included in the CBC budget, the Service's assets (including the building and Sackville transmission station) valued at \$3,155,000 were transferred to CBC proprietor's equity. The present amalgamation of Radio Canada International into the French Radio is going on at a time when RCI has assured funding (\$15.5 annually) from Heritage Canada. This funding will be administered by the CBC. Judging from RCI's programming schedule, there now appears to be a growing tendency at CBC's RCI to spend as little as possible on programming and fill the time with domestic service programming thus cross-subsidizing one another.

Why did the government do this favour for the CBC French network? There may be two reasons for it: Firstly, the CBC had generally cooperated with the government on many issues, in particular on the conscription plebiscite debates. CBC therefore deserved to be rewarded. The second reason may be related to Quebec politics and the need for the appeasement of the francophone constituency.

---

<sup>33</sup> For descriptions of such instances see: House of Commons Special Committee on Broadcasting, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, No. 6, Thursday, April 6, 1953. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1953. 273, 275-276, 279, 294-95.

### **The French Connection**

The Quebec government was unhappy with the federal government and the CBC over Prime Minister Mackenzie King's decision to approve conscription after Quebec had voted against it. It felt that the Corporation did not represent their views and felt a nationalistic need to have an international voice. To this end, Maurice Duplessis' government in Quebec passed in April 1945 an act to establish a provincial broadcasting service called "Radio Bureau". Andre Laurendeau, provincial MP charged at the time that this was necessary as "Radio-Canada had failed to serve Quebec." <sup>34</sup>

Maurice Duplessis in his second term as Quebec prime minister (1944-56) was driving a strong nationalist movement against administrative and financial centralization, having declared, "You shall not crucify Quebec, even on a Cross of Gold." The nationalistic movement against centralization had grown to the extent where Quebec wanted its own international representation. Not having a department of foreign affairs of its own, it used the newly created Department of Education and Cultural Affairs to pursue international objectives or "guerilla diplomacy" <sup>35</sup>

Added to this was General Charles De Gaulle's displeasure with the Allies in the post-war scenario. The francophone were angry and had strong leadership. Prime Minister Mackenzie King had been under pressure throughout World War II and even in the period after the War, his problems were not abating.

---

<sup>34</sup> Marc Raboy, *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

<sup>35</sup> Gerrard Bergeron, "The Quebecois State under Canadian Federalism," Michael Behiels, ed., *Quebec Since 1945: Selected Readings*. (Toronto: Copp, Clark, Pitman Ltd., 1987).

The situation had other implications. With the sudden start of the Cold War in the aftermath of the World War II it would have been most inopportune for the Western Allies to have a disgruntled Quebec voicing its frustration by various means including through its own radio. There was a need to make a peace gesture towards Quebec, a need to appease the francophone.

It was around this time, in 1946, that Mackenzie King's Justice Minister, Louis St. Laurent was planning to leave the cabinet. King prevailed upon the francophone St. Laurent to stay on under a more prestige cabinet post, that of Secretary of State for External Affairs as "he was well able to help lay the basis for greater French-Canadian participation in the national consensus in support of an active foreign policy." <sup>36</sup> St. Laurent accepted the portfolio until then held by King himself. Two years later, King resigned and St. Laurent became Prime Minister in 1948, remaining in power until 1957.

Notably, the International Service experienced most of the developments of lasting impact during the time when St. Laurent was either the Minister of Department of External Affairs or was the head of the government.

The above-mentioned developments were taking place, as noted previously, during Duplessis' movement against administrative and financial centralism. Any move establishing centralism was sure to be opposed by Quebec. Therefore, the International Service too could not exist as a central, federal institution. It had to be pushed in one direction until all vestiges of centralism were erased. As long as the

---

<sup>36</sup> John Hilliker and Donald Barry, *Canada's Department of External Affairs: Coming of Age, 1946-1968, Vol. II*, (Montreal: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada and McGill-Queens University Press, 1995). 5

links between the International Service and the Department of External Affairs were maintained, the short-wave broadcaster would not have been very appealing to the French nationalists. In order to make it look like a concession towards the francophone nationalists, the Department of External Affairs had to loosen its federal links with the broadcaster.

It is perhaps this reason that led to the International Service being included in the CBC budget in 1968 right after it had successfully projected Canada at 'Expo 67'. Economy was cited as the reason for the action but just months before millions of dollars had been spent by the government to promote Canada (and where CBC had built a pavilion at a cost of \$10 million). Was it that the francophone nationalists did not want to see an International Service successfully working for all of Canada?

Robin Higham agrees that by placing the International Service in Montreal and its consequent separation from External Affairs, "Perhaps the government wanted to do the francophone a favour. For whatever reason, domestic politics or otherwise, the government through this action predetermined that RCI will not be able to make itself be known and [be able to] develop contacts with RCI's possible constituency, i.e., other federal government departments. The government thus cut RCI's chances of finding funding." (26 July 2001) But it is not only the short-wave broadcaster's chances to find funding that have been limited: at the same time the government has ensured that the broadcaster can never work efficiently with a federal department.

## CONCLUSION

(1) The recent changes in Radio Canada International have altered its fundamental status and role. RCI seems to be transforming from a national/federal institution with international scope to an institution increasingly aligned with the interests of one linguistic community i.e., the francophone, and lacking the resources for a credible international capacity such as it had in the past.

(2) External Affairs' frequent administrative interference in the affairs of the International Service (during late 1940s and early 1950s) was a sign of a lack of logic in the terms of their relationship. The ability to control is normally the discretion of a unit supervisor or director. Direct or indirect administrative powers come naturally with supervisory authority. In the case of short-wave broadcasting, External Affairs' supervisory role was officially devoid of any power to control. Supervision without some such power cannot be effective. That was the anomaly which External Affairs sought to correct; whether or not it was fair and just in doing so is another matter. Why was External Affairs not given administrative powers despite having the policy supervision role and why was the CBC given that power with its technical responsibilities points either to a flawed organizational scheme or a scheme designed to obtain a certain result? It should be noted that CBC did not own the International Service and only operated it on behalf of the government.

(3) RCI seems to have been pushed that way by various Canadian governments and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) due to their actions and practices which hindered its ability to efficiently and effectively carry out its mandate and be a successful international broadcaster. Among such hindrances were:

- (a) A complex operational system with two separate entities – Department of External Affairs, now the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (policy and content supervision), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (technical supervision and some management) – having supervisory powers over RCI.
- (b) Not having a clearly defined mandate and terms of reference for RCI. This resulted in the policy supervisor and RCI having different versions of the mandate and consequently a problematic working relationship.
- (c) A difficult liaison and consultation situation between RCI and its supervisor and backer, DEA/DFAIT, due to their not being in the same location, the former in Montreal and the latter in Ottawa. The distance restricted meetings and face-to-face informal contacts.
- (d) A lack of clear policy guidelines from the Department of External Affairs which would allow RCI to act to the supervisor's satisfaction.
- (e) Inadequate control by RCI over its finances. The government grants to RCI were administered through the CBC which allegedly spent the money in the way that did not always benefit RCI. CBC did not show much enthusiasm for RCI and did not consider its operations as its core activity.

The above-mentioned working environment hobbled RCI. Indeed the system was almost slated to run into problems. These were obvious and serious governance issues which should have been anticipated and fixed. But that did not happen. Beset by problems emerging from these and other issues, RCI failed to succeed. Arthur Siegel believes that, "the phenomenal success and growth of RCI in the early years was curtailed by government restraints." (Siegel, 186)

It is curious how some of the ablest minds of the time would not acknowledge the glaring structural inadequacies in RCI's working environment and find solutions. Even when the problems were pointed out to them, they refused to fix them. For instance, the Department of External Affairs refused to make a clear and formal statement to RCI as to how much authority it wanted to exercise over it although it was confronted with problems resulting from the ambiguity.

It is difficult to imagine that all those governance and administration experts could not spot the problem and present a solution. Surely they knew what they were doing. Was it that they were managing RCI's 'failure'? To use a horse-racing term, it seems as if RCI was pulled.





## CHAPTER THREE

### **TOWARDS AN AUDIENCE THEORY OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES A STUDY OF RCI'S POTENTIAL AUDIENCE IN PAKISTAN**

#### INTRODUCTION

Who listens to RCI? Measuring international radio audience is a tricky proposition. The international audience is often spread over a wide geographic area which may be too physically remote and/or dangerous for researchers to operate in and carry out normal audience measurement activities. However, in the interests of producing appropriate programming, it is important to have some idea of who the audience is and what kind of programming it prefers. The chapter develops a model to estimate the number RCI's Pakistani audience and its response to RCI broadcasts.

The Developing Countries, constituting nearly 80 percent of the world population, are the recipient of large volumes of media outputs (radio, television, cinema and print) originating in the West.<sup>1</sup> What effect such media output has on the audience in those countries is a fundamental enquiry having wider social and political implications besides its obvious significance for audience and communication theory. But an even more fundamental question is: *who* is the audience?

This is a pertinent question because the language, culture and values of the media outputs are quite different from that of their audience/consumers.<sup>2</sup> These

---

<sup>1</sup> Donald R. Brown, *International Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Servaes, "Reflections on the differences in Asian and European Values and Communication Modes," *Asian Journal of Communication*, vol. 10 no. 2, 2000. 53-70.

differences mean that not all the people in the Developing Countries can 'intellectually' access Western media outputs.<sup>3</sup> There must be a certain proportion of the targeted population which has the 'intellectual' (and material) means to access the media outputs. That is the potential audience for those media outputs. Identifying or determining that population segment – the possible audience – is the major concern of this chapter.

In 1987, towards the end of the Cold War, RCI was thought to have the following information needs according to John E. Hamilton III in his masters thesis on RCI's audience research methods:<sup>4</sup>

1. A need to determine audience size and characteristics in all target areas, but especially in the Soviet bloc, the USA, and the Pacific Rim;
2. A need to know how many Canadians living or travelling abroad tune to RCI and how they feel about the service; as well, a need to know how Canadians 'at home' feel about RCI, if indeed they know of its existence;
3. A need to ascertain the 'effectiveness' of RCI programming in communicating the Canadian view point it is mandated to convey; and whether program content is reflective of the organisation's policies.
4. A need to determine if programming is of appropriate design and presentation; if program content is of use and/or interest to the audience.
5. A need to determine audience make-up in a particular area or society, and to determine exactly why people are listening. Conversely, who is not listening in the target area, and why not?"

---

<sup>3</sup> David Morley, "Active Audience Theory: Pendulums and Pitfalls" in *Journal of Communication* 43,4, 1993. Also, Ien Ang, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> John E. Hamilton III, "*We Know They Are Out There Somewhere*," Evaluating the Audience Research Methods of International Radio Broadcasters: A Case Study of Radio Canada International. Unpublished thesis (University of Windsor, 1987), 62-63.

This chapter tries to respond to the above-mentioned information needs of RCI in the following manner:

Firstly, it does so by extrapolating BBC World Service's English Service listeners figures in India and estimating RCI English service audience numbers in Pakistan.

Secondly, it identifies topics that would be of interest for the Pakistani people.

Thirdly, it analyses RCI programming for one week and identifies the 'interest quotient' it contains for the Pakistani people according to their social and cultural conditions.

Fourthly, it tries to determine the number of people as well as the kind of people who could have found the programming appealing.

As part of the process of determining the audience, RCI programs for one week are examined to assess how appealing they would be for the Pakistani audience. This is done by identifying various topics and themes in the programming. The detected topics are coded and compared with a socio-demographic chart of Pakistan to see the reach of the programming i.e., what kind of people in which geographic and habitat situation (urban/rural) would have found the programming interesting. That gives us information to make an approximate profile of the audience and brings us nearer to knowing *who* the audience may be.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of audience research for RCI and that it is not enough to just cast the programming to the wind without knowing how it is being received by the target audience. One of the reason for RCI's troubles has been its inability to prove the effectiveness of its broadcasts. The issue of

broadcast effectiveness is an important question for a public broadcaster with a responsibility to build a positive image of Canada.

However, the question of broadcast effectiveness or audience response is problematic with reference to audiences in the Developing World. Audience research is not a well-developed discipline in the Developing World or the non-western World. Consequently, sound audience theory for the grouping has not evolved. The attempt to develop an estimate RCI's audience in Pakistan is also an effort to contribute to approaches to audience research in the Developing World. Pakistan is selected for this exercise because the country is information-deficient and has a tradition of listening to foreign radios, particularly, the BBC World Service's Urdu and English broadcasts on short-wave and medium-wave.

### REVIEW OF CURRENT AUDIENCE THEORIES

The present audience theories are limited in scope and can not be applied universally. They mainly relate to the audience in the economically developed countries of the West (European countries excluding former socialist countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and USA), leaving unaddressed the audience in the rest of the world i.e., the Developing Countries and Japan.

This lack of universality is derived from the wider field of communication and media theories which are contextualised in culture and history and are "characterised by the ethnocentrism of Western countries" where they have been mainly developed.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Denis McQuail, "Some Reflections on the Western Bias of Media Theory," *Asian Journal of Communication*, vol. 10, no.2, 2000. 1-13

Such theories, apparently unmindful of the proposition that "diverse audience have diverse reactions",<sup>6</sup> build too narrow a base to establish a theoretical edifice wide enough to cover the complex mass communication audience situation in the world.

It is generally believed that a theory has to have universal application in order to be accepted as a theory.<sup>7</sup> But perhaps this view sets too strict a test for theory qualification. There are significant differences among people based on their culture, language, history, economy, politics ideology, lifestyle, etc. The availability of mass media is not alike in Western Countries and the Developing Countries. Therefore the people of these two grouping would have some differences in attitude towards the mass media and one theory may not be unable to encompass the variety of audience attitudes.

Researchers working on reception analysis emphasise that different people 'construct' meanings differently. This is because their social and cultural circumstances as well as their subjective interpretation of experiences inform the way they code or decode media texts. (Ien Ang, 1995) For instance, it may be common knowledge for American TV audience that the show 'Dallas' is named after and is about the centre of the Texas oil industry but non-Americans watching Dallas "may

---

<sup>6</sup> Ien Ang, "The Nature of the Audience," *Questioning the Media: An Introduction*. Ed. John Downing, Ali Mohammadi and Anabelle Sreberny Mohammadi. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995.) Also, Yu-Li Chang, "From Globalisation to Localization," *Asian Journal of Communication*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2001). 1-24.

<sup>7</sup> Vincent Shen and Georgette Wang, "East, West, Communication and Theory: Searching for the Meaning of Searching for Asian Communication Theories," *Asian Journal of Communication*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2000. 14-32.

not even be sure where Texas is. As a result, it is very likely that their interpretations of the story will be different from those of Americans." (Ang, 1995)

The inadequacy of the current communication theories is partly because of the fact that social scientific research in the West is far ahead of that being carried on in the Developing Countries including Japan "where researchers are still busy learning Western theories and methods and introducing them to their countrymen and teaching them to their students."<sup>8</sup> In order to counter the Western bias in communication theory, some scholars underline the need to develop, in Denis McQuail's words, "a diversity of (better) theory to cope with the increasingly complex interactions between the imperatives of communication technology and the many different cultural situations and value systems."(McQuail, 2000) A number of Asian scholars (among them Wimal Dissanayake, Anura Goonasekera, Eddie C.Y.Kuo, etc.) are making a case for an Asian theory of communication which "should reflect the cultural ethos of Asian people".<sup>9</sup>

Despite the relatively logical case for a separate theory, there is a need to be alert while taking this path. John Servaes, focusing on the relationship between Asia and the West, believes that Asian values are not understood by the West and vice versa. This does not allow the West and Asia to come closer. He advises extreme caution while speaking about Asian or European cultures: "False antithesis and

---

<sup>8</sup> Ito Youichi, "What Causes the Similarities and Differences among the Social Sciences in Different Cultures? Focusing on Japan and the West," *Asian Journal of Communication*, vol. 10, no.2, 2000. 93-123

<sup>9</sup> Wimal Dissanayake, "The Need for Asian Approaches to Communication," W.Dissanayake, ed., *Communication Theory: The Asian Perspective*. Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Centre, 1988.

monolithic comparisons can easily slip into the cliché generalization and overstatement of the obvious." (Jan Servaes, 2000)

But even if one stays away from these traps of negativity, the way is not clear. The concept of a separate theory, for instance of Asia, raises all sorts of conceptual questions: By an *Asian* theory of communication do we mean a theory *about* the target population of Asia to which it applies or a theory that *originates* in Asia, or a theory that contextualises Asian culture and values? Any and all of these perspectives introduce a contradiction in the whole project. The criticism levied at current communication theories that they are not universally applicable and thus not classifiable as theory also operates here. A theory referring only to a specific region or culture, in this case, Asia, would run into the same problems of validity. (Vincent Shen, 2000)

Perhaps it is not in the nature of social theories to have universal application. McQuail suggests that unbiased theory is neither humanly possible nor even desirable. (2000) One size does not fit all. However, it is important to note that the search for an Asian theory is not directed at unqualified dismissal of Western theories. At issue is "the uncritical acceptance of the Western models and the neglect of cumulative wisdom embodied in Asian literature." <sup>10</sup>(Goonasekera and Kuo, 2000)

A compromise solution is offered by McQuail who allows a certain freedom of interpretation and usage of some of the current Western theories. He suggests that non-Western theorists can take certain elements from some of the Developed World's theories and build "different and more appropriate hypotheses about basic processes

---

<sup>10</sup> Anura Goonasekera and Eddie C.Y. Kuo, eds, "Foreword," *Asian Journal of Communication*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2000. vii-xii



of communication..." He further urges rewriting normative media theory, making it more inclusive of non-western countries' values as well as continually adapting it to changing social norms.(McQuail, 2000).

That seems to be a reasonable approach in order to make some of the current communication theories more appropriate to the non-Western countries. In cases where this hybridization approach does not work, a communication theory more specific to the communication situation in the non-western countries will have to be developed. A re-definition of current social scientific theory may be in the cards. As indigenous media growth and media use increases and academic activity and research expands in the Developing Countries, theories dealing with the communication situation there are bound to emerge. Since the communication situation (the availability and accessibility of media as well as the relationship of the media consumers to media content and media technology, etc.) may be different in that group of countries, the communication theories about the situation may well be different too. In the future, there could be separate theories of communication of the Developing Countries.

## ESTIMATING RCI'S AUDIENCE IN PAKISTAN

### **Theoretical Basis**

Taking the cue from McQuail, one can work within the theoretical tradition which uses the premise of the existence of an *active* and *social* audience and use it as a theoretical context to build a model for determining RCI's audience in Pakistan. The 'uses and gratification' theory seems particularly suited for this purpose.

The theory maintains that media perform certain 'functions' and fulfill certain needs for people. The audience does not passively consume media but actively selects media material in order to fulfill psychological and social needs and thus derives gratification from the process. The audience behaviour is driven by four considerations:

- (a) Information: To learn about the society and the world, gain practical guidelines, satisfy curiosity, etc.
- (b) Personal Identity: finding reinforcement of personal values, finding models for behaviour, identifying with valued others, gaining insight into oneself.
- (c) Integration and Social Interaction: Gaining insight into circumstances of others, gaining a sense of belonging, finding a basis for conversation, helping to carry out social roles.
- (a) Entertainment: Being diverted from problems, relaxation, getting cultural and aesthetic pleasure and enjoyment, filling time, emotional release, sexual arousal. (Denis McQuail quoted in Ang, 1995)

Despite some limitations, the theory can be adapted to the scenario of the short-wave radio broadcaster and its audience in the non-western world. The short-wave audience actively selects the short-wave broadcaster to perform a function for it, i.e., inform it. The short-wave broadcaster's audience does not consume all that is offered by the broadcaster but is selective. The reason why people in most of the Developing Countries listen to short-wave broadcasts is to receive news and information primarily about their society or country. This is because most such countries have domestic news censorship and the people cannot get information about matters that concern them most. The overwhelming majority of the short-wave listeners in Developing Countries use the short-wave broadcasters mainly for news

and information, showing much lower interest in the entertainment programming offered. This has been the experience of the British Broadcasting Corporation in the majority of the countries. For example, in Ghana, about 76 percent of the regular BBC English audience listen to the station mainly for news and current affairs programs.<sup>11</sup> For sports and entertainment, the listeners go elsewhere.

The people in Pakistan have access to a number of radio and television sources from the West as well as from India and some other regional countries (besides domestic sources). In order to receive news that concerns their society and country, they turn to the BBC Urdu Service, choosing it over the BBC Television, CNN, etc. But for entertainment, they prefer to watch Indian television stations such as Zee TV, etc., despite the animosity between their two countries.

The underlying principle in these choices seems to be that when a media product can be relatively objective or not (such as the case with news and current affairs), the audience is compelled to refer to a more reliable source. When such values are not relevant, such as in the case of entertainment then the audience has more options to choose from and would go to the source which provides more or better entertainment.

### **The Need to Determine the Audience**

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has been making short-wave broadcasts to foreign audiences for over 57 years. During the Cold War, the International Service was asked to make broadcasts to the people of the Soviet Bloc.

---

<sup>11</sup> Mytton, Graham, ed., *Global Audiences: Research for Worldwide Broadcasting 1993*. London: John Libbey and Company Ltd., 1993. 15

Short-wave carried the International Service's programming to those countries but it was not known who was listening to it. The closed socialist regimes made it impossible to conduct audience surveys etc., in order to have a scientific basis for audience research. But that was perhaps only a part of the problem.

Audience research in foreign countries is a difficult task for short-wave broadcasters: Short-wave or overseas broadcasting is generally unsuitable for generating advertising or other revenues for the broadcaster and therefore research expenditure is a drain on the finances of the broadcasters who are largely funded by public money.

However, it is necessary for a short-wave broadcaster to be familiar with its audience for the sake of making effective programs. John E. Hamilton III underlines the "need to determine audience make-up in a particular area or society, and to determine exactly why people are listening. Conversely, who is not listening in the target area and why not?"<sup>12</sup> Besides, audience research serves another purpose according to Allen Cooper, a communication research professional: "First of all, it allows broadcasters to demonstrate to their funding bodies -usually governments -- that an audience really does exist. As well...it is vital for broadcasters to establish who their audience is -Who is listening? Where are they? What are their demographics?"<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Hamilton III, John E., *We Know They're Out There Somewhere": Evaluating the Audience Research Methods of International Radio Broadcasters, A Case Study of Radio Canada International*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Windsor, 1987. 63

<sup>13</sup> Challenges For International Broadcasting VI: Programming: The Heart Of International Radio, Session VI: Audience Research, available from <http://www.challenges.ca/en/exposes/seance-06.htm>; accessed 09 April 2001.

Betty Zimmerman, director of Radio Canada International (RCI) from 1979 to 1989 confirmed this view when she stressed that statistics on audience size are needed in order to show the organization's importance and gain funding from the government. (Hamilton, 1987)

The International Service used listeners' letters from the Soviet Bloc as a basis for extrapolating the number of its audience besides developing a profile of the audience. That method of estimating audience nature and size through letters may have worked to some extent as long as there *were* letters.

In a country like Pakistan with low wages, the postage cost of a letter to Canada can be almost a third of the daily earnings of the average person. Moreover, writing a letter in English can be a difficult preposition for a lot of listeners who can understand some English but do not have writing competence. RCI maintains it does not know the strength of its audience in Pakistan but claims to have some 185 addresses on its regular mailing list for Pakistan.<sup>14</sup> Anyway, letters themselves are not reliable basis for developing audience estimates and "audience mail cannot replace quantitative research."<sup>15</sup>

There is little information on contemporary Pakistani audience of international radios broadcasting in the English language. There appear to be a number of reasons for this lack of information, among them being low priority given to the areas by the broadcaster, limited research budget, problems of physical access to remote areas and

---

<sup>14</sup> Maggy Akerblom, RCI, e-mail to author, 24 September 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Allen Cooper, quoted in report on, Session VI: Audience Research. *Challenges for International Broadcasting VI: Programming: The Heart of International Radio*, accessed 09 April 2001; available from <http://www.challenges.ca/en/exposes/seance-06.htm>; Internet.

Pakistan's poor security situation which may not be conducive to audience research. A volatile law and order situation is also perhaps the reason why no audience research information on international radio audience in Afghanistan are to be found. Even the BBC World Service does not have reliable figures on Afghanistan audiences although its programming in local languages is thought to be highly popular.

Graham Mytton who headed BBC World Service Audience Research discloses in, *Global Audiences: Research for Worldwide Audiences*, that the first audience survey in Indonesia left out 15 percent of the population as they lived in remote areas. He writes that research is "heavily restricted" in China, Vietnam and Algeria. In Afghanistan, Burma, Cuba, Libya, North Korea, Somalia and a "few others" it is "completely impossible." (Mytton, 4)

In the absence of good research, firm conclusions cannot be drawn. But where proper audience research is not possible, there is a need to review research principles and methods and develop alternative ways to generate knowledge. Although it must be said that such research is more in the nature of a probe or 'experimental research.' The 'Model for Estimating RCI's Audience in Pakistan' given below is a similar attempt aimed at exploring an alternate way to determine RCI audience in the country and produce plausible audience information.

## MODEL FOR ESTIMATING RCI'S AUDIENCE IN PAKISTAN

### **A socio-demographic model of Pakistan**

The model lists salient features of Pakistani society and population such as language skills, media availability, ethnic bias, literacy level, economic status, type of society (tribal, feudal, agricultural), habitat type (urban or rural) and politics. Based on these features, a list of 'topics of interest' (Table 1) is made and each topic given a code signified by an alphabet.

### **Content Analysis of Programs**

RCI's programming will be analysed to detect the 'topics of interest' it may contain. The programming will be coded according to the 'topics of interest' chart. For example if Pakistan in the topic of interest list is marked by code, 'A' then in the program analysis too it will be coded 'A'. The tally of the codes will then be used to arrive at the number of people who would have found the program appealing.

### **Estimating Audience Number and Characteristics**

It is being estimated that RCI English Service's total listenership in Pakistan equals 0.25 percent of the country's adult population. The figure is based upon the BBC English service's audience survey figures in Madhya Pradesh state of India. Madhya

Pradesh is similar in many ways to Pakistan in terms of literacy rates, knowledge of English, gender mix, urban-rural division, etc. According to the survey published in 1993, BBC English service total listeners (i.e., those who listened to a radio at least once in 12 months before the survey.) comprised 2 percent of the population. Radio Deutsche Welle's audiences were below 0.5 percent of the total population (and so not recorded exactly) but above zero percent. (Mytton, 219)

It is being assumed that a significant number of the people of Pakistan are familiar with English-speaking Canada as people in Madhya Pradesh are. (Canada is fairly well-known in Pakistan and due to the country's immigration policies, even rural people are becoming familiar with it. Moreover, Canada is a popular destination for students from Pakistan.) Due to similarities between the two areas, one may assume that Canadian radio transmitting on the same short-wave as Deutsche Welle could get the same kind of listenership. Keeping this in mind, RCI's listenership in Pakistan is being estimated (admittedly, arbitrarily) as being at the midpoint between zero and 0.5 percent i.e., 0.25 percent of the total adult population equaling 70,862,153. A quarter percent of this figure equals 177,155. This figure (177,155) is then divided into ten points i.e.,  $177,155 \div 10 = 17,716$ . Thus each point equals 17716 or one-tenth of total RCI (estimated) listeners in Pakistan.



The appeal or acceptance of a program is measured through an 'Acceptance Index' made up of 10 points. Each point is weighted a value equal to 17,716 (being one tenth of RCI listeners). If a program scores 6 points, we can arrive at the number of audience it may have appealed to by multiplying 6 with  $17,716 = 106296$ . To arrive at the weekly combined appeal figure for all programming, first the total coded value of all the individual programs is added and then divided by the number of programs. In Table 9, the total coded value for all programming is 18 which, when divided by the number of programs i.e. 7, gives us 2.57. Each of the coded value equals 17,716 (one-tenth of RCI listenership). By multiplying 2.57 by 17,716 we get 45,530 which is the estimated number of people who may have found RCI programming appealing.

The model provides a way of estimating changes in listener numbers according to the addition or removal of relevant elements in the programming. Additionally, it can be expanded to develop a list of topics that may have a negative effect on listenership (unpopular topics, taboos) which can increase the efficiency of the model.

The model can point to those segments of the population who would most likely be RCI audience and also those who are most likely to be affected by certain programming elements. Certain taboos are more rural than urban, or more in force in particular areas and ethnic groups. The more detailed the topics of interests list, the more useful the method will be.

### **Socio-Demographic Model of Pakistan**

Pakistan is situated in South Asia, with Afghanistan to its west, China to its north, India to its east, Iran to its south-west and the Arabian Sea to its south. Occupying an area of 803,940 sq. km, it has a population of 144,616,639 (mid-2001 est.), of which 62 percent is rural and 38 percent urban.

Punjab is the largest province with 65 percent of the population of Pakistan, Sindh has 22 percent, the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) 9 percent and Balochistan 3 percent, other federally administered areas, 1 percent. The major cities are Karachi 9.269 million, Lahore 5.063 million and Faisalabad 1.977 million. Density 176 /km. (1998 census)<sup>16</sup> Urdu is the national language while English is the official language. There are 13.5 million radio sets, about one set for every ten persons. About 90 percent of sets can receive short-wave.

Some of the better known foreign radio broadcasts are: BBC World Service (Urdu, Pushtu, Darri and English), Voice of America (Urdu, Pushtu and English), Deutsche Welle (English), RCI (English), All India Radio (Urdu, Hindi, English).

---

<sup>16</sup> Rashid Ahmed Khan, "The Social and Cultural Factors of Urbanisation in Pakistan," *The Journal of Development Communication*, no. 10, vol. 12, 2001. Kuala Lumpur: Asian Institute of Development. 15-27

**TABLE 1 TOPICS OF INTEREST (CODED) FOR THE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN**

TOPICS	CODE	OF INTEREST TO: PEOPLE, AREA, ETC
Pakistan	A	The vast majority of people except those in far removed villages in parts of Sindh, Balochistan i.e., areas ruled by tribal chiefs in Bugti Agency and Mengal Agency in the hilly areas. Also, some people (Kailash) in Northern mountainous regions.
Muslim World politics	B	People of both genders in urban and rural areas all over the country. High interest: the Pushtuns in NWFP near Afghanistan as well as among significant number of people in small town of Punjab province. Low interest: Mainly rural Sindh, Kailash people in northern mountainous areas near Chitral.
Muslims in Western countries	C	Both urban and rural interest, both genders. High interest: Urban people who may have family/friends living in western countries and/or who intend to immigrate. Also areas in rural Punjab and Kashmir from where a large number of people have settled in many western countries. Low interest: Rural Sindh, Balochistan highland tribal areas.
India	D	Everyone. Specially urban people but also large number of rural people particularly from Punjab, NWFP who traditionally join the armed forces and have experienced fighting with India. Additionally, Kashmiris, Islamic activists.
Higher Education in West	E	Male/female, mainly urban.
Immigration/employment in the West	F	Urban, male/female, educated, middle to upper class. Also rural people from Punjab who sometimes have relatives/friends working there.
Hegemony by westernised countrymen and upper classes	G	Mainly rural areas, particularly in Sindh, Balochistan NWFP, some in Punjab. More male than female phenomenon.
Business, Information technology. Agriculture & related activities (poultry, fish and livestock management, etc.)	H	Urban, mainly male, educated person belonging to large cities like Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar. Farmers interested in agriculture and related fields information and who have less of a chance to gain authoritative scientific information. Fisheries and sericulture is a relatively new field for them and one which is fairly well-paying. Fisheries, livestock interest is mainly in rural areas of Punjab and NWFP. Sericulture (silk worm keeping) is practiced in the Hazara hills between Islamabad and Kashmir.
Cricket, hockey, football.	I	Both urban and rural. Mainly rural males. In urban areas, women are mainly interested in cricket.

### RCI Programs Analysis

Given below is an analysis of RCI's weekly program cycle, during December 2001:

Short-wave Band	11600 kHz
Number of Programs	8
Duration of Programs	30 minute each
Language	English
Program Cycle	7 days
Monday 3:30 pm PST	The Maple Leaf Mailbag
Monday 4:00 pm PST	Spotlight
Monday 4:30 pm PST	Canada in the World
Tuesday to Saturday 3:30 pm PST	Canada Today
Tuesday to Saturday 4:30 pm PST	The World at Six
Sunday 3:30 pm PST	Business Sense
Sunday 4:00 pm PST	Canada in the World
Sunday 4:30 pm PST	Media Zone

#### Analysis

(a). Reception: Signal weak in south of Pakistan. Subject to weather.

(b). Timing:

- (i) Less suitable for some urban male who would be at work but listening to the radio at many workplaces allowed.
- (ii) Suitable for urban female/housewives.
- (iii) Suitable for rural male and female who are back home from the field.
- (iv) Positive aspect: No competition from other international broadcasters at that time.
- (v) Low competition from TV as not peak viewing time.

(c). Language: The Canadian accent not very familiar to Pakistanis, specially to rural people among whom the few who do know some English will have to strain. But American TV programs are making people familiar with North American accents. There may also be problems due to the jargon used by business, technology and academic experts.

People in rural areas situated close to urban areas understand some English, specially younger, educated people. The people living near urban centres in Punjab, Sindh (mainly near Karachi) and Islamabad will have a better understanding of the programs. This is not merely due to their language ability but exposure to

modernization. Also, a large number of people immigrate to Canada from these urban areas and so there is more awareness of Canada.

### Program Interest: Coding

The following tables ( tables 2-8) analyze RCI programming for one week in December 2001. The contents of each program are scrutinized for the presence of topics of interest. Each such topic is given a coded value in the form of an alphabet as per Table 1 above.

TABLE 2 INTEREST CONTENT: *THE MAPLE LEAF MAILBAG*

FORMAT: Listeners Response	APPEAL	CODE
(i) Letters from Australia, Czech, Denmark, India, UK, US Europe.	Urban, Male/Female. Area: Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar. Ethnic: Mohajir, Punjabi, Pushtun.	D
(ii) Comment on names of Canadian currency.	-	
(iii) Letter about maple leaf tree and syrup.	-	
(iv) French song at end.	-	

TABLE 3 INTEREST CONTENT: *SPOTLIGHT*

FORMAT: Art and Culture Magazine	APPEAL	CODE
(i) Modern Dance. Male, female dance		
(ii) School children dance against violence.	Urban male/female. Area: Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad. Some, Quetta, Peshawar Ethnic: Mohajir, Punjabi, Pushtun, Baloch.	B
(iii) Exhibitions with nature as theme		
(iv) Bruce Cockburn song about environment/peace	Urban and rural, both genders. because peace has reference to wars in Afghanistan, Kashmir etc. Areas: Particular appeal, Balochistan, NWFP. Ethnic: Pushtuns, Baloch, Kashmiri.	B

TABLE 4 PROGRAM INTEREST: *CANADA IN THE WORLD*

FORMAT: Reportage, Current Affairs	APPEAL	CODE
(i) History of Canadian peacekeeping. Middle East, Bosnia.	Urban, both genders. Areas: Balochistan/Balochi, NWFP/Pushtun, Kashmir/Kashmiri. Also Lahore/Punjabi, Karachi/Mohajir due to familiarity with Canada	B
(ii) Civilians/RCMP in peacekeeping. Bosnia, East Timor.	Urban, both genders, Areas: All, particularly Balochistan/Balochi, NWFP/Pushtun. Also Lahore/Punjabi, Karachi/Mohajir due to familiarity with Canada.	B

TABLE 5 PROGRAM INTEREST: *CANADA TODAY*

FORMAT: Current affairs	APPEAL	CODE
(i) Afghan War, Canada's reconstruction role.	Urban & rural all areas and genders. Areas: Balochistan, particularly the Pushtun speaking western border with Afghanistan. NWFP/Pushtuns specially on the Afghan border.	B
(ii) Canadian economic news. Recession, Nortel	Urban male/female, well educated, potential immigrant. Mainly resident of large cities in Punjab and Sindh i.e. Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi. Ethnic: Punjabi /Lahore, Mohajir/Karachi, mix/Islamabad	H
(iii) Daily Review of Canadian newspapers: Canadian newspaper business. Canadian journalism history		
(iv) Canadian budget comment by academic.		-
(v) Sports News: Curling and ice hockey.		-
(vi) Weather report on Canada.		-

TABLE 6 PROGRAM INTEREST: *THE WORLD AT SIX*

FORMAT: News and current affairs	APPEAL	CODE
(i) Feature on Afghanistan.	All areas all people particularly in Balochistan, NWFP, Pushtuns, Balochis. Will be discussed.	B
(ii) Feature on Kashmir	All areas all people particularly in Balochistan, NWFP, Pushtuns, Balochis. Will be discussed, quoted	B
(iii) Budget spending on security	Urban male/female, higher education, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad. Politicized topic.	B

TABLE 7 PROGRAM INTEREST: *BUSINESS SENSE*

FORMAT: Business Reports	APPEAL	CODE
(i) Christmas and consumers. Retailing, buying gifts on internet. Report on retail sales.	Urban high education, male/female, business/corporate, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar Business interest because retail market information. Ethnic Mohajir, Punjabi, Pushtun.	H
(ii) Recession. Home improvement companies.		
(iii) Christmas shopping in malls. Shoppers interviews..	Urban high education, male/female, business/corporate, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar. Business interest because retail market information. Ethnic: Mohajir, Punjabi, Pushtun	H
(iv) Online buying. Interview with expert.	Urban high education, male/female, business/corporate, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar Ethnic: Mohajir, Punjabi, Pushtun	H
(v) Online marketing. Interview with expert.	Urban high education, male/female, business/corporate, Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar Ethnic: Mohajir, Punjabi, Pushtun	H

TABLE 8 PROGRAM INTEREST: *MEDIA ZONE*

FORMAT: Weekly discussion by Journalists	APPEAL	CODE
(i) Sagging fortunes of political Left in Canada		
(ii) Anti-terrorism bill, justice minister's comment.	Urban, some rural male/female, higher education. Particularly those who know immigrants in Canada or who intend to immigrate. Area: Karachi/Mohajir, Lahore.Punjabi.	C
(iii) Canada's loss of sovereignty to US.	Urban, high education, male/female, higher education. Particularly those who know immigrants in Canada or who intend to immigrate Area: Karachi/Mohajir, Lahore/Punjabi	C
(iv) Anti-terrorism Bill C-36, comment: effect on people's freedom. National security issue misused. Canadian government under US pressure ref. 11 September.	Urban, some rural male/female, higher education. Particularly those who know immigrants in Canada or who intend to immigrate Area: Karachi/Mohajir, Lahore/Punjabi	C

### Profiling RCI Listenership

Table 9 shows the frequency with which topics of interest (coded from A-I) occurred in the RCI programming for one week. Although Pakistan as a topic (code 'A') did not occur in the programming, other topics of interests were well distributed.

As can be seen from Table 9, RCI programming contained elements which may have appealed to the general mix of the population, living in various areas in Pakistan. RCI reach in Pakistan is geographically, economically and by most social indicators, well distributed.

The Topics of Interest chart (Table 1) shows how certain topics are of interest in certain geographic areas and habitats. Table 10 below takes the topics (coded alphabets) that occurred in the programming and matches them with geographic areas and gender. For instance, the programming contains four elements (BCDH) which would interest males in Lahore while they contained three elements (BCD) of interest to women there.

A question that remains unaddressed is, what kind of an image of Canada are these broadcasts creating for Pakistanis. From an analysis of the seven programs aired in a one-week cycle in early December, there seems to be a good mix of information about Canada (two programs are named 'Canada Today' and 'Canada in the World') as a society and how Canada has acted in the world historically. One of the programs had almost the entire time devoted to Canada's peacekeeping efforts around the world and her current plans for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. So when Canada says it is interested in peace and reconstruction, many people, whether they are in Pakistan or



elsewhere would listen. And that is the most important aspect of Canada's image for which RCI should be given some credit.

TABLE 9 CODING SHEET: AUDIENCE INTEREST IN ONE WEEK'S RCI PROGRAMMING

TOPICS OF INTEREST (URBAN & RURAL)	Code	RCI Prg1	RCI Prg2	RCI Prg3	RCI Prg4	RCI Prg5	RCI Prg6	RCI Prg7
		Code	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code	Code
01. Pakistan	A							
02. Muslim World politics	B		2	2	1	3		
03. Muslims/Islam in Western countries	C							3
04. India	D	1						
05. Higher Education in the West	E							
06. Immigration/employment in the West	F							
07. Hegemony of Westernised countrymen and upper classes	G							
08. Business and Information technology. Agriculture and related business (fisheries, livestock, sericulture, etc.)	H				1		4	
09. Cricket and hockey.	I							
10. Entertainment: Indian film industry, British Royalty, Western pop stars, arts and culture	J							
TOTAL POINTS = +18		1	2	2	3	3	4	3

TABLE 10 RCI PROGRAMMING APPEAL AREA-WISE (CODED)

NWFP	M	F	BALUCHISTAN	M	F	PUNJAB	M	F	SINDH	M
Peshawar	BCD	BCD	Quetta	BCDH	BCD	Lahore	BCDH	BCD	Karachi	BCD
Mardan	BCD	BCD	Chaman	BCD	BCD	Faisalabad	BCDH	BCD	Hyderabad	BCD
Kohat	BCD	BCD	Khuzdar	BCD	BD	Bahawalpur	BCDH	BD	Sukkhur	BCD
Bannu	BCD	BCD	Lasbella	BCDH		Multan	BCDH	BD	Larkana	BD
D.I.Khan	BCD	BCD	Gwadur			Sialkot	BCDH	BCD	Khipro	H
Dir	BCD	BCD	Zhob	BCD	BD	Mianwali	BDH	BD	Naudero	BDH
Hangu	BCD	BCD	Dera Bugti			Chakwal	BCDH	BD	Sehwan	BDH
Charsadda	BCD	BCD	Nok Kundi			Murree	BCDH	BCD	Tharparkar	DH
Kailash			Mand			Kot Sujan	BCDH	BD	Keti Bandar	DH
Tribal	BD	BD	Tribal	BCD	BD	Kot Addu	B		Khairpur	BCD

## CONCLUSION

The model and methodology developed above can provides us with an approach to tackling the important issue of short-wave radio audience determination. It can serve as a useful tool to estimate audience information in situations where the established audience survey methods cannot be used, e.g., places with a law and order problem. The estimation methodology can hopefully aid our understanding of the relationship between the media output and the audience and the conditions under which the relationship is established and maintained. The results obtained from such a study can be extrapolated to determine the kind of audience certain kinds of media outputs can expect to have in the Developing Countries.(John E. Hamilton III, 1987)

Furthermore, it can also give a fair idea of the kind of social and economic conditions which make people in those countries become receptive to certain kinds of radio programming.<sup>17</sup> Such information can be useful as background material for developing the audience theory of the Developing Countries.

---

<sup>17</sup> Julian Hale, *Radio Powers: Propaganda and International Broadcasting* (London, Paul Elek, 1975). Also, Donald R. Browne, *International Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium*. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982).



## CHAPTER FOUR

### DEVELOPING PERFORMANCE INDICATORS FOR RCI

#### INTRODUCTION

Organizations have to prove their usefulness and utility in order to justify their existence. Due to difficulties in measuring audience response, it is particularly problematic for international radios to show (to those allocating funding for them) that they have indeed been effectively carrying out their mandate. A good way to demonstrate the effectiveness of international broadcasts is to have efficient performance indicators in place. If RCI is to be charged with the responsibility to help in enhancing Canada's image and promoting the country's development agenda, etc., it would be necessary to monitor and evaluate its broadcasts systematically. This chapter develops performance indicators for RCI whose effectiveness, at times, has been challenged.

Measurement and evaluation of performance is essential to determine its viability and impact. It is an integral part of the process of defining goals and assessing progress towards them. Indicators provide the data or evidence for measurements. Indicators give pieces of information summarizing what is happening in a system. By doing so, they allow an assessment of the general state of a process.

In order to develop an evaluation model for Radio Canada International, it is necessary to examine the performance of the broadcasters with reference to its objectives at the time of its inception and in the present time. This chapter looks at how RCI has rated its own performance and what methods it used to do so. The chapter then suggests enlarging RCI's role, making it more goal oriented and develops performance indicators to evaluate its performance based on measurable elements.

## RCI'S OBJECTIVES

The mandate and objectives of Radio Canada International have been changing over time according to the international situation as well as domestic considerations. Broadly speaking, in the years immediately after its birth and during the Cold War (roughly 1945-1990), it has been engaged in propaganda, besides general broadcasting. Since the end of the Cold War about a decade ago, it has mainly followed an independent, neutral policy. The changed international atmosphere in the wake of the dismantling of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991 necessitated a redefinition of RCI's mandate. In 1992, the Standing Committee on Communications and Culture recommended that the Government of Canada review the mandate of Radio Canada International (RCI) in recognition of international objectives in trade and culture. The objectives of the short-wave broadcaster in the two phases are discussed below:

### **RCI Objectives at inception and during the Cold War (1945-1990)**

The objectives of Radio Canada International at the time of its creation in 1945 (as CBC-International Service) had two broad themes: (i) Communication with Canadians the world over and working towards international friendship and peace. (ii) Projection of Canada's political agenda internationally with particular reference to countries aligned with the Soviet Union.

The first theme was enunciated by Prime Minister Mackenzie King while inaugurating CBC International Service in 1945 when he declared that it will:

...serve both a national and an international purpose. It will bring the voice of Canada to her own sons and daughters in other lands..... Canada will

have a large part to play in furthering between nations, the mutual understanding and good will on which the permanence of peace depends....

The second theme is expressed in various notes and memoranda of the Department of External Affairs. In 1948, the Department advised CBC-IS that "Nothing should be said or done that suggests Canadian approval of communist-controlled governments."<sup>1</sup> Two years later, External Affairs sent a guidance note to CBC International Service under the heading, "Psychological Warfare" which urged the broadcaster "To participate actively on behalf of Canada in the 'cold war' ...striving constantly to identify communism as an instrument of Soviet imperialism..."<sup>2</sup> The same year, 1950, a 'secret' internal memorandum of External Affairs succinctly describes the broadcaster's two main functions:

(1) General information about Canada and its people; (2) Information and opinion broadcast with specific political purposes. This is usually known as 'psychological (or political) warfare'... broadcasts to behind the Iron Curtain are conducted for psychological warfare purposes...<sup>3</sup>

Despite loosening of ties with the Department of External Affairs and the Department itself losing interest in propaganda broadcasting, RCI continued to be involved with propaganda broadcasts, claiming to have been during the 1980s, "one

---

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Siegel, *Radio Canada International: History and Development* (Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1996). 91-92

<sup>2</sup> Public Archives of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records, ser. 41-1:988.

<sup>3</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International, *Memorandum from Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to Secretary of State for External Affairs* [Online] accessed 23 January 2002 (Ottawa: 1954); available from <http://www.canschool.org/dcer/details-e.asp?intRefId=872>; Internet.

small but important element in helping to ignite the eventual changes that swept across Eastern Europe." <sup>4</sup>

### **Objectives after Cold War (1990 to present)**

RCI describes its mandate as communicating with expatriate Canadians as well as projecting Canada internationally. <sup>5</sup> While CBC's Annual Report 1999-2000 suggests that, "providing a view of Canada beyond our frontiers has become an even more important part of CBC's role."

CBC Program Policy No. 18, effective from July 6, 1994 asks RCI's program personnel to remember that, "Underlying all RCI programming is the awareness that Canada is not as well known abroad as it should be, that its image has not kept pace with realities, and that it is not represented on foreign newsstands by a Canadian daily or weekly press, nor by any but the most superficial coverage in foreign media." This means that RCI broadcasts are the only popular representations of Canada internationally.

The Policy urges RCI to "attract an international audience," and that "RCI programming must be adapted to target audience interests and knowledge. The emphasis within information programming must be on topicality in order to reach the interested audience for shortwave..."

---

<sup>4</sup> Andrew K. Finnie, *History of Radio Canada International*[Online] (Montreal: Radio Canada International, 1996); accessed 03 August 2002; available from <http://www.rcinet.ca/Scripts/default.asp?s1=RCI&s2=Historique>; Internet.

<sup>5</sup> Hélène Robillard-Frayne, Director, Communications, Marketing and Research, RCI. Interview by author, 14 November 2000.

Additionally, the Policy reminds Canadians that an important function of the broadcaster is to "reflect...Canada's national interests and policies, and the spectrum of Canadian viewpoints on national and international affairs." <sup>6</sup> (A more detailed examination of RCI's mandate is made in chapter two.)

John E. Hamilton III in his study of RCI audiences identifies three main themes in RCI's mandate:

1. Developing an international awareness of Canada.
2. Distributing programs which reflect the realities of Canadian life, Canada's national interests and policies, and the spectrum of Canadian viewpoints.
3. Broadcasting for Canadians abroad.<sup>7</sup>

### **Did RCI Meet its Objectives?**

There is not much credible evidence to prove that RCI's Cold War period objectives (overwhelmingly propagandist) were met regardless of RCI claims of success.

Similarly, in the present post-Cold War era, it is not clear if the broadcaster is achieving its goals. Certainly with the budget and service cuts of the 1990s, the chances of that happening are slim indeed.

If the Asia Pacific Survey of 2000 is anything to go by, there is an undesirable image of Canada among 447 decision makers in five Asian countries (discussed in

---

<sup>6</sup> RCI Action Committee, *Documents* [Online]; accessed 17 May 2002; available from <http://www.geocities.com/rciaction/RCIMandateCBCPolicy.html>; Internet.

<sup>7</sup> John E. Hamilton III, *"We Know They Are Out There Somewhere,"* Evaluating the Audience Research Methods of International Radio Broadcasters: A Case Study of Radio Canada International. Unpublished thesis (University of Windsor, 1987), 59.



the introduction to this thesis). It could be construed from that that RCI, along with other organisations responsible for projecting Canada to the world, has not been successful in at least that region. If one were to take that as a standard of RCI's effectiveness in other parts of the world, one may deduce that RCI has generally not met its information needs and objectives.

## RCI'S EVALUATION OF ITS OWN PERFORMANCE

### **RCI Methodology**

RCI has been using eight methods (both quantitative and qualitative) to evaluate its performance. These include: population sample surveys, mailing list surveys, computer simulation model of audiences, focus groups sessions, the collection of anecdotal material, expert evaluation of programming and content analysis of programming.

However, most of these methods were not usable in the main target area for RCI broadcasts, i.e., the Soviet Union and its socialist allies in Eastern Europe due to restrictions by the governments of those countries. The broadcaster therefore had to rely on listeners' mail and anecdotal material to guess listeners numbers and broadcast effectiveness. Explaining the method of arriving at audience figures from listeners' letters, CBC-International Service Director General Jean Desy told the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs in 1953 that each letter was considered to represent 120 listeners. Desy told the Standing Committee that the International Service received 32,365 letters in 1952 which would translate into a

daily listenership of 3,800,000. By multiplying that number by five, he arrived at the figure for the whole year which he said was probably 20,000,000 listeners.<sup>8</sup>

Since listeners' mail is not considered a credible evidence for audience research purposes, RCI's claims of success have not been fully proven and its broadcasting objectives met.<sup>9</sup> The former commissioner of the CRTC, John Hylton dismissed this method as "the postcard brand of audience research" and apparently it failed to impress successive Canadian governments, parliamentary committees, etc., judging from the low support RCI has enjoyed among decision makers.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the lack of evidence, RCI claims to have been successful in attaining its objectives, taking some credit for the fall of the communist regimes in the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc countries (as quoted earlier)

However, in friendly countries where there were no government restrictions, RCI has undertaken more reliable and methodical audience research: It has done population sample surveys on its own as well as by "piggybacking" on the BBC World Service research activity, participating in three BBC World Service surveys in 1986. It has also joined in an 'omnibus survey' in Mexico in 1983. (Table 1)

Omnibus surveys are done for several clients seeking various kinds of consumer information regarding a broad range of products and services.

---

<sup>8</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*, no. 6, March 12, 1953. 144

<sup>9</sup> Graham Mytton, "What is being done, how and why?" in Francois Demers, ed., *Challenges for International Broadcasting* (Quebec: Les Preses Inter Universitaire, 1993), 218

<sup>10</sup> John Hylton, interview by author, 10 July 2002

PERCENTAGE OF RCI URBAN LISTENERS  
(Among total international radio listeners)

Mexico 1982	Spanish	1.3% <sup>11</sup>
Brazil 1983	Portuguese	2.0% <sup>12</sup>
Zaire 1984	French	2.0% <sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, RCI also uses mailing list survey method which entails sending questionnaires to correspondents. RCI has conducted one mailing list survey to date, 'Canadians in the USA: Results of an Omnibus Mail Survey' in July 1983. In all such surveys, data is extrapolated to calculate probable total audience figures. Since audience research methodologies themselves are not very efficient, particularly in the case of international broadcasting audiences, the conclusions of the exercise becomes even less reliable as a measure of success.

British researcher Michael Tracey is quoted by Lisa Jeffrey ("Rethinking Audiences for Cultural Industries: Implications for Canadian Research," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, vol. 19, no. 3/4, 1994.) as expressing his frustration with the lack of reliability of audience research when, after examining world audience data, he wrote bluntly: "It is extraordinary given the amounts of money spent on so-called market research that the level of understanding of the audience remains so

---

<sup>11</sup> Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *The Audience in Mexico of Radio Canada International and Other Foreign Broadcasters*. Ottawa: 1983

<sup>12</sup> Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Audience Report: Radio Canada International and Other Foreign Broadcaster Audiences in Urban Brazil*. Ottawa: 1985.

<sup>13</sup> Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, *Audience Report: Radio Canada International and Other Foreign Broadcaster Audiences in Zaire* (Ottawa: 1985).

limited and at times utterly confused." CBC researcher Philip Savage underscores the need for more comprehensive appreciation measure by Canadian broadcasting researchers.<sup>14</sup>

The problem with RCI is not that perhaps it is ineffective but rather, that there is no efficient way to determine its performance. There is thus a need to have better ways to measure RCI's effectiveness. One way of judging effectiveness is by developing a mechanism to reliably indicate performance. Performance indicators for RCI can not only demonstrate its utility but, perhaps more importantly, assist it in gaining crucial public funding.

Performance indicators themselves can be good or bad. Their efficiency depends on clarity and precision of the prescribed task. The more precise the task, the more demonstrable the results. The more demonstrable the results, the more efficient the performance indicators. Thus in order to develop efficient performance indicators, the tasks to be done have to be less general and more focused and clear. RCI has a wide, general mandate the execution and effectiveness of which is difficult to discern. Public international radios suffer from a lack of mechanism to demonstrate effectiveness as compared to domestic commercial radios which can use ratings and advertising revenue as yardsticks for measuring effectiveness. RCI's mandate needs to be made more focused and precise. Besides its general mandate, it should also have certain clear objectives whose execution and subsequent success or otherwise can be seen and evaluated with some facility. It is thus necessary to redirect and refocus

---

<sup>14</sup> Philip Savage, "Measures of quality in Canadian broadcasting: The CBC audience panel," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, June 1-3, 1992. 77

RCI's role in order to develop for it efficient performance indicators.

### REDIRECTING RCI'S ROLE

Revamping Canada's image with the help of RCI would entail giving a new emphasis and direction to the broadcaster. Sustainable development in the Developing World is one of the goals of Canadian government policy. This is evident for the government's support for the New Partnership for Africa's Development, or NEPAD, as well as the agenda of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

One of the three goals of CIDA is to "support sustainable development in developing countries in order to reduce poverty and to contribute to a more secure, equitable, and prosperous world." CIDA aims to achieve this goal, among other initiatives, by strengthening "the poverty reduction focus of CIDA policies, programs and projects in developing countries and...to build their capacity to address poverty and inequity in an environmentally sustainable manner." CIDA plans to execute this strategy by developing and implementing "in consultation with partners, the Agency's four action plans in support of CIDA's 'Social Development Priorities: A Framework for Action' (health and nutrition, basic education, HIV/AIDS, and child protection)."<sup>15</sup> CIDA's Action Plan on Basic Education was launched in April 2002, which will guide the Department of International Cooperation in reaching the 'Education For All' goal set in 2001 in Dakar. International Cooperation Minister Susan Whelan declared that her Department's "efforts will focus on universal access

---

<sup>15</sup> Canadian International Development Agency, *CIDA's Sustainable Development Strategy 2001-2003* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2001), 31

to, and completion of, primary education of good quality; gender equality at both the primary and secondary levels; and the improvement of the quality of basic education for learners of all ages."

RCI can help in implementing CIDA's four action plans on health and nutrition, basic education, HIV/AIDS, and child protection. Since the effects of the action plans would be measurable, it would be relatively easy to evaluate RCI's performance. Performance indicators therefore should be made with reference to these action plans. However, for the purposes of this thesis, we shall restrict ourselves to developing performance indicators with reference to the basic education action plan which is currently being implemented.

Promoting literacy internationally is not part of RCI's mandate but it is mandated to "reflect ... Canada's national interests and policies, and the spectrum of Canadian viewpoints on national and international affairs" according to CBC Program Policy No. 18 of 1984. It is suggested that the broadcaster's mandate should firstly be enlarged to include the promotion of sustainable development in the Developing World. Specifically, it should be partnered with CIDA to carry out such activity. CIDA's basic education plan falls under such activity. International education is a particularly suitable field for RCI as the activity can be undertaken with great effect through the radio waves arguably, it is within the federal jurisdiction as the primary audience is international and not domestic. RCI can both complement and where necessary, implement, basic education initiatives. This activity is not entirely foreign to Canadian radio which has substantial experience in educational farm broadcasts.

Again, for the purposes of developing performance indicators, one of the target areas for the basic educational broadcasts can be Pakistan, a country with a low literacy rate (about 34%) indirectly contributing to social unrest.

## EVALUATING RCI'S NEW OBJECTIVES

### **Performance Indicators for Basic Education Broadcasts (BEB)**

Performance Indicators (PIs) are development points on the progression of a process towards completion. They show that a process has reached a new stage of development which indicates the performance of the entity driving the process. PIs are a crucial management tool and are used to assess performance in all kinds of measurable activities.

### **Broadcasting Performance Indicator (BPI)**

The BPI is an aggregation of four main performance indicator showing broadcasting performance in four key areas i.e., delivery format preparation, adherence to basic education broadcast modules, technical delivery of broadcast modules and receipt or intellectual penetration of module. The performance is evaluated by experts who give feedback to the broadcaster and its partner agency, CIDA so that the basic education broadcasts remain effective. A composite review of all performance indicators evaluating overall RCI performance should be conducted annually.

Each PI represents a task completed which is evaluated and given a grade. The PI have a 'Minimum Performance Standard (MPS)', a point below which the broadcaster would be deemed to have failed. The PI would also have a Performance Review Frequency (PRF) i.e., the frequency at which the performance of the

broadcaster will be assessed. The result of each PI is given a value which is then plotted on the BPI scale of 1-100 where 1 shows poor performance and 100 high performance. A score of 50 is the minimum performance standard.

(i) PI-A Delivery format of basic education broadcast module prepared. (i.e., preparing broadcast script incorporating educational curriculum or module. )

Action: Determine how well BEB curriculum incorporated in broadcast format on a scale of 1-10. MPS=5, PRF=Annual

(ii) PI-B Adherence to delivery format offered and accepted by institutions, teachers, students, individuals in community. (i.e., RCI's success in convincing institutions, teachers, students, individuals in a target area to agree to regularly listen to BEBs).

Action: Determine what percentage of target entities, individuals agreed. MPS=10, PRF=quarterly

(iii) PI-C Basic education broadcast module delivered by RCI i.e., broadcasts made.

Action: 1) Evaluate signal quality of broadcast on scale of 1-10. MPS=7. PRF=Daily

2) Determine esthetic quality of broadcasts (module format, presenter's speaking style, etc) on a scale 1-10. MPS=5. PRF=Weekly.

(iv) PI-D Basic education broadcast module received by students/individuals. Testing information gained from BEBs i.e., Information gained test conducted and results generated.

Action: Assess total students' competence on a scale of 1-10. MPS=5. PRF=Quarterly.

The prescribed actions for each of the above PIs should be broken into smaller actions to make the indicators more refined and efficient. The more detailed the action, the better the PIs.



### **Limitations/Drawbacks of the Model**

- a) It can only work if RCI's mandate is given a new direction and given more functionality.
- b) The model cannot be applied to the rest of general broadcasting done by RCI. So, the model can only partially evaluate RCI performance.
- c) It may judge RCI in a field with which it is not familiar. The results of the evaluation may be used to pass unfair judgment on the broadcaster.
- d) RCI journalists may resent their work being assessed on non-journalistic standards.

However, despite the model's limitations, it can serve to assess RCI's performance and provide the government decision-makers as well as the broadcaster itself to know whether or not at least a part of the international broadcasting mandate is being fulfilled.

A refined model would need to be tested in the field before being fully implemented.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### BBC WORLD SERVICE

#### INTRODUCTION

As Chile exports copper, and Australia wool, so Britain exports honest information. (Julian Hale, *Radio Power*)

The BBC World Service has the largest audience among all international broadcasters. Studying its history and organization can be instructive in strengthening and revamping RCI. This chapter compares RCI with the BBC World Service with the objective to observe their differences and similarities and attempts to identify the reason for the World Service's success and (arguably) RCI's lack of it.

The British Broadcasting Corporation's World Service is arguably the most influential international broadcaster in the world. It has a weekly audience of 150 million, significantly more than its nearest rival the Voice of America, with 91 million listeners per week. Based in London, the BBC World Service broadcasts in 43 languages on the short-wave and the medium-wave covering almost all of the globe.<sup>1</sup> With a staff of 1696 (in 2000), the World Service is available on the Internet and its English Service can be heard in Britain on the medium-wave.

The World Service is funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) through a grant-in-aid which amounted to £201 million in 2001 and was set to increase to £239 million by 2005/6. The World Service was also allocated an

---

<sup>1</sup> Services: Albanian, Arabic, Azeri, Bengali, Brazilian, Bulgarian, Burmese, Cantonese, Croatian, Czech, French, Greek, Hausa, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Kazakh, Kinyarwanda/Kirundi, Kyrgyz, Macedonian, Mandarin, Nepali, Pashto, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Sinhala, Slovak, Slovene, Somali, Spanish, Swahili, Tamil, Thai, Turkish, Ukrainian, Urdu, Uzbek, Vietnamese.

additional £64 million over three years 2001-2004 which will be used to improve transmitters and develop digital and FM modes of delivery.

The BBC World Service as a " constituent part of the BBC" does not have an independent constitutional status. It operates under the legal instruments granted to the BBC i.e., the Royal Charter and the broadcasting License.<sup>2</sup>

The World Service is headed by a director (presently Mark Byford) who reports to the Director General of the BBC as well as its Board of Governors. The BBC Board of Governors, appointed under the BBC's Royal Charter, is responsible for ensuring that the World Service "operates responsibly and follows all applicable regulations and codes of practice."<sup>3</sup>

BBC World Service is also engaged in sustainable development and has several ongoing projects in the field of communication, health, human rights, etc.

### **Mandate**

The World Service mandate covers three points: (i) To reflect Britain to the world and to showcase for British talent, (ii) to provide impartial news and information to listeners worldwide and, (iii) to promote British industry and trade. (BBC World Service, *FAQ*, Online.)

Does the World Service fulfill its mandate? That was the question the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office wanted answered. In 1990 the Foreign Office

---

<sup>2</sup> BBC World Service, *FAQ* [Online]; accessed on 27 August 2002; available from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/001108\\_wsfunding.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/001108_wsfunding.shtml); Internet.

<sup>3</sup> BBC World Service, *Annual Review 2001* [Online]; accessed 24 August 2002; available from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/annual\\_review/2001/reports.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/annual_review/2001/reports.shtml); Internet.

commissioned a study of the World Service's Portuguese listeners which found "very strong support for the hypothesis of a positive effect on attitudes to Britain from listening to the World Service..."<sup>4</sup>

## **History**

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began overseas short-wave broadcasting in 1932, ten years after it was established as the British Broadcasting Company. The stated objective of the 'Empire Service' – as overseas broadcasting was known then – was "to unite the English speaking people of the Empire." The same year on Christmas Day, King George V became the first British monarch to make an Empire-wide broadcast to the people spread over five continents and "... so cut off by the snows and the deserts or the seas that only voices out of the air can reach them..."

The Empire Service's objective (unifying English-speaking people) was revised in 1938 and the Service redirected to influence non-Anglophones. That year, the Empire Service began broadcasting in Arabic and soon afterwards, Spanish and Portuguese broadcasts for Latin America were started. The purpose of this redirection was to counter Fascist Italy's Radio Bari broadcasts to North African Arabs. Similarly, Nazi Germany was engaging in propaganda broadcasts to Latin America which Great Britain needed to refute.

One year later, when Britain declared war on Germany, the Empire Service was transmitting in seven languages. In 1940, the Service was renamed the 'External

---

<sup>4</sup> Michael Brown and John Parrish, "Research for Broadcasting Decisions, Measuring BBC World-Service Effectiveness in a Non-Experimental Setting," in *Report of Seminar on the Expansion of Broadcast Media: Does Research Meet the Challenges? Madrid 20th-23rd January 1991* (Amsterdam: E.S.O.M.A.R., 1991), 287-307.

Service,' perhaps in anticipation of the impending end of the Empire, and a major expansion of the Service was undertaken. By the time World War II ended, the External Service had 45 different language services while the English Service was broadcasting to the world around the clock.<sup>5</sup>

In the post-war period, there was a great expansion in the number of radio listeners, partly due to the availability of battery-operated transistor radios making radio broadcasts accessible to a large number of people in the Developing World and elsewhere. The other reason for an increase in radio audience was the Cold War and the 'hot wars', in Africa, Indochina, the Middle East, and South Asia which pumped up demand for news and information. In the eighties, West Asia saw long-drawn wars – between Iran and Iraq and the Afghan Mujahideen and the Soviet Union, continuing the need for news. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in February 1989 began the unraveling of the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War in sight and the anticipated emergence of a unipolar world with uninhibited communication, the BBC External Service was re-christened in 1988 as the 'BBC World Service.'

What's in a name? Plenty.

---

<sup>5</sup> BBC World Service, *A short history of BBC World Service* [Online]; accessed 24 August 2002, available from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/001129\\_history.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/001129_history.shtml); Internet.

## INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE

There is another name associated with Great Britain's international broadcasting project, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The international sphere and Britain's representation in it being the Foreign Office's natural domain, it has always been keenly interested in international radio presentation of Britain's policies. The Foreign Office undertook direct international broadcasting after World War I (1914-1918) though the activity did not last long.<sup>6</sup>

The founding of the British Broadcasting Company (the predecessor of the British Broadcasting Corporation) in 1922 with a monopoly over broadcasting in Britain denied the Foreign Office direct broadcasting rights. But perhaps the Foreign Office's enthusiasm for using radio to gain an overseas presence was caught by BBC officials who in 1929 wanted to expand the proposed Empire Service to serve as a vehicle for influencing world public opinion. The Foreign Office came back officially into the international broadcasting project when the Empire Service undertook broadcasts in foreign languages at the start of World War II and the BBC needed the government to bear the rising cost of maintaining the Service. Until then, the BBC was bearing the cost of the Empire Service from the domestic radio license fees that it received. With the conversion of the Empire Service into the External Service, the Foreign and Colonial Office was given the responsibility of providing it a grant-in-aid as well as representing it in the parliament and presenting its budget to the legislators.

---

<sup>6</sup> Tom Burns, *The BBC: Public Institution and Private World*. London: Macmillan, 1977. 34.

The BBC resisted being controlled by the Foreign Office, writes Donald R. Browne in *International Radio Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982. ) but "wartime necessities sealed the bargain..." And it was not only the Foreign Office which exercised some control over the broadcaster; the Political Warfare Executive, the Special Operations Executive, the Ministry of Information and others all had a guidance role. (Browne, 162)

With the World Service trying to stay free of its control, the British Foreign Office went to the extent of "infiltrating" the broadcaster.<sup>7</sup> The tension between the two resulted in the Foreign Office accusing the broadcaster of:

- (i) Left-bias: The Foreign Office accused the World Service in the 1950s of not being tough enough on communism and having communists and leftists on the staff. (Browne, 164) Tom Burns in his book, *The BBC: Public Institution and Private World* (London: Macmillan Press, 1977. 18), gives the instance of two officials who had to resign for having 'left-wing bias'.
- (ii) Negative reporting: The British Government was displeased over reporting on the Suez Crisis in 1956. Prime Minister Anthony Eden was so unhappy that he was ready to take over the international service for the duration of the Crisis. (165)
- (iii) Incompetence: The Foreign Office charged the broadcaster with not properly supervising Eastern European exiles who worked in some of the language services. (163)

These accusations came with financial consequences: During the early 1950s, the broadcaster "suffered occasional budget cuts." (164)

---

<sup>7</sup> National Archives of Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records, ser. RG 41-1: 988. (Discussed in Chapter Two.)

The British Broadcasting Corporation played a strange role in the External Service's attempts at remaining free of government control. The BBC Director General "pushed for direct control of external broadcasting". (163)

There have been instances when the Foreign Office interfered in the day-to-day management of programming activity. For example, the World Service had to twice delay two programs on the insistence of the Foreign Office. (The first time in 1967 on a programme on Svetlana Stalin's letters and the other time in 1975, an interview with a Ugandan author opposed to Idi Amin, then President of Uganda, was delayed).

But despite such pressures and tensions, the relationship between the World Service and the Foreign Office has survived and the BBC World Service has generally been able to maintain its independence and credibility as a broadcaster of uncensored and unbiased news.

One cause of the survival of the relationship seems to be the realization on the part of the BBC of the necessity of having the advice of the Foreign Office in carrying out international broadcasting. Former BBC Director General John Reith told a Foreign Office official that BBC's public stance was that it had the final say in all matters regarding broadcasting content but in the case of irreconcilable differences, he did not "like doing anything that the Foreign Office opposed." (Browne, 179-80, note no. 3)



## WORKING ARRANGEMENT

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office, more specifically, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs decides the languages in which the World Service is to broadcast, the geographic areas to be covered by the programming and the hours or length of the programming. The Service is editorially independent in the day-to-day production of the programs.

The working arrangement between the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the BBC World Service is laid out every three year in an Agreement. The 1999 Agreement is based on six principles:

- i. The World Service has full editorial freedom;
- ii. The FCO [Foreign and Commonwealth Office] should define the external broadcasting service it requires clearly through tight objectives and key performance indicators;
- iii. The BBC should decide the most effective and efficient way of delivering the service defined;
- iv. Stable funding, based on a medium term agreement with Government, paralleling arrangements for the BBC's licence fee funded operations, and on the development of additional revenue streams;
- v. The World Service should not necessarily be precluded from continuing to provide an activity that has become profitable, so long as it continues to fulfill FCO objectives.
- vi. The FCO should obtain acceptable audit assurance that tax-money does not materially subsidise domestic or commercial activities of the BBC.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *FCO BBCWS Broadcasting Agreement, 19 05 99* [Online] accessed 25 August 2002; available from <http://195.166.119.98/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1007029391629&a=K.Article&aid>; Internet.

The Agreement shows the Foreign Office's seriousness in maintaining an effective control of international broadcasting policy as is evident from the following conditions:

...The FCO will identify and prioritize the audiences it wishes to target against its objectives....

The World Service will produce and agree with the FCO a rolling three year Plan to deliver the agreed objectives and reach the agreed target audiences, taking account of the Whitehall planning framework. This will be built up from regional strategies discussed with the FCO and agreed during the formulation of the Plan...

The FCO and World Service will meet regularly at working level. These contacts may be used to review tasking, World Service plans and performance both by region and globally. The World Service regions and FCO geographical commands will maintain a regular informal dialogue which will inform the World Service of FCO thinking on the region concerned and the FCO about World Service activities.

FCO Ministers and the Chief Executive will meet annually to review performance against the agreed targets and to consider future audience priorities. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *FCO/BBCWS Broadcasting Agreement, 19/05/99*)

## WORLD SERVICE PROGRAMMING AND ITS IMPACT

Almost half of the BBC World Service foreign language programming comprises news and current affairs in line with its 'Statement Of Objectives' of 1985 which requires it to provide "a credible, unbiased, reliable, accurate, balanced and independent news service, covering national and international developments". The reason for the high news content is in response to periodic research amongst BBC global audience which shows that news and current affairs broadcasts are generally

the most popular of its programs.<sup>9</sup> The rest of the programming is devoted to entertainment, sports, health, science, British industrial and technological developments, listener's mail, etc. Of the total listeners of the World Service, about a quarter listen to its the English Service. These include people both in the Developed and the Developing World.<sup>10</sup>

In keeping with its audience preference for news and information, the BBC World Service was quick to respond to the increased demand for information after the September 11 attacks on the US World Trade Center. In less than ten days of the attacks, the World Service announced that it was reinforcing its medium wave transmissions (on 1413 kHz), with an additional frequency (1314 kHz), covering the larger region surrounding (and including) Afghanistan, the locale of the US-led war. It also expanded transmissions in the short wave to the area and boosted "output in Arabic, Pashto, Persian and Urdu - the key languages of the region, in response to the escalating tension in the area..."<sup>11</sup> Most of the region's countries (Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Pakistan, and UAE and large parts of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) have relatively small populations and consequently small BBC audiences but all are significant for the war effort.

The broadcasting expansion appears to be less related to meeting increased news demand than being able to influence listeners. This is evident from the increase

---

<sup>9</sup> British Broadcasting Corporation, *FAQ*, [Online], accessed 26 August 2002; available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice>; Internet.

<sup>10</sup> BBC World Service *Press Release* [Online], accessed 28 June 2002, available from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/010920\\_afghanistan\\_transmissions.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/010920_afghanistan_transmissions.shtml); Internet.

<sup>11</sup> BBC World Service, *Press Release* [Online], accessed 24 August 2002; available from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/021707\\_global\\_audience.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/021707_global_audience.shtml); Internet.

in broadcasting time of services in the above-mentioned languages: The Arabic Service is already broadcasting around the clock with some 10 million Arabic speakers in the targeted region. The service in the Pashto language, spoken by some 21 million persons, was expanded by almost 60 percent, from 11¾ to 18¾ hours per week (BBC surveys before the September 11 crisis indicated that some 72 per cent of Pashto language speakers and some 62 per cent of Persian speakers in Afghanistan listen daily to the BBC World Service.); Persian is spoken by some 73 million people in the region but the Persian Service duration increased by about 31 percent (28¼ to 37 hours per week) The broadcast duration of the largest language in the area, Urdu (national language of Pakistan, understood by over 120 million or 90 percent of Pakistanis), was raised by about 24 percent, from 11½ to 13¼ hours per week Although, the broadcaster expects that news demand in India must have risen too, no addition was made to the duration of the Hindi Service. There are more than 600 million Hindi speakers.

The expansion in the service in the area is especially significant considering, as noted above, the duration of the language service is decided by the Foreign Office. The service enlargement reflects two trends: Firstly, Britain's objective to have a more influential role in the affairs of the region. Secondly, it reflects the (perceived) ability of radio to help in realizing that objective.

It is for this reason that, it is considered by some of its supporters to be "Britain's most valuable export." And those supporters include such important personalities as Nelson Mandela and the Dalai Lama.<sup>12</sup> President Bakili Muluzi told

---

<sup>12</sup> Harvey Morris, "London Calling", *Foreign Wire*, 25 July 1996, available from <http://www.foreignwire.com/bbc.html>; Internet; accessed 25 August 2002

the World Service Director that he listens regularly to the Service's programmes

*Network Africa* and *Focus on Africa*. Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai, described the World Service's importance and impact his country:

"The BBC World Service has been the main media outlet for the Afghan people for many, many years. It's a radio service that almost all Afghans - who want to have news - listen to, especially in Afghanistan. It has credibility.

When I have been in the villages of central Afghanistan, people are listening to it. When I've been in Kandahar, people are listening to it ... and in Herat and Mazar-e-Sharif. It is the main source of information for Afghanistan."<sup>13</sup>

But the real strength of the BBC World Service lies in its support among ordinary people in information-poor societies of the Developing World who want to listen to relatively unbiased news reports. In 2000/2001, of the total BBC World Service audience of 153 million per week, about 80 percent was in Developing Countries (Asia and the Pacific 44.8 percent, Africa and the Middle East 34 percent, the Americas 5.9 percent, Eurasia 7.8 percent and Europe 9.1 percent.) There is falling demand for the World Service broadcasts in information-rich Western societies and it is becoming increasingly obvious that the rationale for operating the BBC World Service, and indeed any international radio, lies mainly in its ability to reach the masses of the world.

---

<sup>13</sup> BBC World Service, *Press Release* [Online], accessed 24 August 2002; available from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/021707\\_global\\_audience.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/us/021707_global_audience.shtml); Internet.

## COMPARISON OF RCI AND BBC WORLD SERVICE

There are many similarities in the history of Radio Canada International and BBC World Service. (see table 1) Both the broadcasters to a great extent are the creation of World War II, both were put under the control of the government department for foreign affairs and both resented it. The two broadcasters suffered charges of having left-wing bias, doing reporting against state interests, performing inadequate supervision of staff, etc., and had their budgets cut. However the BBC World Service has become the largest international broadcaster in terms of audience size, gaining a reputation of accuracy and reliability and is organizationally and financially in a strong position. Radio Canada International on the other hand, has been increasingly becoming unimportant and weak with its activities shrinking and its status diminishing

The success of the BBC World Service is often attributed to three factors. Firstly, that it is due to the fact that it is the more experienced of the two. This is an inflation and over-estimation of the broadcaster's experience. Properly speaking, its career as an arm of British foreign policy began in 1938, just seven years before the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was created.

## COMPARISON OF RCI AND BBC WORLD SERVICE

<b>Radio Canada International</b>	<b>BBC World Service</b>
1. Established: 1945	1. Established: 1932
2. Broadcaster's version of Mandate: (i) To provide news of the country to expatriate Canadians and, (ii) to reflect Canada to the world.	2. Broadcaster's version of Mandate: (i) To reflect Britain to the world and to showcase for British talent, (ii) to provide impartial news and information to listeners worldwide and, (iii) to promote British industry and trade.
3. Organization status: A section of a division of domestic Radio.	3. Organization status: A separate entity reporting to the domestic radio's board of governors and chief executive.
4. Funding: Federal government grant delivered to domestic radio for disbursement for international broadcasting.	4. Funding: Direct grant-in-aid from FCO. Self-disbursement.
5. Physical location of policy supervisor and broadcaster: Separate cities.	5. Physical location of policy supervisor and broadcaster: Same city.
6. State of relationship with government department handling foreign affairs: Undefined, unstable, insignificant.	6. State of relationship with government department handling foreign affairs: Defined, stable, significant.
7. Initial government control effort: During peacetime	7. Initial government control effort: During wartime (emergency conditions over-ruled broadcaster's resentment of control).
8. Resistance to control offered? Yes.	8. Resistance to control offered? Yes.
9. Success in removing control? Yes.	9. Success in removing control? No
10. Manifestation of relationship problems: (i) Accused of being soft on enemy ideology. (ii) Accused of negative reporting, being hostile to country's government. (iii) Accused of incompetence. (iv) Suffered budget cuts.	10. Manifestation of relationship problems: (i) Accused of being soft on enemy ideology. (ii) Accused of negative reporting, being hostile to country's government. (iii) Accused of incompetence. (iv) Suffered budget cuts.
11. Broadcast focus: Europe, Latin America.	11. Broadcast focus: Asia, Middle East, Africa.
12. Effectiveness proven? No, some inconclusive research done.	12. Effectiveness proven? Yes, through regular research and surveys.

Secondly, it is believed that the BBC World Service has been more successful because of Britain's colonial links around the world. There is some truth in it but a large number of the World Service's broadcast languages were not connected to her colonial past. Eastern Europe (and other parts of the continent), the majority of Latin America, West Asia, parts of North Africa, China, Indonesia, etc., were not colonized

by Britain. She did not colonize the Middle East states either but mainly acquired control/ influence over some of them, generally during the first quarter of the 20th century.

Thirdly, it is argued that BBC World Service is popular because of the English language introduced by Britain in her colonies. This impression is not correct either as the English language services draws about a quarter of its total audience. The rest of its audiences listen in 42 other languages.

The success of the BBC World Service is due to much more than its broadcasting experience or Britain's colonials connections. Similarly, RCI's unfortunate state is not because Canada has not been a colonial power. One difference between the World Service and RCI is that the former has focused on broadcasting in African and Asian and Middle Eastern languages. These are areas with the vast majority of the world's population and about eighty percent of the World Service audience belongs to these areas.

RCI on the other hand has concentrated in broadcasting in languages of Europe having a small share of world population. RCI missed the mass audience market of the Developing World and so is reduced to playing a relatively insignificant role in international broadcasting.





## CHAPTER SIX

### **NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF CANADIAN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRY AND ETHNIC COMMUNITIES**

#### INTRODUCTION

Is there a domestic need for a foreign language international radio service? Can an international radio service benefit Canada and a part of her industry? Does the Canadian environmental industry require such a service? Is there a need among the ethnic communities for such a radio service? One of the main rationales for suggesting RCI's revamping is its anticipated ability to be beneficial for Canadian sustainable development industry as well as those Canadian ethnic communities whose mother tongue is neither of the official languages of the country. It is thus critically important to determine whether a need exists among the industry sector and population segment for having such a foreign language international radio service. This is the concern of Chapter Six.

Needs Assessment is a process of collecting and analyzing data in order to make informed decision about improving the performance of an organization or an individual. It identifies the gap existing between the situation or performance as it is and what it should be. Needs assessment prioritizes the causes of the gap so that strategies can be made to remedy the most important cause for reduction of the gap.

An attempt is being made in this chapter to assess the needs of an industry and a group of people. The former is the Canadian environmental exports industry which is a part of the total Canadian environmental industry. (The environmental exports industry needs will be particularly analyzed with reference to the demand in Pakistan which is generally the area being focused upon in this paper.) The latter is the South Asian community in Canada and its knowledge and information needs.

The remedial strategy being suggested (after assessing the needs of these two groupings and identifying the gap between the existing situation and the one preferred

concerns the expanded use of Radio Canada International. How that will benefit both RCI and the CBC Radio will also be discussed in this chapter.

### ENVIRONMENTAL PRODUCTS AND SERVICES DEMAND IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The World Commission on Environment and Development in its 1987 report to the United Nations defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."<sup>1</sup> Since natural resources are under the threat of exploitation and loss, environmental management has become a major concern of sustainable development. Environmental management requires both goods and services and a large industry in those two areas has emerged worldwide.

The annual global demand for environmental goods and services was estimated to be worth \$846 billion in 2000<sup>2</sup>. The Developing Countries presently account for about 9 per cent of the total demand but this situation is poised to change.<sup>3</sup>

International industrial and environmental regulations as well as public awareness of environmental issues are putting pressure on authorities in those countries to take steps to reduce the negative effects of industrialization and to better manage the natural environment in those countries. The growing demand for

---

<sup>1</sup> Lydia Alpizar, *Youth Participation in Global Decision-Making Processes*. [Online]; accessed 22 August 2002; available online at <http://iisd1.iisd.ca/youth/ysbk086.htm>; Internet.

<sup>2</sup> Industry Canada, *Canada's Environment Industry: An Overview* [Online]; accessed 22 August 2002; Available online at <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/pg00056e.html>; Internet.

<sup>3</sup> Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Environmental Goods and Services: The Benefits of Further Global Trade Liberalisation* (Paris, 2001), 12

environmental products and services has increased the importance of the Developing Countries market for the environment industry. A survey conducted by the Canadian Environment Industry Association revealed that the country's environmental products and service companies consider the Developing Countries' market as the second most important at present and in future too.<sup>4</sup>

### **Reasons for Demand**

Much of the demand for environmental products and services in the Developing Countries is with regard to water and wastewater treatment. However the situation is changing and it is felt that there is a need to:

"move beyond this stage, owing to a combination of new regulatory requirements for the management and control of pollution, growing public sensitivity to environmental problems and privatisation and liberalisation trends which have created private demand for environmental services and tied them more closely to the market."<sup>5</sup>

This view is supported by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) which studied environmental issues and regulations in nine Developing Countries (Chile, Hungary, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland, Thailand, Turkey) and found that, "Severity of environmental problems is raising public concerns in all nine countries... Government agencies and responsible private sector companies are increasingly conscious of their environmental obligations and have begun to take appropriate measures. In most of the countries..., environmental impact assessments

---

<sup>4</sup> Canadian Environment Industry Association, *Current and Emerging Needs and Priorities of Canadian Environmental Exporters* [Online]; accessed 19 August 2002; available from <http://www.ceia-acie.ca>; Internet

<sup>5</sup> Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Environmental Goods and Services: The Benefits of Further Global Trade Liberalisation*. Paris, 2001. 15

and pollution control systems are now required for all new investments."<sup>6</sup>

### **Types of Demand**

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) observes that the demand in emerging environmental markets (of the Developing Countries) usually adheres to the following sequence: "water delivery, wastewater treatment, air pollution control, solid waste services, hazardous waste and finally remediation." OECD suggests that the basic environmental services demand "can be expected to grow as developing countries (many of which are in the first stages) progress through these stages as they implement environmental protection programs."<sup>7</sup> According to estimates by the World Bank, worldwide \$600-800 billion will have to be spent in the next decade to meet this demand.<sup>8</sup>

### **Factors Driving Demand**

Among the factors that drive this demand, public pressure on local authorities for policy measures is often considered the initiator of the demand process. The above-mentioned International Finance Corporation (IFC) study observed that the emergence of several grassroots environmental organizations in the nine countries examined points to a growing public awareness of environmental issues. The IFC further believes that the "green vote" is increasingly becoming politically important in these countries.

---

<sup>6</sup> International Finance Corporation, *Investing in the Environment: Business Opportunities in Developing Countries*. Washington: The International Finance Corporation, 1992. 7

<sup>7</sup> Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Environmental Goods and Services: The Benefits of Further Global Trade Liberalisation*. Paris, 2001. 31

<sup>8</sup> Industry Canada, *The Canadian Environment Industry: An Overview* [Online]; accessed 16 August 2002; available from <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/pg00056e.html>; Internet.

The Environmental Business International (EBI) too highlights the importance of public awareness in a nation's evolution towards sustainable development. EBI has observed a seven-stage sequence through which countries typically progress in their move sustainable development:

- Stage 1: public awareness and pressure
- Stage 2: government policy stated
- Stage 3: legislation enacted
- Stage 4: regulations promulgated and agency empowered
- Stage 5: enforcement creates market for environmental firms ...
- Stage 6: proactive effort to circumvent regulation and liability...
- Stage 7: internalization and integration of environmental efforts... (EBI Report 2000: The Environmental Industry." San Diego, August 1995. 40)

It can be surmised from the above sequence that it is not so much a question of cost or affordability that determines the demand for certain types of environmental measures but the creation of public pressure. This is borne out by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) which believes that:

"The main factor determining the level of environmental protection and the use of environmental goods and services is not their availability in general or their cost, but the degree and type of market pull... The issue then is how to strengthen demand for environmental services and promote appropriate implementation of environmental policy."<sup>9</sup>

### **Canada's Environmental Products and Services Exports**

Canada has a well-developed environment industry vital for achieving sustainable development. The environment industry, as defined by Statistics Canada includes "all companies operating in Canada that are involved in whole or in part in the production

---

<sup>9</sup> Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Environmental Goods and Services: The Benefits of Further Global Trade Liberalisation*. Paris, 2001. 50

of environmental goods, the provision of environmental services and the undertaking of environment related construction activities."

Canada's environmental exports have been on the rise and are expected to grow at an average rate of 7 percent up to the year 2005. From 1990 to 1998, the industry exports grew at an average annual rate of 14.5 percent ranking the industry among the fastest growing sectors in Canada.

The Canadian environment industry has established its expertise in developing technologies for treating water and wastewater as well as handling liquid and solid wastes, etc. This expertise is much in demand in the Developing World.<sup>10</sup> In a survey of members of the Canadian Environment Industry Association (CEIA) in 2001, the majority of surveyed companies mentioned water and wastewater treatment as their export. Next was environmental assessment. Both in high demand in the Developing World. The top three markets according to the surveyed companies were USA, Asia and Central America while the emerging priority markets were identified as South America, Asia and China. And what was the main commercial barrier to their entry into those markets? Marketing cost.<sup>11</sup>

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that (a) policy measures and the move towards sustainable development in the Developing Countries is largely due to public awareness and pressure and (b) marketing costs are hindering the entry of a number of environment companies to the markets of the Developing Countries.

---

<sup>10</sup> Industry Canada, *Canada's Environment Industry: An Overview* [Online]; accessed 16 August 2002; available from <http://strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/pg00016e.html>; Internet.

<sup>11</sup> Canadian Environment Industry Association, *Current and Emerging Needs and Priorities of Canadian Environmental Exporters*, [Online, pdf]; accessed 19 August 2002; available from <http://www.ceia-acie.ca/>; Internet.

Two important needs or objectives of the industry can be identified from this:

Firstly, raising the information level of the public in the Developing Countries about their domestic environmental issues thereby raising their awareness on the topic. That in turn is expected to motivate the public to pressure their government and authorities to develop appropriate policy and move towards a better management of the environment. Secondly, lowering the cost of marketing environmental products and services in the Developing Countries.

These desired objectives are generally true for the Developing Countries.

Against these objectives, the potential and reality of Canadian exports to Pakistan will be examined and the gap identified. A remedial strategy will then be suggested.

#### NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL INDUSTRY

Situation "A": Canadian environmental industry's expertise and potential as compared to its present share of environmental goods and services market in Pakistan.

POTENTIAL OF CANADIAN EXPORTS TO PAKISTAN	G A P	DEMAND FOR CANADIAN ENVIRONMENTAL GOODS
(a) Canada advanced producer of environmental goods and services.		(a) Apparent lack of awareness in Pakistan.
(b) Canadian environmental exporters want Pakistan to spend more on environmental management.		(b) Pakistan government and authorities give low priority to developing policy and investing in environmental management.
(c) Canadian environmental exporters want a larger share of environmental goods and services market in Pakistan.		(c) Low demand for Canadian environmental goods and services in Pakistan.

Situation "B"

Low marketing cost required by Canadian Environmental exporters in order to enter Pakistan market.	G A P	Present cost high hindering entry.
--	-------	------------------------------------



**REMEDIAL STRATEGY**

CONSIDERATIONS	SUGGESTIONS
1. Principal objective: Canadian environmental/sustainable development industry should have a bigger share of the demand for environmental goods and services market in Pakistan.	(A) RCI should broadcast programs in local language on (i) select environment issues in target country (ii) establish Canadian expertise in the field by, among measures, giving specific examples of Canadian sustainable environmental development firms' co-operation and success with other countries.
2. Impediment in achieving objective: Low demand for environmental products and services in Pakistan as government not giving importance to environmental management.	
3. Desired development: Pakistani government should give higher priority to managing the environment and initiate action/projects	(B) The publicity given to Canadian expertise in the field of environmental products and services will help the marketing effort of environmental exporters, reducing cost of introducing the products to the public as well as decision-makers. The broadcasts can serve as an adjunct marketing activity. The National Director of Programs and Policy, Canadian Environment Export Industry, Rebecca Last, hoped that "CBC...stories focusing on new technologies that offer promising solutions to pressing environmental problems can present interesting marketing potential to those technology vendors." (Interview by author, 20 August 2002)
4. Desired method of guiding Pakistan: Government in the direction: Public pressure.	
5. Reason for situation: (i) Low pressure from the Pakistani people on their government to give higher priority to environment management. (ii) Low public awareness of environmental issues in Pakistan. (iii) The low public awareness of issues does not motivate people to put pressure on their government.	
6. Immediate Objective: Motivate Pakistani people to put pressure on their government to better manage the environmental issues.	
7. Vehicle for motivation: Communication through RCI broadcasts.	
8. Additional objective: Reduce marketing costs for Canadian environmental goods and services.	

### FOREIGN LANGUAGE RADIO NEED AMONG ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

#### **Meeting Information Needs of Ethnic Canadians**

While Canada has a need to disseminate information about herself to the world, a section of her population needs information about both Canada and the world. As noted earlier, according to Statistics Canada census of 1996, one in ten persons was a recent immigrant. The mother tongue of over 16 percent of Canadians was neither

English nor French; for Ontario the figure was 21.6 percent and for Toronto, 33 percent.

During 1994-1999, 86 percent of persons immigrating to Canada belonged to countries where English and French are not spoken as mother tongues. More than 42 percent of immigrants who came during 1997 to 1999, could not speak or read either of the official languages.<sup>12</sup>

This situation results in three main problems:

- (i) Under-utilization of human capital. (ii) Inaccessibility to vital information. (iii) Hindrances to integration and participation in the mainstream society.

### **Under-utilization of Human Capital**

Immigrants bring with them valuable resources in terms of language, societal information, etc. These resources cannot be utilized unless they find a channel to exhibit and express them. If used, these resources could result in considerable benefit to Canada.

"In Canada, the link between immigration and export trade has not been explored in any systematic fashion," observed the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade in June 1996. Reviewing Australia's management of her ethnocultural resources, the Committee reported that the Australian government recognized the importance of people of various cultures in making contacts in Asian markets. The Committee referred to the report of an Australian task force, 'Enterprising Nation', which recommended that government

---

<sup>12</sup> Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures 1999: Immigration Overview*, available online from :<http://www.cic.gc.ca>, accessed 23 November 2000.

trade services should 'develop specific strategies to use Australia's cultural and linguistic diversity effectively in trade and industry development programs.' "

The Committee took note that Canadian Heritage had recognised "the importance of Canada's ethnocultural communities in its publication, 'Multiculturalism Means Business: A Directory of Business Contacts'.<sup>13</sup>

### **Inaccessibility to Vital Information**

Official government information, laws, regulations, procedures, etc., are available in either English or French. This bars the majority of immigrants from having a direct understanding of the system which in turn causes misunderstandings and hinders the process of their becoming a 'good citizen'. A number of non-official language immigrants turn to unethical agents who tell them how to do simple paper work such as filling routine forms such as those for health cards, driver's license, etc.

### **Hindrances to Participation and Integration in Society**

Language limitations also prevents immigrants from participating in the mainstream society, generating a feeling of alienation among them. The feeling of alienation on the one hand pushes them to interact only with their own ethnic kind and on the other hand, makes it difficult for them to integrate in the mainstream society.

Integration of immigrants to mainstream Canadian society is of great value for the country. As noted earlier, the report of the conference entitled 'Canada in the Asia-Pacific Economy: The People Dimension' held at Simon Fraser University, 1997 concluded that, "people who immigrate to Canada are fulfilling two interrelated

roles: integrating into Canadian society, and aiding Canada in its integration into the global economy."

The conference discussed "issues related to achieving maximum value... from the human capital and potential that immigrants bring with them to Canada" and found that "it is imperative that we produce the conditions necessary to integrate immigrants into a domestic social polity and economic environment."

#### ASSESSING INFORMATION NEEDS OF IMMIGRANTS

1. Immigrants' information needs: Immigrants need to be informed about situation in country of origin and Canada.	<b>G A P</b>	Timely, reliable and accessible (financially and technically) Information source not available in Canada.
Utilization of human capital: Immigrants have valuable language resources as well as social and economic information which can contribute to Canada's prosperity.		No channel of expression enabling immigrants to benefit Canada with their social capital.
Accessibility to Vital Information: It is extremely important that Canadian immigrants understand the country's rules and regulations. Vital emergency information with implications for the immigrants' personal safety (jail break, criminals in the area, cold/heat alerts, storms, etc.) is mainly broadcast on radio and television in official languages.		Much of Canadian rules and regulations and other important information is in the official languages which are not understood by a large number of immigrants.
Participation and Integration in Canadian Society		The lack of ability in English and/or French prevents immigrants from accessing information, understanding the society and culture of their adopted country and integrate into it.

<sup>13</sup> House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Capitalizing on Canada's linguistic, Multicultural and Geographic Advantages* [Online]; accessed 5 August 2002; available from [http://www.parl.gc.ca/committees352/fore/reports/01\\_1996-06\\_p/chape-3.html](http://www.parl.gc.ca/committees352/fore/reports/01_1996-06_p/chape-3.html), Internet.

### REMEDIAL STRATEGY

CONSIDERATIONS	SUGGESTIONS
1. Objectives: a. Utilizing human capital of immigrants. b. Meeting information needs of immigrants. c. Giving immigrants access to vital information. d. Integrating immigrants in Canadian society.	(A) The human capital of immigrants, i.e., language skills, societal and cultural information should be sustained and utilized just as any resource. This can be done by having a foreign language radio which keeps the immigrants informed about developments in their original countries thus sustaining and nurturing their information resource.
2. Impediment in achieving objectives	(B) Immigrants' integration into Canadian society can be speeded up by offering them easily accessible information about Canada in the language of the immigrants. This will also give them a sense of acceptance by their new government as well as helping in giving them better information for their personal security.
3. Desired developments	
4. Desired method for causing developments.	
	(C) The above objectives can be met by having a redirected and enlarged foreign language service by RCI.

What is needed is a reliable news and information source for both local and international audience. The proposed expanded foreign language radio service will not only project Canada internationally but also fulfill the information needs of the immigrants.

The foreign language broadcasts by public radio will also serve as an acknowledgement of the value and importance the Government of Canada attaches to the immigrants. Such an acknowledgement will lessen the feeling of alienation and speed up their integration into the mainstream society. This will be in accordance with the ideals of multiculturalism in the country.

## BENEFITS FOR RCI

Radio listenership in Canada is on the decline. The average per capita listenership was 21.6 hours per week in 1993 which went down to 19.9 hours per week in 1997.<sup>14</sup>

About 3.8 million listeners worldwide tuned in to RCI in a week in the year 2000 according to Hélène Robiallard-Frayne, Director, Communications, Marketing and Research, RCI (interview by the author, 14 November 2000). Of those listeners, 600,000 belonged to Asia having roughly 3.5 billion people or more than half of the world population. There are obviously huge areas that RCI can cover and increase her listenership.

By redirecting and enlarging RCI's foreign language broadcasts, the number of overseas listeners can increase. If those broadcast are receivable on short-wave or other means, RCI can have a sizeable domestic audience considering there were, according to the 1996 census, some 3.5 million immigrants in Canada whose mother-tongue was neither English nor French.

A redirected RCI with an expanded repertoire of foreign languages could attract a much greater number of listeners and in the process, establish its usefulness for Canada.

---

<sup>14</sup> *Making New Media Work for Canada: Submission of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters to the CRTC New Media Hearing*, [Online]; accessed 19 August 2002; available online from [http://www.cabac.ca/french/joint/research/appendix4\\_nov298.htm](http://www.cabac.ca/french/joint/research/appendix4_nov298.htm); Internet.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### TOWARDS A GLOBAL PUBLIC SPHERE FOR PEACE

"The public sphere is the site where struggles are decided by other means than war." (*Alexander Kluge*)

It is becoming increasingly important that the views of the people of the Developing World are brought to the attention of the general world community, specially the Developed World. This is particularly significant at a time when the Developed World is showing considerable enthusiasm for 'globalization,' with information serving as the common format. Chapter Seven uses Habermas' concept of the public sphere to stress the need for a 'global' public sphere. It discusses how such a sphere can be established through RCI as part of its proposed revamping and as part of the objective to make Canada a more influential country in world affairs.

This chapter discusses various aspects of setting up a global public sphere for people belonging to the Muslim and the Developing World. The idea is an extrapolation of Habermas's public sphere concept in the international domain. It is suggested that Canada, with the help of Radio Canada International (or some other broadcasting agency), should facilitate the global public sphere.

It is proposed that:

(a) There is a need for establishing a system of communication facilitating a global public sphere allowing the people of the Muslim World and the Developing World to express their views and aspirations.

(b) Canada can assist in developing the global public sphere by organising the communication system through Radio Canada International or some other publicly owned radio.



## INTRODUCTION

The Cold War was a war of ideas and ideology. It required communicating one kind of ideas to the other side holding a different ideology. Since the communication of ideas in concrete form, i.e., printed material, was susceptible to being physically prevented, an efficient, non-concrete form of communication which could not be easily checked or barred was needed.

Radio waves fit the requirement for carrying ideas most conveniently and so the war of ideas or the Cold War chose them as the delivery mechanism for the ideas. These ideas were fundamentally carried on short-wave and where needed, boosted on medium wave and by other means. The Cold War led to a proliferation of short-wave international broadcasters. When the Cold War declined, the importance of transmitting ideas through radio also decreased and many radio stations reduced transmission time or stopped altogether.

The international situation evolving particularly over the past decade and the emergence of ideologies rivaling the dominant western ideology has once again heightened conflict and tension over ideas and ideology. The Developing World, and in particular the Islamic World, has replaced the erstwhile Soviet Union in resisting Western ideology. The situation looks similar to the recent Cold War but there is a difference: During the Cold War, the various countries belonging to the Soviet bloc opposed the western states and their ideology, while their people were often neutral or partial to Western thought and way of life. In the present ideological conflict between Western capitalist ideology and the Islamic world, the opposition is coming from the Muslim masses and so militarily defeating Muslim countries will not

diminish the ideological conflict; if at all it may heighten it. US scholar Thomas Harrison supports this view when he writes that "...the American attack on Afghanistan will not put an end to terrorism, or even weaken or diminish it in the long run – it will almost certainly do the opposite."<sup>1</sup>

The violent expression of resentment against the USA on 11 September 2001 by a terrorist group shocked the people in the West. The anti-American demonstrations in the Muslim World in the wake of the first US air-strikes on Afghanistan further surprised and dismayed many in the Western world. While the attacks were seen as the work of a band of fanatics, the public demonstrations showed that the anti-US feeling was widespread in the Muslim World (and in many other Developing World countries too). That has concerned many in the West as is evident from the ongoing public discussions on the causes of Muslim-Developing World resentment of the US. There seems to be an information gap in the West created by the media which failed to report (over the years) on the rising anti-US feelings and the threat it posed. Since the Muslim World's media are weak, the voice of the Muslim masses could not reach the ears of the West. If the people of the West had known the extent of the resentment felt among the Muslim masses, it is likely that they would have been concerned enough to put pressure (through the public sphere and other means) on their parliaments and governments to improve the situation.

---

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Harrison, "Only a Democratic Foreign Policy can Combat Terrorism," *New Politics*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, Winter 2002. (Brooklyn, N.Y: New Politics Associates) 23-42

A crucial factor in the present unhappy relationship between the Developing World people and the Western people appears to be a lack of a communication forum or a public sphere on global scale.

The lack of communication results in poor understanding of the feelings and views of the Muslim-Developing World people. This understanding, among other things, is a practical need according to Stanley Hoffman, in order to understand "...our adversaries' grievances if only to allow us to shape a perceptive policy." (Harrison, 2002) This is sound thinking and in line with Alexander Kluge's suggestion that, "The public sphere is the site where struggles are decided by other means than war."

The lack of access to the global public sphere by the Muslim-Developing World people has serious consequences for the physical and economic security of the entire world. Many Muslim-Developing World countries have unrepresentative and corrupt governments whose main source of strength is often their relationship with powerful Western countries. Graham E. Fuller, in an article in *Foreign Affairs* supports this view:

Muslim rulers fear offending their protectors in Washington. Muslim publics have little or no influence over policy within their own states, bad leaders cannot be changed and public expression of dissent is punished, often brutally. This is the 'stability' in the Middle East to which the United States seems wedded."<sup>2</sup>

The people of those countries, finding no peaceful way to remove these governments and the system that they represent are increasingly resorting to militancy.

---

<sup>2</sup> Graham E. Fuller, "The Future of Political Islam" in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2002. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.). 48-60

The target of their militancy is not only their unrepresentative governments but also the Western patrons of those governments," claims Fuller.

The growing militancy of the Developing World shows that it is not enough for the West to have relations with only the unrepresentative and increasingly ineffective governments of the Muslim-Developing World countries. There is now a need to have a relationship with the people of those countries. International relations should not be restricted to governments but should reach people too. Yehudah Paz stresses the importance of people in conflict resolution, saying:

We now recognize that governmental/political agreements cannot by themselves serve as the creators and generators of a long-term process of conflict resolution... What is required is the development of a civil-society-centered people-to-people peace process parallel to the political peace process carried out by governments and political institutions.<sup>3</sup>

The idea sounds modern and radical but its roots can be traced to Locke's advocacy of the rights of ordinary people to popular sovereignty. The people-centered approach to society and sovereignty was reiterated in the 'Seattle Statement' issued in May 2000 in the aftermath of the protests at the World Trade Organisation. 'The Seattle Statement stressed the need for having "a new Public Sphere" as in its view, "the active, informed citizen participation is the key to shaping the network society..."<sup>4</sup>

The reference to the 'network society' resonates with the view held by the McBride Commission Report of 1980: "The international dimensions of

---

<sup>3</sup> Yehudah Paz, "New Perspectives on conflict Resolution" in *Development*, Vol. 43, No. 3, September 2000. (London: Society for International Development). 5-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Seattle Statement* [Online]; accessed 03 November 2001; available from <http://www.cpsr.org/newsletters/publications/issues/2000/Summer2000/seattle1.html>; Internet.

communication are today of such importance that it has become crucial to develop co-operation on a world-wide scale."

The right of people "to participate in communication, and in making decisions about communication within and between societies" is also propagated by the 'People's Communication Charter' which recognizes that "communication is basic to the life of all individuals and their communities."<sup>5</sup> The 'people-to-people' peace process requires a relationship among people which can be developed within a global communication forum, a 'public sphere' of the world.

#### HABERMAS' CONCEPT OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Habermas' concept of a public sphere is one of the most important ideas in communication put forward in the twentieth century. Almost utopian, it has caught the imagination of communication scholars all over the world. One reason for its appeal seems to be the achievability of the notion of purposeful communal conversation. The book, 'The Public Sphere', in which he first introduced the concept confronts "the liberal ideal of the reasoning public with the reality of its particular concern and disempowerment." The growth of the public sphere was part of the struggle against absolutism and towards a more inclusive form of representation and governance.<sup>6</sup> 'Public opinion' is the mode through which a public body of citizen formally and informally practices criticism of state control. This is in harmony with

---

<sup>5</sup> Cees J. Hamelink, "Trends in World Communication". (Penang: Southbound, 1994.). 151-163.  
<http://www.pccharter.net/charteren.html>; Internet.

<sup>6</sup> Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in Craig Calhoun, ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1996) 289-339

the principle of public information which is necessary for democratic control of state activities.

The public sphere is a liberal ideal that has not been attained. It was neither realised at its beginnings when the public sphere was restricted to the bourgeoisie, nor with later adjustments when the concept was not evolved enough to accommodate any general or universal application.

Three of the most defining characteristics of the public sphere according to Doug Schuler are: Firstly, that it recognizes communication as a broad, informal activity carried out face to face or otherwise in bars, town meetings, etc.<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, public spheres are open to the "public," i.e., there are no restriction on anyone entering them. Furthermore, the public sphere spaces are visible, what goes on there is transparent, nothing is hidden from public view. Developingly, says Schuler, "a public sphere mediates between people and institutions that may be powerless and those that may be extremely powerful." This is a critically important characteristic for if there is no such linkage, conversations would produce no results.

There are many ways of looking at the concept of the public sphere and its expected impact on society. Since Habermas spoke of the public sphere in the singular, it is accused, specially by the post-modernists, for being not responsive and inclusive of 'subaltern' cultures. Nancy Fraser insists that Habermas's proposal of a single public sphere for the general good of the community is not feasible, believing instead that "in stratified societies, arrangements that accommodate contestation

---

<sup>7</sup> Doug Schuler, "What is the Public Sphere?" *The CPSR Newsletter*, vol. 18, no. 3, Summer 2000 [Online]; accessed 23 November 2001; available from <http://www.cpsr.org/publications/newsletters/issues/2000/Summer2000/schuler.html>; Internet.

among a plurality of competing publics better promote the ideals of participatory parity than does a single, comprehensive, overarching public." She further asserts that it is possible to combine "social equality, cultural diversity and participatory democracy."<sup>8</sup>

Craig Calhoun, taking a rather utilitarian view of the public sphere, proposes that the rational-critical discourse "represents the potential for the people organised in civil society to alter their own conditions of existence." He dispels the impression that civil society and the public sphere are one and the same, noting that the concept of public sphere is important because it "introduces a discussion of the specific organisations within civil society of social and cultural bases for the development of an effective rational-critical discourse aimed at the resolution of political disputes."<sup>9</sup>

There is a suspicion among some scholars that the public sphere may end up establishing the ideals of technology-driven globalisation, i.e., a cultural homogeneity and a universalisation of societies. But this argument is rejected by Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge who, according to Miriam Hansen, propose that, "the global unification of the public sphere through electronic media and transnational networks of production and consumption goes hand in hand with a diversification of appeals and constituencies, as the media strives to get an even more 'direct' grasp on the 'raw material' of people's experience." <sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy" in Simon During ed., *The Cultural Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 518-536.

<sup>9</sup> Craig Calhoun, "Civil Society and the Public Sphere" in *Public Culture* 5 (1993), 267-280

<sup>10</sup> Miriam Hansen, "Unstable Mixtures Dilated Spheres: Negt and Kluge's the Public Sphere and Experience, Twenty Years Later," *Public Culture* 5(1993). 179-212

Due to globalisation and the general expansion of the social sphere in which the people of the world interact, the public sphere is increasingly understood as existing within communication technologies which neglects certain other 'arrangements' within which it may exist.

William Reddy presents the interesting argument that "the Western public sphere is also built upon a contractual agreement. Pointing to this "gaping oversight" in defining the public sphere, he proposes that "in our apparently democratic public sphere, authority expresses itself through contractual decisions that give some access to money, title, visibility, while denying the same to others."<sup>11</sup>

### **Testing the Public Sphere in the International Domain**

As the world moves towards globalisation, Habermas's public sphere concept seems to develop applications for the international field. Increasingly linked by information and communication technologies, the world can be seen as a vast community with nations and states operating and interacting in a global realm. (Miriam Hansen 1993)

It should be pointed out here that Habermas does not extend his concept to the international sphere although the motif of an international public sphere had been available at least since the beginning of the twentieth century due to the development of the international operations of Western media.

The present international media and representation situation may be seen as a public sphere of the international community. But the low representation and participation of the Muslim-Developing World countries in international media

---

<sup>11</sup> William M. Reddy, "Postmodernism and the Public Sphere: Implications for an Historical Ethnography," *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992), 135-168



shows that the same bias and exclusion that existed in the earlier 'classical' era in a local society now also exists at the international level.

At the international level it is not "reason" that gives people a place in the hallowed international public sphere. The powerful countries, whether they are reasonable or not, express themselves and are heard while less powerful countries do not enjoy the same opportunity and attention. This further strengthens the argument that even among legal equals, the right to participate remains the prerogative of the powerful. It also demonstrates that the international public sphere in its present form, is one of the most exclusionary and hegemonic of institutions thus strengthening Gramsci's stance linking " hegemony to a domain of public life... which he calls civil society but which might also be called the 'public sphere'"

By facilitating the entrance of the Muslim-Developing World people in the global public sphere, some of the charges of exclusion and hegemony may be softened and the public sphere may come closer to its egalitarian ideals.

## ORGANIZING THE GLOBAL PUBLIC SPHERE

### **Determining the Right Medium and Facilitator**

In order to access the global public sphere, people of the Muslim-Developing World need a suitable communication platform or medium. There are essentially four kinds of mass communication mediums which can serve as a platform for communication among people. These mediums are: (a) hard copy publications i.e., books, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, (b) internet, which is mainly text-based,

(c) television, (d) radio.

As discussed in the first chapter, "The Case for a Redirected Foreign Language Radio Service", radio is the most efficient medium for disseminating information. There is already a well-established tradition in the Muslim-Developing World of listening to the radio, most of which are capable of receiving short-wave signals. As concluded elsewhere in this thesis, radio would be the most suitable medium to serve as the platform for global exchange of ideas.

Radio is also the chosen medium for managing the current ideological conflict as far as the West is concerned. The United States has started a radio service for Afghanistan ('Radio Free Afghanistan' affiliated with 'Radio Free Asia') while BBC World Service has substantially increased the duration of the programming of key languages in the region (Pushtu, Persian, Urdu and Arabic) as well as increasing the coverage of the region.

The global public sphere would be most effective if it is initially managed by a country with some credibility. Canada has a relatively "clean" international image: It does not have an unpleasant colonial past; is not generally accused of bullying smaller nations; has a respectable record in international peacekeeping and has a well developed information and communication sector. Canada may be a suitable country for initiating such a project through its short-wave radio service.

Short-wave radio broadcasting (to other countries) is not suitable for general advertising and so it is difficult to make money by this means. For this reason commercial media may not find it viable to facilitate that kind of dissemination of ideas. It is necessary therefore to rely on publicly owned communication media for

the purpose. Just as in the Cold War, Radio Canada International (RCI) was commissioned to serve an important function, similarly, in the current ideological conflict, there is a clear need for a Canadian short-wave radio service to address the need to present Canada's point of view and build bridges of ideas.

### **Expected Issues in Setting up the Global Public Sphere**

The proposed global public sphere has to contend with issues relating to:

(a) State sovereignty, (b) cultural hegemony and (c) commercial media interest.

#### State Sovereignty

The global public sphere has implications for state sovereignty. People are the subjects of states and normally states have the right to grant or deny them certain rights. The universal rights enjoyed by people become applicable to them only after the state has signed the conventions prescribing those rights. By granting communication rights to groups of nationals of various countries, the global public sphere interferes with the relationship of states and their subjects. The principle of sovereignty has been the topic of debate at several international forums. The role of sovereignty principle was stressed at the debates about the New International Information Order (NIIO). The fourth meeting of the Intergovernmental Council for Coordination of Information among Non-Aligned Countries, 1980 "resolved that the NIIO is based on the fundamental principles of international law, notably self-

determination of peoples, sovereign equality of States and non-interference in internal affairs of other States." <sup>12</sup>

The global public sphere will also have an impact on diplomatic relations among states. There is a well-established practice of government-to-government dealings in statecraft. Communication between countries is so far the prerogative of diplomats and governments. The global public sphere will disturb this practice and will share in the authority to converse with another nation and country. Thus there may be opposition to the concept from the developing countries while it may not get enthusiastic support from Canadian government also.

### Cultural Hegemony

The question of cultural hegemony has to be addressed in a situation where a Developed Country provides a communication platform to Developing Countries. The logic of the medium being the message has a bearing upon the issue of dominant and subordinate cultures but a distinction should be made between subordinate cultures (of people) and subordinate governments (ruling the people): Anthony Smith writes that the "Developing World has accused the West of cultural domination through its control of the major news collecting resources of the world, through the unstinted flow of its cultural products across the world..." <sup>13</sup>

Many former colonies are ruled by persons who may be described as local agents of the former colonial masters and their business concerns. Such governments' opposition to media access to the people is a device to stay in power by continuing to

---

<sup>12</sup> Cees J. Hamelink, "Globalism and National Sovereignty" in Kaarle Nordenstreng and Herbert I. Schiller, *Beyond Sovereignty: International Communication in the 1990*. (New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1995), 371-393.

to show how the agenda is being implemented. RCI should review its philosophy towards broadcasting, adapting it to the international relations compulsions. A 'development' paradigm has to be introduced in the working of RCI. Short-wave broadcast journalism has to find a rationale to survive after the end of the war of words – the Cold War. RCI should be a player in 'development' rather than merely a reporter. This will be in accordance with the Canadian radio's historic role in bringing the country closer which it continues to do even today. Journalism needs to establish a network in which communities are linked.

### **Organization**

If radio is to help in facilitating international relations, it will have to be in close coordination with institutions involved in the formation and implementation of Canadian foreign policy i.e., the Cabinet, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), Canadian Heritage, the Ministry of International Cooperation as well as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and other pertinent non-governmental organisations. This is generally the way short-wave broadcasting in Canada has been organised although CIDA has not been previously involved in the short-wave broadcasting project. There are three advantages in involving CIDA in the short-wave broadcasting project:

- (1) CIDA is engaged in developmental work in the Developing World and is mandated and equipped to support any development-oriented radio broadcast activity.
- (2) The Agency has experience and knowledge of the existing situation in target areas.

(3) CIDA can provide partial funding for the broadcast activity. (It already funds the non-governmental Canadian organization, 'Development World Farm Radio.')

### **Production Structure**

The organisation structure of the global public sphere should consist of the RCI head office and its regional/local bureaux. The local bureaux should collect and produce broadcast material in local languages. The material should be relayed to the head office. The head office should have language sections responsible for broadcasting the material to the region from where it was collected. Where required, reception can be improved by using boosters, medium wave relay stations. The head office should translate some of the material into English and French and broadcast it on short-wave for international listeners.

### **Staffing**

The staff in each region should be natives of the area. The local staff should work for a local bureau with responsibility to produce broadcasting material. The local bureau should enjoy maximum autonomy and should strive to remain neutral and objective.

### **Funding**

RCI is presently funded by Canadian Heritage to the tune of \$15.5 annually. Other contributors may be the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade because of its twin mandate to manage international relations and trade; CIDA which has a resource base of \$2 billion and other non-governmental and private agencies

interested in business and services promotion; educational institutions with an interest in foreign students, etc.

### **Broadcast Area and Languages**

The Global Public Sphere should be accessible to the greatest number of people from different areas of the world. However, for the purposes of modeling, the South Asian region and some of its significant languages are chosen. South and West Asia with an estimated population of 1.4 billion includes nine countries is a volatile and violent area having two countries with nuclear-weapons-producing capability and one of the largest concentration of armed forces in the world.

Geographic region:	South and West Asia including Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Iran, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka.
Population:	1.4 billion (estimated)
Languages:	Bangla, Bhutanese, Divehi, Hindi, Nepali, Persian, Pushtu, Sinhala, Tamil, Urdu.

### **Operational Modalities**

Timing: and Duration	Morning, afternoon, evening, total three hours.
Broadcasting Method	Direct Short-wave broadcasting from Canada as well as relaying the broadcasts on the medium-wave for better reception quality.
Broadcasting Languages	Local/regional and English/French
Main Focus	Not event dependent. Gathering views of common people and groups on various issues important for them.
Sensitivities	Religion, gender, sex.
Broadcast Aim	To provide a forum for popular expression in its most direct form in order to prevent any

insertion of hegemonist views and tendencies.

Principal Format	Composite
News and current affairs	40% of programming (world, regional, local)
Entertainment	20% of programming (regional, local, Canadian)
Peoples' Views and Development programs	40% of programming (local)

### **Operation of the Model** (See Illustration A)

*Step 1:* Broadcast Material Gathering: Basically two categories of broadcast material is collected:

(a) Views of socially significant groups of people on various issues. An 'open mike' or 'speakers' corner' approach is taken towards the exercise and the content is presented with the least possible mediation or change. The objective is to present the views in their original form so that the groups expressing those opinions feel that they have been heard.

(b) General news gathering for hard reporting as well as discovering situations and developments which are presented in feature form. This exercise, besides covering political, economic and social issues also reports on CIDA activities in the area.

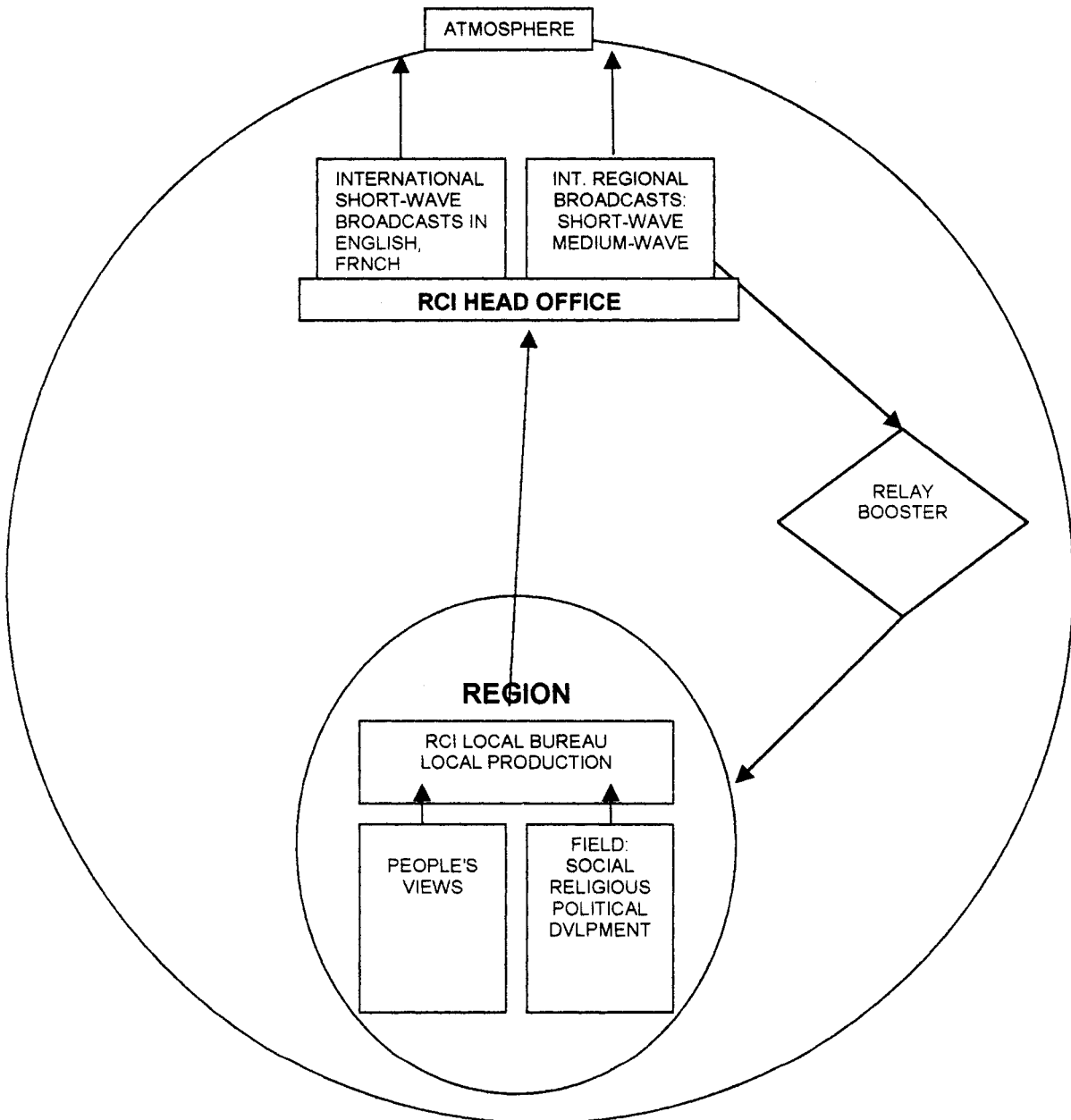
*Step 2.* Local Production: The local bureau of the international radio service converts the gathered information into broadcast-ready form. The finished material is to be relayed to RCI languages section in Canada.

*Step 3.* The languages section reviews the broadcast material and broadcasts it to the target region.

*Step 4.* The head office in Canada translates in English and French some of the locally produced material and information and broadcasts it on the short-wave for international listeners. The same material is also broadcast on AM/FM in Canada, North America and other regions through RCI's



Illustration A  
GLOBAL PUBLIC SPHERE MODEL



allied stations. Thus the views and news of Developing World regions will be presented at the international level.

### CANADA'S INTEREST

It appears that radio communication will play an increasingly important role in managing international relations. International politics is changing radically and will continue to be in a state of flux as the world goes through the present unipolar phase. The world situation offers many opportunities to Canada to project itself on the international stage, not as a hegemonic power, but as a country with experience in conflict resolution and a bias towards peace. Canada can be an 'honest broker' in world conflicts and in a world of increasing conflicts, it may be a useful vocation, both for Canada and world peace.

Canada's short-wave radio system can be a vital tool in allowing her to play an important role in international politics. As part of that role, the country can provide an opportunity to the Muslim-Developing World people to express their opinion on the world stage, on the global public sphere. Canada will thus not only acquire an insight into the thinking of a people who are becoming increasingly politically significant but also gain the trust of those people. And trust can lead to leadership. Some of the benefits that Canada can gain by facilitating the global public sphere are discussed below:

Canada (and the West) have two kinds of interests in the Developing World:

(1) Strategic interests. (2) Business and material interests.

### Strategic Interests

Such interests are primarily of the military kind, i.e., referring to Canada's ability for offense and defense around the world as well as the protection of trade routes. For instance, the Pacific Rim countries can have a bearing on Canada's security and therefore Canada has a strategic interest in the region.

### Business and Material Interests

(a) The Developing Countries have natural resources which can be developed to benefit both that country and Canada.

(b) The Developing Countries and Canada have business relations. Canadian goods export to the Developing World is under 5% of its total exports yet the export market can grow. Moreover, Canada is keen on establishing itself as a provider of education and knowledge and the Developing Countries which are deficient in that field are its main potential clients.

Let the people talk.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION: CONCEPTUALISING A SPECIAL BROADCASTING PROJECT**

#### INFORMATION FOR PEACE

The chapter compares the relative advantages and disadvantages of stating a new international radio service and comes to the conclusion that it would be more efficacious to assign RCI additional broadcasting responsibilities.

There is a growing disparity between the developed and the Developing World. The disparity is not only in terms of economic and social development but also, the level of information the two sides have access to. The present-day focus on information and the anticipated emergence of a global information society underlines the importance of facilitating the exchange of information all over the world. A society on a global scale obviously cannot exist unless the Developing Countries are part of it.

Removing information disparities is not mere idealism (virtue it seems is not sufficient recommendation by itself, it has to be tempered with self-interest), there are practical reasons for doing that. Information disparity is partially responsible for much conflict in the world. Maurice Strong, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General observes, "...profound gaps in understanding, knowledge and mutual trust that exist among peoples of different cultures, races and religions." He maintains that these differences are often strengthened by 'historic enmities' and the perception among the Developing Countries that the present power structure in the world and the

globalization process is slated to benefit mainly the more industrialized countries.

Strong believes that "Education, training and research can help provide that knowledge and the skills" necessary for creating an atmosphere of mutual trust, respect and cooperation.<sup>1</sup>

Maureen Guirdham, (Visiting Professor and Honorary Fellow at Westminster University, UK) gives communication a much more active and critical role when she declares that conflict resolution is primarily a communication activity and the worst modern conflicts are intercultural. Guirdham believes that Intercultural Communication skills are of central importance for resolving many current conflicts in the world. That means, she argues, that conflict resolution should be based mainly on intercultural communication theories and skills.<sup>2</sup>

Information and knowledge disparity is easier to remove than economic disparity as it does not necessarily require large investments in infrastructure developments. Considering the role communication (or the lack of it), plays in causing conflict, it is unwise not to remove information disparities.

The social and economic development of the western societies and the relative peace that they enjoy is threatened by the turmoil in the rest of the world. In this age of rapid communication, violence travels as fast as a jetliner. Peace does not work on piecemeal basis. In order to sustain development and peace in the western societies, there has to be development and peace in the rest of the world.

---

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Strong, "Prospects for Global Environmental Security," *Isuma: Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, vol. 3 no. 2, 2000. 11-16.

<sup>2</sup> Maureen Guirdham, *Conflict, Culture and Communication*, [Online, pdf]; accessed 24 August 2002; available from <http://intercultural.europacom.com/events/guirdham/>; Internet.

## WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY FOR CANADA

The present international political situation is almost unique. The United States enjoys almost imperial power over the world. The dismantling of the Soviet Union with its bloc of socialist countries has removed the only challenge to US might. The world power balance has always been distributed among many or at least two countries. This has not been due to a desire to share power but due to the nature of power itself which as a phenomenon, is both divisive and unifying. For power to accumulate at one point and stay there is an abnormality and a unipolar world an aberration in international politics.

The position of the United States as 'the imperial power' of the world may not last. Resentment towards US hegemony is being expressed by the majority of Developing nations and major powers like China and Russia openly share the sentiment. But perhaps more (or equally) significant is the opposition to the US put up by the powerful European Union (EU) countries with Canada too occasionally muttering its dissent. Economic matters are at stake in the US acquisition of power. Surely the EU's capitalist economies cannot afford to ignore the growing control of the US over Central Asian oil and her threatening stance towards Europe's reliable oil suppliers in the Middle East.

The lopsided political power balance appears due for correction. The world, and specially the Developing World, needs alternative leadership, a country with power but not brute power. A country with 'soft' power; preferably without a history of exploitation for history is increasingly becoming an issue in establishing relationship among nations.

There is a window of opportunity here for a country with such credentials. Canada (excepting its history with the Native Americans) has those credentials. She can fulfill that role of providing alternative leadership to the Developing Countries which can raise her status even in the eyes of other developed countries.

Canada has an ethnic population belonging to all parts of the world. That gives it a credible status as a country able to represent (to a significant extent) the interests of a varied people.

The forces driving Canada's politics are becoming more diversified as immigrants take an increasing interest in the political life of the country. In the not too distant future when the more socially integrated children of the immigrants increase their participation in the national political process, Canada's political priorities both domestic and international may change. Already, the politics of British Columbia with a large population proportion of people of Asian decent is reflecting the new demographic and social reality. Canada's society and politics may be quite different in the next few decades. Consequently, the country may assume a different role, an internationalist role – the role of world leaders.

A leadership role demands both projecting a more desirable image to the world as well as connecting and unifying the nations which would be willing to build alliances with Canada. Considering the economic and technological level of development of many of these countries, and for other reasons, it would be necessary to establish an efficient information dissemination system. Such a system, as we have seen in the first chapter of this paper, is a foreign language radio service.



## CONSIDERATIONS

There are two basic choices in studying the project of international broadcasting with particular Canadian and international objectives: Firstly, (A) should a new foreign language international radio service outside the CBC fold be established and, secondly, (B) should Radio Canada International be revamped and redirected to carry out new objectives? Each choice has a different set of considerations. Some of the considerations in starting a new international radio service are discussed below:

### **Establishing a New Radio Service**

The move to establish a new foreign language international radio service has to contend with three processes: (1) Parliamentary agreement. (2) Regulatory permission. (3) Public and broadcasting industry reaction.

#### **1. Parliamentary Agreement**

Parliamentary approval is needed for setting up a new international radio. It is unlikely that the Parliament would agree to establish an international radio in view of the existence of the CBC and its Radio Canada International.

#### **2. Regulatory**

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunication Commission has licensed the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as the sole national broadcaster with responsibility for international short-wave broadcasting service. The granting of another radio license in the public realm would require changing CBC's present mandate which in turn would require amending the Broadcasting Act.

Moreover, Radio Canada International broadcasts on the short-wave frequency allocated to Canada by the International Telecommunication Union. The new international radio may not have a short-wave frequency to broadcast in.

### 3. Public and Broadcasting Industry Reaction

The move to establish a new public radio service can cause controversy among the general public, among provinces or at least in Quebec, and the broadcasting industry, public and private.

The general public may be seriously concerned about the spending of public funds on starting another international radio service that is directed at foreign audiences or domestic ethnic communities. Given the anxiousness over the future of Canadian economy, the move could run into considerable problems.

The private broadcasting industry may oppose the move as it is unlikely to agree to an expansion in public radio's monopoly on national broadcasting. The public broadcaster, CBC will naturally oppose the idea of sharing its broadcasting monopoly and a consequent reduction in its status.

In view of the above factors, this paper does not recommend establishing a new international radio service.

### **Revamping Radio Canada International (RCI)**

A relatively less complicated way to have a radio service with the desired mandate is to add a special broadcasting project to RCI's current broadcasting activity.

### Special Broadcasting Project

RCI resents being directed editorially by any outside agency. One way of placating CBC and RCI staff's professional and ethical apprehensions is to separate the proposed broadcast activity from their 'regular' activity work, designating it as a 'special broadcasting project' with a separate identity. (For instance, it may be called, 'Dialogue': Canada's special broadcasting project. )

The proposed broadcasting project will entail reducing the broadcast time of regular RCI programming on the short-wave but the radio does not produce much of its total programming. About 81 percent of its broadcasts comprises domestic English and French programming, a lot of which seem to be serving as fillers. For instance, all the English language programming for China consists of CBC domestic radio shows including the show, 'Richardson's Roundup' (starring 'Sad Goat') containing material that may not be easily understood by non-western people. In a daily broadcast cycle of 23 hours and 30 minutes on the short-wave, foreign language programming (in five languages) is done for 4.5 hours or 31.5 hours per week. This comes to 19.1 percent of total broadcast time. (RCI program schedule for April 7 to October 26, 2002.) There is thus spare time in RCI broadcasting schedule to accommodate the proposed special broadcasting project.

### PROPOSAL

In view of Radio's ability to reach all areas and people of the world, carrying desired messages whether they are in the field of conflict resolution or image-making and promotion, it is concluded that a Canadian international radio can serve Canada's

domestic and foreign interests and indeed, the interests of a large number of people of the world.

It is suggested that Radio Canada International should be revamped to help in:

- (i) Creating a more desirable image of Canada in the world. Radio Canada International should help in establishing an image of Canada reflecting her position as an advanced industrialized country with credentials and strengths that would benefit any country desirous of her cooperation and alliance.
- (ii) Furthering Canada's objective in international sustainable development as well as promoting the interests of the Canadian sustainable industry in the Developing Countries.

domestic and foreign interests along with the interests of a large number of people of the world.

It is suggested that Radio Canada International should be revamped to help in:

- (i) Creating a more desirable image of Canada in the world. Radio Canada International should help in establishing an image of Canada reflecting her position as an advanced industrialized country with credentials that would benefit nations desirous of her cooperation and alliance.
- (ii) Furthering Canada's objective in international sustainable development as well as promoting the interests of the Canadian sustainable industry in the Developing Countries.

### Regulatory Position

Since the planned broadcasting will take place as a 'special project' of CBC-RCI, it will most probably not require additional regulatory cover. The CBC could vacate some of its AM frequencies for rebroadcasting. (AM frequencies are increasingly becoming less popular.) It is expected that CBC will need a justification for broadcasting in foreign languages as it is mandated to broadcast only in Canada's two official languages. But 'CBC North' radio network broadcasts in aboriginal languages under the 1991 Broadcasting Act which directs CBC to "... serve the needs and

interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including... the...multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society..."<sup>3</sup>

The CRTC 1997 agenda for reviewing its policies for radio is guided by the considerations that, "Radio should provide service that is relevant to local communities; Programming should reflect Canada's linguistic duality; and Programming should reflect Canada's cultural diversity, including the needs and interests of aboriginal peoples."<sup>4</sup> A case could therefore be made to allow the CBC to domestically rebroadcast foreign language programming using the precedence of the aboriginal language broadcasts.

The domestic private broadcasting industry may object to the rebroadcasting but since such activity will not compete for advertising revenue, the industry may not be seriously concerned. Moreover, according to John Hylton, making representations to the CRTC is an expensive process, the private industry may not want to go that route.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> CRTC Public Notice 1998-135 dated 22 December 1988, "Review of the Broadcasting Policy Reflecting Canada's Linguistic and Cultural Diversity – Call for Comments" [Online]; accessed 01 September 2002; available from <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/archive/ENG/Notices/1999/.\.\Notices\1998\PB98-135.htm>; Internet.

<sup>4</sup> CRTC Public Notice 1997-105, "An Agenda For Reviewing the Commission's Policies for Radio" [Online]; accessed 23 September 2002; available from <http://www.ncra.ca/CRTC/Review/1997-105.htm>; Internet

<sup>5</sup> John Hylton, former commissioner, CRTC, interview by author 23 July 2002.

## **Forming the Special Broadcasting Project**

### **Supervision**

The broadcasting initiative should be organized under the policy and content control of Department of Canadian International Development Association (CIDA), Department of International Cooperation, Industry Canada and Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) in partnership with the Canadian Environmental Industry Association (CEIA) and associations of education and information providers.

### **Funding**

The four government departments should be jointly responsible for providing stable funding for the broadcasting project.

### **Operation**

The proposed foreign language radio service should be operated by CBC-RCI as a special broadcasting endeavour with a well-defined agenda and goals. The broadcasting project should have a distinct name to suggest its separate status within the current international broadcasting activity.

### **Logistics**

**Location:** The proposed foreign language broadcasting service should be based in the country's capital to have close and easy consultation and cooperation with the various government departments participating in the project.

*Working Facilities:* Office accommodation and studio space will have to be arranged in Ottawa. Either new space will have to be acquired or arrangements for the

use of existing CBC building and studios in Ottawa can be explored. Now that RCI is integrated into CBC, perhaps such an arrangement is more workable

*Staff:* Locating the service in Ottawa would mean that some of RCI's staff assigned to the project will have to move there from RCI headquarters in Montreal.

In a new location, with a fresh mandate, Radio Canada International may yet play a vital role for Canada, that of bridging divisions among the people of the world with ideas and dialogue and to help the country find its true place in the world.





## Appendix A

### **TIMELINE OF RADIO IN CANADA**

- 1852 The federal government passes the Telegraph Act.
- 1866 The first transatlantic telegraph link, via submarine cable, is built from Ireland to Newfoundland.
- 1876 Alexander Graham Bell, of Brantford, Ontario, develops the telephone. Bell conducts several important experiments in radio telegraphy. Founds the Bell Telephone Company, incorporated in 1888.
- 1901 On December 13, Guglielmo Marconi receives the Morse-code signal from England to Signal Hill, near St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1905 The Radiotelegraph Act – the first Canadian legislation on wireless communication – is passed. The Act is amended in 1913 to include radio-telephone technology.
- 1906 Reginald A. Fessenden, of Sherbrooke, Québec, broadcasts human voices and music from his station at Brant Rock, Massachusetts, to ships at sea.
- 1914 World War I begins, ends 1918. First time newspaper report on war using telegraphed dispatches. Concerns about use of telegraph for propaganda purposes. American scholar Walter Lippmann condemns public opinion formed and expressed through newspapers as being unworthy of "achieving mastery". Espouses a democratic government without public influence.
- 1918 The Department of Naval Service grants an experimental broadcast license to XWA, a Montreal radio station owned by Marconi.
- 1920 On May 20, XWA broadcasts the first scheduled radio program in the world. XWA later changes its call name to CFCF.
- 1922 February 18, first play-by-play broadcast of a hockey game over CFCA by *Toronto Star* reporter Norm Albert. On March 22, another *Toronto Star* reporter, Foster Hewitt, broadcasts live hockey commentary on CFCA and becomes the most famous hockey commentator in Canada.

Hockey programs considerably benefit Canadian radio as only they can pull Canadian listeners away from American stations. By 1933, Saturday night hockey games are broadcast across the country on twenty stations. Hockey is the most popular radio program in Canada in the next two decades. In 1952, Canadian television too start showing hockey games.

- 1923 Canadian National Railways (CNR) installs radio transmitters and receivers on trains to attract passengers. (By 1930, the CNR is establishing several radio stations.)

The Radiotelegraph Act amended to give only British subjects the right to apply for broadcasting licenses. This is meant to keep the American out of Canadian airwaves.

- 1925 Commercial broadcasting allowed in Canada with General Motors sponsoring hockey games. The company does not think that is a good way to sell cars and drops the sponsorship which is picked up by Imperial Oil. But radio broadcasting generally generates low revenues. Many Canadian radio stations increase revenues by joining resources with CBC and American networks during prime time: 7:30 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.

- 1926 Department of External Affairs posts first diplomatic representatives abroad. Canada's foreign policy like the United States', remains mainly isolationist. (House of Commons had agreed in 1909 to form Department of External Affairs.)

Radio is becoming a vehicle for asserting Canadian identity and sovereignty. Competition with American radio intensifies.

- 1927 (a) CNR broadcasts its first major network show on July 1 to audiences both on trains and at home.

- 1928 The House of Commons establishes a Royal Commission on Broadcasting in Canada to "inquire into the radio broadcasting situation throughout Canada, and to advise as to the future administration, management, control and finance thereof." Sir John Aird heads the Commission which presents its report to the House of Commons in September 1929. The Commission reported that "Canadian listeners want Canadian broadcasting."

The Commission recommends that a national broadcasting network be established and funded by the federal government. The Commission also asks the government to establish legislation against advertising on the air.

- 1929 Quebec contests the sole federal jurisdiction over broadcasting. Wants provinces to have broadcasting rights too. New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan join Quebec in the fight over broadcasting jurisdiction. The Quebec parliament passes Radio Broadcasting Act authorizing the provincial government to set up a broadcasting station. In 1931, the federal government makes a reference to the Supreme Court (February 17) which decides 3-2 in favour of the federal government. Quebec appeals the decision to the Privy Council in London. The Privy Council denies the appeal.

- 1930 Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt form the Canadian Radio League to protect Canadian radio against American radio influence and its "cheap programmes."
- 1932 Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 creates the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), replacing the CNR as Canada's radio system. CRBC is mandated to regulate all broadcasting in Canada as well as to provide a national radio service. Its responsibilities include determining the time to be spent on Canadian programming. CRBC is to have an English language radio network to be called Trans Canada. Another network named the Dominion Network, is created in 1938. The CRBC puts into practice a \$2 licence fee for radio owners.
- 1936 (a) CRBC gives dramatic coverage to the mine collapse at Moose River, Nova Scotia and Canadians as well as Americans and the British are riveted to the radio.
- (b) The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is created after an amendment to the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act. CBC, a Crown corporation, takes over the CRBC and its 8 public and 14 private stations.
- 1937 (a) Six unoccupied frequencies are allotted to Canadian radio stations following a decision made at the Havana Conference. Radio now reaches 76 percent of the Canadian population.
- (b) CBC Board of Governors endorses proposal to start a short-wave radio service. The next year (1938), the House of Commons Standing Committee on Radio Broadcasting endorses the proposal to start a short-wave service.
- 1938 The first "farm broadcast" begin on April 11. The broadcasts provide information and entertainment adapted to rural life.
- 1939 World War II starts but Canadians can no longer rely on American stations for news, as the US has not yet entered the war. Newspapers are unable to keep pace with rapid developments in Europe.
- 1940 The Canadian Press gives the CBC free news which is broadcast to all over the country. CBC also broadcasts programmes for Canadian soldiers fighting overseas. These broadcasts are made using the BBC facilities in London, England.
- 1942 (a) The Canadian Association of Broadcasters, formed in 1926, requests that a standard be developed for on-air advertising. This leads to the formation of the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM).

- (b) The House of Commons Standing Committee on Radio Broadcasting recommends that a short-wave service be started immediately.
- 1944 (a) First test broadcast of CBC International Service.
  - (b) Beginning of radio's so-called "golden age," lasting ten years during which radio programming greatly increases.
- 1945 (a) CBC International Service formally launched on 25 February.
  - (b) Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis introduces bill in March to establish a provincial broadcasting service, to be called 'Radio-Quebec'. The Service was to have the power to set-up radio stations or to acquire private stations.
  - (c) *Le Devoir* writes, March 21: Radio-Canada a été un artisan fanatique de l'imperialisme" ("Radio-Canada is a fanatical craftsman of imperialism").
  - (d) World War II ends in Europe after Germany surrenders on 08 May. (Japan surrenders on 02 September.)
  - (e) Beginning of the Cold War, 1945
- 1946 (a) Government policy to disallow the issuance of broadcasting licenses "to other governments or corporations owned by other governments," May 3.
  - (b) Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis on May 7 condemns the above-mentioned decision:

It would be inconceivable to me that the federal authorities would want a radio monopoly in a country where liberty of speech...is consecrated by the constitution and tradition....Quebec in particular is interested, and rightly so, in having its voice heard...and the right to reply when insults and slanders are hurled at her....It should also be remembered that the province has exclusive rights in matters of education, and radio is a very important medium of education. (Quoted in Frank Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1920-51*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969. 376.)
- 1952 Fall: CBC begins broadcasting television programs. Radio relegated to second place in importance.
- 1955 The Fowler Commission is established to examine the state of broadcasting in Canada.
- 1957 The Commission concludes that the CBC should no longer be responsible for regulating Canadian broadcasting. It also notes that foreign ownership of

Canadian radio stations could become a problem if restrictions are not established.

- 1958 The Broadcast Board of Governors is created. The Board takes the responsibilities for the regulation of broadcasting and the promotion of Canadian talent on radio.
- 1962 Dominion Network dropped, leaving the Trans Canada Network to be the only English-language network in Canada.
- During the 1960s, as the CBC faces financial trouble, private stations successfully develop programs suited to particular target audiences such as teenagers, young people, and older listeners.
- 1965 The Fowler report is released recommending, among other measures, that CBC radio focus more on local/regional programming.
- 1968 The Canadian Radio-television Commission (present name, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission) is formed as part of the Broadcasting Act, according to recommendations by the Fowler Commission.
- 1970 The Meggs-Ward report highlights CBC radio's poor situation. One of its recommendations is the formation of a two-part radio system (Radio One, for news and light entertainment, and Radio Two, for extended arts and news programs.) FM broadcasting makes this system practicable.
- 1981 The Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert) begins reviewing the visual and performing arts, heritage, publishing, sound recording, film, broadcasting the National Library and Archives, international cultural relations, the respective roles of the federal cultural agencies and the government itself. Issues Report in 1982.
- 1986 Federal Task Force On Broadcasting Policy (Caplan-Sauvageau) to make recommendations "on an industrial and cultural strategy to govern the future evolution of the Canadian broadcasting system through the remainder of this century...". Report presented 1988.
- 1991 The Broadcasting Act is amended.
- 1992 The Task Force on Digital Radio, overseeing the development of digital radio in Canada, is created.
- 1993 A new Telecommunications Act is passed.



Appendix B

**TIMELINE OF RADIO CANADA INTERNATIONAL**

- 1937 CBC Board of Governors endorses proposal to start a short-wave radio service. The Board Chairman, L.W. Brockington, writes to Prime Minister Mackenzie King that such a move would "enhance national prestige; foster international goodwill; and project Canadian culture."

The next year (1938), the House of Commons Standing Committee on Radio Broadcasting endorses the proposal, stressing that the project should be financed as a national project, operated and controlled by the Corporation."

- 1938 The first "farm broadcast" begin on April 11. The broadcasts provide information and entertainment adapted to rural life.

- 1939 (a) World War II starts. Use of radio for wartime broadcasts. The Financial Post newspaper reports that "Canadian trade commissioners posted world-wide were demanding the establishment of a short-wave service for use as a sales weapon."

(b) An editorial in the Regina 'Star' accuses the government of shelving short-wave project out of fear of offending US isolationist views.

(c) E.L. Bushnell, general supervisor of programming, CBC writes, "if we in Canada are to maintain our proper place in the world of today, we must be in a position to let other nations know of what is taking place within our boundaries." (Hall, 1997)

(d) René Morin, Chairman CBC Board of Governors says if the government wants a powerful short-wave transmitter, it should finance it. He says funds generated for CBC through license fees are for domestic service.

- 1942 CBC-International Service founded.

- 1943 (a) Peter Aylen selected to organize CBC-International Service.

(b) Montreal chosen as production centre for CBC-International Service.

- 1944 (a) Commissioning of two 50 kw short-wave transmitters at Sackville, N.B.

(b) Maurice Duplessis' second term as Prime Minister of Quebec. (First term 1936-39). Against assimilation and fiscal centralization. Leaves 1959.

(c) First test broadcast of CBC-International Service.

- 1945 CBC-International Service begins formal operations after being launched by PM Mackenzie King on 25 February. Broadcasts in English, French and German.
- 1946 (a) Louis St. Laurent becomes Secretary of State for External Affairs. First Francophone to fill the post.
- (b) Lester Pearson appointed Under Secretary of State.
- (c) In the next four years, broadcasts begin in Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Italian, Norwegian, Portuguese, Spanish, Swedish.
- 1947 (a) Peter Aylen, General Supervisor of International Service, resigns.
- (b) Ira Dilworth appointed General Supervisor.
- (c) International Service provides transmission facilities for daily broadcasts for the UN (1947-52)
- 1948 (a) PM Mackenzie King retires.
- (b) St. Laurent becomes Prime Minister. Leaves 1957.
- (c) Pearson appointed Secretary of State/Minister of External Affairs. Leaves 1957. Becomes prime minister, 1963, leaves 1968.
- 1950 First International Service budget cut, 10.2%
- 1951 (a) Russian service started
- (b) Ira Dilworth retires, reassigned to CBC.
- 1952 (a) Ukrainian service started.
- (b) Jean Desy appointed Director General. Leaves 1953.
- 1954 (a) Charles Delafield appointed Director.
- (b) First major budget cut at International Service.
- (c) CBC-IS broadcasting more than 16 hours of programming daily
- (d) Second budget cut about 18% and first restructuring. Program cuts.
- 1957 Diefenbaker becomes Prime Minister, keeps external affairs portfolio.



*Appendix* Timeline of RCI

- 1961 Budget cut by 15%, reduced to \$1.7 million.
- 1962 (a) Reorganisation of International Service. Facing unexpected budgetary cut.  
(b) Third short-wave transmitter (50 kw) inaugurated at Sackville; NB.; improved reception in Europe and Africa.
- 1964 Abolishment threat.
- 1965 Report of the Committee on Broadcasting (Fowler) supports CBC International Service.
- 1966 Secretary of State Judy LaMarsh prepares a 'White Paper' endorsing the Broadcasting Committee's recommendations.
- 1967 (a) Plays Major role at 'EXPO 67.'  
(b) Abolishment threat.
- 1968 Total budgetary merger with CBC.
- 1970 RCI directors successfully fight to free the service from direction by Department of External Affairs. Department's say limited to specifying broadcast languages and target geographic areas.
- 1971 New 250 kw transmitters (five times more powerful than existing ones).
- 1972 (a) Renamed Radio Canada International.  
(b) Vacates Radio Canada Building and moves into the new CBC-owned facility, La Maison de Radio-Canada.
- 1973 (a) (Director) Charles Delafield retires after 20 years as Director. (1953-1973)  
(b) Allan Brown appointed Director. Retires 1978.
- 1978 RCI budget suffers 30 % budget cut (by \$1.5 million). Several staff members go on early retirement, including Director Alan Brown.
- 1979 Betty Zimmerman becomes Director. Retires January 1989.
- 1980 (a) Budget cuts, abolishment threat.  
(b) RCI moves out of La Maison de Radio-Canada into a smaller building. as it cannot not afford to pay rent to CBC.

*Appendix* Timeline of RCI

- 1981 A federal report stresses the need to maintain the editorial independence of RCI in any new financial arrangement.
- 1984 Japanese broadcasts begun.
- 1986 Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy issued. (Caplan-Sauvageau Report) Supports RCI.
- 1989 (a) Chinese broadcasts begin.
- (b) Andrew Simon new Executive Director.
- (c) Arabic broadcasts to Middle East begin during war against Iraq.
- 1990 Canada's new Communications Act requires Canada to always maintain an international broadcasting service.
- 1991 (a) Fall of communism and end of Cold War.
- (b) CBC says it cannot afford to operate RCI.
- (c) RCI put under the umbrella of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Government announces separate (but less, \$12.5 million) funding for RCI for 5 years. Money to come from Department of Foreign Affairs.
- (d) Budget reduced from \$22 million to \$12.5 million. More than half of the 200 staff lose jobs, 6 out of 13 language services dropped.
- (e) Executive Director Andrew Simon placed on early retirement. Allan Familiant becomes Acting Executive Director.
- (f) Terry Hargreaves appointed Executive Director.
- 1992 RCI starts producing programs for the Canadian Forces Network after the closing of CFN studios in Lahr, Germany.
- 1994 (a) A Senate Committee on Transportation and Communication recommends that full funding (over \$20 million) for RCI be restored. Report shelved.
- (b) The Joint Commons-Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs suggests that RCI's role in promoting Canada be expanded.
- 1995 (a) RCI placed under the financial control of CBC in the 1995 budget.
- (b) CBC says it cannot financially afford to keep RCI functioning. Announces

*Appendix*   Timeline of RCI

RCI would cease operations on 31 March 1996.

- 1996 (a) Deputy P.M. Sheila Copps arranges funds to keep RCI on the air in 1996.
- (b) RCI narrowly escapes closure because the one-year Government/CBC cost-sharing agreement for funding RCI was nearing its end and had not been renewed.
- (c) Government announces it would provide funding for RCI for 1997-1998.
- 1997 Robert O'Reilly becomes Director.
- 1998 Government announces additional \$15 million for RCI to be spent over 3 years for replacing and upgrading its technical and production equipment.
- 1999 (a) RCI boosts its original programming by 14.5 per cent.
- (b) Inauguration of new transmitters in Sackville.
- (c) RCI moves back into La Maison de Radio-Canada.
- 2001 (a) CBC President announces review of RCI Mandate.
- (b) May: RCI Executive Director Robert O'Reilly presents a "Redeployment Plan." Cuts programming including news on weekend.
- (c) May: Robert O'Reilly 'retires' suddenly.
- (d) June: Dennis Doucet of CBC French Radio appointed RCI Director.
- (e) August: Doucet leaves RCI.
- (f) October: James Larin becomes director; announces: "A chapter in RCI's history is now closed."
- (g) October: Programming expanded, restart of news broadcasts on weekend in the aftermath of September 11 attacks on US.
- 2002 RCI technical staff go on strike along with CBC technicians.



## Appendix C

### **CHRONOLOGY OF CBC'S LAND GIFT RETURN**

- 1939 (a) CBC decides to provide permanent headquarters in Montreal for its studios and offices.
- (b) City of Montreal gifted 100,000 sq.ft. (worth \$100,000) of land to CBC to build its studios and offices.
- 1941 Interdepartmental Committee cost estimate for building transmitters etc., for International Service, \$1,200,000.
- 1943 House of Commons Standing Committee presents capital and operational cost estimate for IS at \$1,300,000.
- 1945 CBC writes letter showing no interest in retaining the plot
- 1946 CBC refuses to utilize the land and returns it to the city.
- 1947 CBC having dire office space problem in Montreal; faces prospects of no studio space in Montreal.
- 1948 (a) The government allocates funds for acquiring building for the International Service offices and studios.
- (b) CBC purchases Ford Hotel building in Montreal.
- (c) CBC starts moving into the Ford Hotel building, renamed Radio-Canada Building in Montreal.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### BOOKS

- Alleyne, Mark D. *International Power and International Communication*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Ang, Ien. "The Nature of the Audience." In *Questioning the Media: An Introduction*, John Downing, Ali Mohammadi and Anabelle Sreberny Mohammadi, eds. 155-65. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995.
- Aster, Howard, ed. *Challenges for International Broadcasting*. Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1991.
- Behiels, Michael D., ed. *Quebec Since 1945: Selected Readings*. Toronto: Copp, Clark, Pitman Ltd, 1987.
- Bird, Roger, ed. *Documents of Canadian Broadcasting*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988.
- Briggs, Asa. *The BBC: The First Fifty Years*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Governing the BBC*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979.
- Browne, Donald R. *International Broadcasting: The Limits of the Limitless Medium*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982.
- Burns, Tom. *The BBC: Public Institution and Private World*. London: Macmillan Press, 1977.
- Cormer, John, "Meaning, Genre and Context: The Problematics of 'Public Knowledge' in the New Audience Series." In *Mass Media and Society*, 2nd ed. James Curran and Michael Gurevitch, eds. New York: St. Martin's, 1996.
- Demers, Francois, Howard Aster and Elzbieta Olechowska, eds. *Challenges for International Broadcasting, New Democracies: the Means and the Message*. Cap-Rouge, Quebec: Les Presses Inter Universitaire, 1993.
- Dissanayake, Wimal. "The Need for Asian Approaches to Communication." In *Communication Theory: The Asian Perspective*, W. Dissanayanke, ed., Singapore: Asian Media Information and Communication Centre, 1988.
- Ellis, David. *Evolution of the Canadian Broadcasting System 1928-1968*. Ottawa: Department of Communications, 1979.

- Fischer, Heinz-Dietrich and John Calhoun Merrill, eds. *International and Intercultural Communication*. New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1974.
- Hale, Julian. *Radio Power: Propaganda and International Broadcasting*. London: Paul Elek, 1975.
- Hamilton III, John E. *"We Know They're Out There Somewhere": Evaluating the Audience Research Methods of International Radio Broadcasters, A Case Study of Radio Canada International*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Windsor, 1987.
- Halhed, Dick. *Radio – The Remote Years*. Scarborough, ON: Webcom, 1981.
- Hall, James L. *Radio Canada International*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997.
- Hallman, Eugene. *Broadcasting in Canada*. Toronto: Toronto General Publishing, 1997.
- Head, Sydney W. *World Broadcasting Systems: A Comparative Analysis*. Belmont: Wedsworth Publishing Company, 1985.
- Hilliker, John and Donald Barry, *Canada's Department of External Affairs: Coming of Age, 1946-1968, Volume 2*. Montreal: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada and McGill-Queens University Press, 1995.
- Kuhn, Raymond, ed. *The Politics of Broadcasting*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985.
- Lambert, R.S. *Mass Media in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.
- Mytton, Graham, ed. *Global Audiences: Research for Worldwide Broadcasting 1993*. London: John Libbey, 1993.
- Nash, Knowlton. *The Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayal at the CBC*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994.
- Nordenstreng, Kaarle and Herbert I. Schiller, eds. *Beyond National Sovereignty: International Communication in the 1990s*. Norwood, NJ.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1995.
- Peers, Frank W. *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting 1920-51*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- Raboy, Marc. *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.



Siegel, Arthur. *Politics and the Media in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Radio Canada International: History and Development*. Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1996.

Skelton, Barbara and Bernard Bumpus. *Communication and Society: Seventy Years of International Broadcasting*. Paris, UNESCO, 1984.

Thompson, John B. *Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES

Bardoel, Jo. "Beyond Journalism: A Profession between Information Society and Civil Society," *European Journal of Communication* vol. 11 no. 3 (1996): 283-302.

Chan, Joseph Man. "Medium Democracy and Globalisation: A Comparative Perspective," *Media Development* vol. XLIX, no. 1 (2002): 39-41.

Chang, Yu-Li. "From Globalisation to Localization." *Asian Journal of Communication* vol. 11, no. 1 (2001): 1-24.

Harrison, Thomas. "Only a Democratic Foreign Policy can Combat Terrorism." *New Politics: A Journal of Socialist Thought* vol. VIII, no 4 (2002): 24-42.

Howard, Michael. "What's in a Name? How to Fight Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*, January and February 2002. New York: Council on Foreign Relations. 8-13.

Khan, Rashid Ahmed, "The Social and Cultural Factors of Urbanisation in Pakistan," *The Journal of Development Communication* vol. 12, no. 1 (2001): 15-27.

McQuail, Denis. "Some Reflections on the Western Bias of Media Theory," *Asian Journal of Communication* vol. 10, no. 2 (2000): 1-13.

Monbiot, George. "A Parliament for the Planet," *New Internationalist*, January and February (2002): 12-14.

Morley, David. "Active Audience Theory: Pendulums and Pitfalls." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1993. 13-19.

- Park, Hong-Won. "A Gramscian Approach to Interpreting International Communication," *Journal of Communication* vol. 48, no. 4 (1998): 79-99.
- Schoenbach, Klaus. "Myths of Media and Audiences: Inaugural Lecture as Professor of General Communication Science, University of Amsterdam." *European Journal of Communication* vol. 16, no. 3, 2001. London: Sage Publications. 361-376.
- Servaes, Jan. "Reflections on the Differences in Asian and European Values and Communication Modes," *Asian Journal of Communication* vol. 10, no. 2 (2000): 53-70.
- Shen, Vincent and Georgette Wang. "East, West, Communication and Theory: Searching for the Meaning of Searching for Asian Communication Theories," *Asian Journal of Communication* vol. 10, no. 2 (2000): 14-32.
- Sinebare, Musawe. "One-Way Information Flow: The Case of Australian TV Channels Received in Papua New Guinea," *Media Asia* vol. 24, no. 1 (1997): 33-39.
- Sampedro, Victor. "Grounding the Displaced: Local Media Reception in a Transnational Context," *Journal of Communication* vol. 48, no. 2 (1998): 125-143.
- Tehrani, Majid. "Communication and Theories of Social Change: A Communitarian Perspective," *Asian Journal of Communication* vol. 2, no. 1 (1991): 1-30.
- Tomlinson, John. "A Phenomenology of Globalization? Giddens on Global Modernity," *European Journal of Communication* vol. 9, no. 2 (1994): 149-172.
- Verstraeten, Hans. "The Media and the Transformation of the Public Sphere: A Contribution for a Critical Political Economy of the Public Sphere," *European Journal of Communication* vol. 11 no. 3 (1996): 283-302.
- Wagner, Douglas K, Stewart M. Hoover, Shalini Singh Venturelli. "Trends in Global Communication Policy Making: Lessons from the Asian Case," *Asian Journal of Communication* vol. 3, no. 1 (1993): 103-132.
- Waisbord, Silvio. "When the Cart of Media is Before the Horse of Identity: A Critique of Technology-Centered Views on Globalization," *Communication Research* vol. 25, no. 4 (1998): 377-398.
- Youichi, Ito. "What Causes the Similarities and Differences among the Social Sciences in Different Cultures? Focusing on Japan and the West," *Asian Journal of Communication* vol. 10, no. 2 (2000): 93-123.

## REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, "Canada's Brand in Asia," *Canada Asia Commentary*, no. 15, October 2000 [Online]; accessed 22 August 2002; available from <http://www.asiapacific.ca/analysis/pubs/pdfs/cac15.pdf>; Internet.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Report on Canadian Media's Perceptions of Asia* [Online]; accessed 3 October 2000; available from <http://www.asiapacific.ca>; Internet.

Canada. Advisory Committee on Broadcasting. *Report*. [Committee Chairman was Robert Fowler.] Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Building for the Future: Towards a Distinctive CBC*. [Prepared by Francis Fox.] Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Canadian Voices Canadian Choices: A New Broadcasting Policy for Canada*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1988.

\_\_\_\_\_. Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee. *Report*. [Committee co-chairmen were Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert.] Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1982.

\_\_\_\_\_. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on External Affairs. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*. 30 May 1951, 19 February 1953, 23 February 1953, 26 February 1953, 17 March 1953, 12 March 1953,

\_\_\_\_\_. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on Radio Broadcasting. *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence*. 11 June 1943, 25-26 July 1946, 9 May 1947, 5 & 8 June 1950, 6 April 1953, 17 June 1953

\_\_\_\_\_. *Report on the 1996 National Forum on Canada's International Relations*. Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1997 [Online]; accessed 14 November 2001; available from <http://www.cfp-pec.gc.ca/NationalForum/nf96-e.htm>; Internet.

\_\_\_\_\_. Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting. *Report*. [Commission Chairman was Sir John Aird.] Ottawa: King's Printer, 1929.

\_\_\_\_\_. Royal Commission on Broadcasting. *Report*. [Commission Chairman was Robert Fowler.] Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1957.

\_\_\_\_\_. Secretary of State. *White Paper on Broadcasting*. Prepared by Judy LaMarsh. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966.

\_\_\_\_\_. Task Force on Broadcasting Policy. *Report*. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1986.

\_\_\_\_\_. Task Force on Broadcasting Policy. *Report*. [Task Force co-chairmen were Gerald Caplan and Florian Sauvageau.] Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1986.

Challenges VI: Programming the Heart of International Broadcasting. *Report of the Conference on Challenges for International Broadcasting, Montreal 2000* [Online]; accessed 12 March 2001; available from <http://www.challenges.ca/en/-06.htm>; Internet.

#### ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Canada. Public Archives of Canada. Privy Council Office Records. Ser.RG 2, vol. 181.

\_\_\_\_\_. Public Archives of Canada. Privy Council Office Records. Ser.RG 2, vol. 8.

\_\_\_\_\_. Public Archives of Canada. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records. Ser. RG 41-1, vol. 988.

\_\_\_\_\_. Public Archives of Canada. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Records. Ser. RG 41-1, vol. 549.

\_\_\_\_\_. Public Archives of Canada. Department of External Affairs Records. Ser. RG 25, vol. 10964-10966.

#### CBC AND RCI PUBLICATIONS

Andrew K. Finnie. *History of Radio Canada International*. Montreal: Radio Canada International, 1996.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Let's Do It! A Vision of Canadian Broadcasting: Proposal by the CBC to the Federal Task Force on Broadcasting Policy*. Ottawa: CBC, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The CBC — A Perspective: Submission to the CRTC in Support of Application for Renewal of Network Licenses*. Ottawa: CBC, 1979.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Strategy of the CBC*. Ottawa: 1983.