

**The Development of Community Radio in Quebec:
The Rise of Community Broadcasting in Late 1960s and Early 1970s Canada**

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ABSTRACT

Canadian community radio currently serves listeners in a way that is distinct from public or commercial broadcasting, a role enforced by policy, but how did community radio come to establish itself within Canadian broadcast policy, and what might have instigated or shaped its development? It is the purpose of this paper is to examine the development of community radio in one region of Canada, the province of Quebec—where early developments in community media were quite prominent—and to illustrate the political, technological, and cultural factors that influenced its development during the late 1960s and early 1970s. As well, this paper briefly highlights some of the developments in Canadian community radio that followed the establishment of community stations in Quebec, such as the licensing of campus-community stations in the mid 1970s.

The development of community radio in Canada, particularly its inclusion in Canadian broadcast policy, can be traced to the early 1970s, roughly two decades after what is commonly cited as the first instance of listener-sponsored radio in North America—The Pacifica Foundation’s KPFA in Berkeley, California in 1949. The comparatively late development of Canadian community radio can be attributed to such factors as the decline of localism in private broadcasting as a result of media consolidation, and an emphasis on outlining the role of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) within Canadian broadcast policy from 1936 up until the present day (Raboy 1990, Hilliard and Keith, 2005).

Currently, community radio is part of Canada's broadcast environment—alongside commercial, public, satellite, and digital radio—and is heard on University campuses, large urban centers, Northern aboriginal communities, and rural farmland, amongst a variety of other places. Canadian community radio currently serves listeners in a way that is distinct from public or commercial broadcasting, a role enforced by policy, but how did community radio come to establish itself within Canadian broadcast policy, and what might have instigated or shaped its development? It is the purpose of this paper is to examine the development of community radio in one region of Canada, the province of Quebec—where early developments in community media were quite prominent—and to illustrate the political, technological, and cultural factors that influenced its development during the late 1960s and early 1970s. As well, this paper briefly highlights some of the developments in Canadian community radio that followed the establishment of community stations in Quebec, such as the licensing of campus-community stations in the mid 1970s.

Conceptualizing Community Radio

The parameters of community radio are somewhat difficult to succinctly define, particularly because the concept of a “community” is open to a variety of ideas and theories. A number of alternative and community media scholars, however, offer sound and influential definitions. In *Community Media: People, Places and Communication Technologies*, Kevin Howley defines community media as “grassroots or locally oriented media access initiatives” that express and react to dissatisfaction with commercial media form and content, and are “committed to enhancing community relations and promoting community solidarity” (Howley 2005, 2). As well, community media are sometimes

expected to promote and generate social and technological change on the lives of “disparate groups” (Howley 2005, 38). The “general” definition of community media given by Ellie Rennie adds to the characteristics highlighted by Howley. She notes that the International Association of Media and Communication Research came up with an appropriate definition that defines community media as those which originate, circulate and resonate ““from the sphere of civil society....This is the field of media communication that exists outside of the state and the market (often non-government and non-profit), yet which may interact with both”” (Rennie 2006, 4). Such definitions are helpful in generally introducing concepts associated with community *media*, but ideas about the “community” can also be specifically connected to broadcasting.

The prefix “community,” according to Peter Lewis, had been used in North America during the late 1960s to refer to cable community television, signifying local community involvement in production and ownership (Lewis 2006, 17). Eventually the prefix was linked with radio broadcasting to describe “radio *by* the people *for* the people” (Lewis 2006, 16). A community-based ethos is appropriate for the medium of radio, as it is affordable, easy to use, and “by far the most ubiquitous form of electronic media around the world” (Howley 2005, 258). The ubiquity of radio is also illustrated by writers and academics who describe community interaction with the medium. For instance, in *Not the BBC/IBA*, Simon Partridge claims that community radio “could be your cause, your hobby, or your job,” speaking as though participation with radio can be casual and informal, suggesting ease of access (Partridge 1982, 2). Access is central to community radio, especially considering that the “community or communities for whom the station exists manage the policy, make the programs, and deliberately choose to

broadcast content suited to their needs” (Lewis 2006, 15). Community radio, then, is very much about access, participation, and broadcasting content that is directed at a local community.

Pacifica Radio: Setting the Stage for Community Radio in North America

The beginning of listener-sponsored radio in North America is often cited as the Pacifica Foundation’s launch of KPFA in Berkeley, California. The station was first broadcast in 1949, two years after its first application for a radio license was denied in 1947. Central to the licensing of KPFA was a move by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to reserve 20 of the 100 available channels for non-commercial use (Lewis and Booth 1989, 116). The founder of the Pacifica Foundation, Lewis Hill, envisioned a broadcasting system that would be “supported directly by its listeners whose lives would be informed and enriched by its existence [,]...bypass the restrictions of advertising bias...and be free to broadcast the full and uncensored range of political views in America” (Fromm 1966, 1). Pacifica’s broadcasting philosophy would influence subsequent listener-sponsored and community radio stations throughout North America, such as KPFK Los Angeles in 1959 and WBAI New York City in 1960 (Fairchild 2001, 139).

Evidently, the development of these stations was rooted in both policy and ideology. It was pertinent that the FCC reserved channels for non-commercial use, and Hill’s broadcast philosophy was central to establishing a radio station that was structured differently from commercial or public broadcasters. In Quebec, policy and ideology would also contribute to the development of community radio stations approximately twenty years later.

Canadian Broadcast Policy in the 1960s

In the mid to late 1960s, the role of Canadian radio broadcasting was fairly uncertain, particularly because television had replaced radio as the dominant entertainment medium. Television's role as the primary entertainment medium in the mid-sixties influenced much of the 1965 Report on Canadian Broadcasting, arguably because the CBC was more focused on television at the time. The report references Marshall McLuhan in order to address the influence of television on radio, quoting him to emphasize the effects of television on radio, which had "been to shift radio from an entertainment media into a kind of nervous information system" (Canada 1965, 50). Despite prioritizing television throughout the majority of the report, it arguably ends on a positive note for the trajectory of Canadian radio. For example, it notes that "after surviving the psychological and economic impact of television, radio as a medium of mass-communication now needs careful reassessment", and "with its lower cost, radio is an ideal vehicle for the development of new talent—writers, producers and directors, actors and musicians" (Canada 1965, 265, 268). Furthermore, the report recognizes the need for the CBC to strengthen its local and regional radio program service, which is a prominent instance of broadcast policy shifting away from nation-wide interests, of which it tends to dwell on in prior policy documents (Canada 1965, 269). The Report on Canadian Broadcasting in 1965 hints at near-future developments in radio broadcasting, calling out for radio broadcasters to "free your radio policies from the shackles of past practices and traditions. Get Going!" (Canada 1965, 270). This quote is progressive in the sense it emphasizes moving away from "past practices and traditions," an idea that

relates to the ideologies and concepts that would soon influence the development of community radio in Quebec.

Following the 1965 Report on Canadian Broadcasting, was the 1968 Broadcasting Act. As noted retrospectively in 1986 by the Report of the Task Force in Broadcasting Policy, the 1968 Act was generated within a period of expanding broadcasting in an expanding country: “The large postwar influx of people into the cities from the country, together with the baby boom and heavy immigration, was transforming urban Canada, creating an environment in which mass media flourished” (Canada 1986, 14-15).

Perhaps the most important change brought forth by the 1968 Broadcasting Act was replacing the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) with the Canadian Radio Television Commission (CRTC), which became the official licensor of new stations. In addition to licensing, the CRTC would regulate “programming, advertising, and other uses of the channel or wavelength which the licensee may use for specified periods of time” (Cooper 1974, 12). Certain segments of the 1968 Broadcasting Act, however, reiterate the sort of terminology and ideology that defined the CBC as a vehicle for catering to the needs of a vast nation. For instance, as stated in Section 3 (g), the mandate of the “national broadcasting service of information” should “be extended to all parts of Canada, as public funds become available; be in English and French, serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information, and entertainment” (Szigetvari 1989, 31). While this section of the Broadcasting Act acknowledges the needs of specific “geographic regions”, the following section explicitly associates national public broadcasting with national identity and unity. The following section states: the national broadcasting service should “(iv) contribute to

the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity” (Szigetvari 1989, 31). This nationalist emphasis exemplifies the tendency for broadcast policy to think nationally rather than locally, and retracts on the progressive statements made in the 1965 report. The environment in which the 1968 Broadcast Act was situated, however, was quite different than that of previous policy documents. The changing political, cultural, and technological environment of the sixties would cut through the policy, and ideas expressed within smaller urban and rural communities would initiate community media projects.

The Political, Cultural, and Technological Environment of the Late 1960s

In *Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada’s Broadcast Policy*, Marc Raboy argues that by the time the 1968 Broadcasting Act was adopted, it was already insufficient to deal with Canada’s changing political and technological environment (Raboy 1990, 180). The content of a report conducted by Jean McNulty in 1979—researched under contract from the federal Department of Communications—examines a number of political, technological and cultural factors that contributed to the development of community radio in Canada during the mid to late 1960s. The report, titled *Other Voices in Broadcasting*, argues that “the origins and ideas for the development of new forms of local programming in Canada stem from ideas about social change and the democratization of society which were prevalent in the 1960s” (McNulty 1979, viii). McNulty adds that the social trends of the sixties include an examination of rights regarding access to information, and a reaction against government control of the information that citizens needed to make intelligent and democratic voting choices in elections and referenda (McNulty 1979, 56). In general, McNulty claims that a reaction

against “big” and centralized government in the sixties would help set the foundations for the development of community radio in Canada (McNulty 1979, 57).

The late 1960s and early 1970s also marked the beginning of significant ideas concerning alternative and community media within Canadian broadcast policy, while at the same time, the CBC was repetitively regarded as being too centralized, state-owned, and hierarchical to match the politics and the “spirit” of the sixties and early seventies (Raboy 1990, 12). In McNulty’s words, “the scale and rapidity of development of local programming has been due to the availability of government funds and other aid over the past ten years”, although “it would be wrong to conclude...that federal government and CBC initiatives have been the key ingredient in the creation of new local programming (McNulty 1979, viii, 33). McNulty emphasizes the developments made by individuals on a local level and illustrates that in addition to government funding, local broadcasting and programming primarily requires the lack of local broadcasting services and the need for alternative media content to counter-balance the programming of commercial media, which was increasingly sounding similar from station to station (McNulty 1979, viii). Evidently, local broadcasting also requires the support of a staff or volunteers, and the necessary technical broadcasting equipment. McNulty emphasizes this point, highlighting a proliferating notion of participatory democracy and social change in the sixties, especially among young, educated Canadians. The idea of participatory democracy is also cited in the emergence of new community-based initiatives in the late sixties such as the “Company of Young Canadians” and “Opportunities for Youth” (Wilkinson 1988, 7).

An additional factor contributing to ideas that would influence the development of community radio in Canada was the increasing relevance of technological development. The capacity to utilize electronic recording equipment, such as hand-held video recorders, allowed for individuals (primarily young and politically-charged students) to record and present “their versions of what was newsworthy”, which “could be used to counter the monopoly of information dissemination which the mass media seemed to exert” (McNulty 1979, 28). Such ideas, stemming from increased access to technology, helped stimulate and advocate for the development of alternative media and community broadcasting.

Echoing McNulty’s report, additional perspectives offer insight into the political and cultural environment surrounding Canadian broadcasting in the late sixties and early seventies. In her 1997 M.A. Thesis, *Beyond Polarity: Campus-Community Radio and New Relations of Power in Radio Broadcasting Policy in Canada*, Lisa Monk cites research conducted by Jean Ogilvie to illustrate that “the 1970s spawned a more liberal (rather than conserving and preserving the nationalist vision alone) view of Canadian ‘diversity’”, and “it is possible that this idea of diversity was spearheaded by new government initiatives and policy on multiculturalism” (Monk 1997, 53). In 1971, for instance, the federal government’s multiculturalism policy set up various programs to aid cultural groups in preserving their heritage(s). Government multicultural policy was significant as it was less focused on catering to a single, all-encompassing nation, but rather acknowledged Canadian multiculturalism that, in turn, helped foster ideas about local and community radio stations across the nation.

Community Radio and Quebec

The political climate of Quebec during the sixties and early seventies makes for a particularly rich and interesting look into the development of community radio in Canada, as the idea of alternative media was closely tied to provincial political movements that were notably distinct from the federal agenda. For instance, in 1968, Marcel Pepin the president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions “denounced the commercial media for placing profit above the public interest, and called on the union movement and its supporters to create independent vehicles for ‘people’s’ or ‘popular’ information” (Raboy 1990, 200). The late sixties in Quebec were also a time of social and cultural change, with “a new middle class and new elites, a rising standard of living, widespread secularism, and higher levels of education among the French-speaking population” (Stiles and Lachance 1988,11). Quebec, because of its political and cultural context in the late sixties, developed community media to serve a purpose that much of the province felt was not being served by public and private broadcasting.

A 1971 report titled “Toward a Québec Communications Policy”, by Jean-Paul L’Allier the Minister of Communications for the Robert Bourassa government, outlines the political and cultural reasons for Quebec’s desire to control media in the province. L’Allier is careful to contextualize the document, and states: “the document we are presenting today is not a White Paper....Moreover, we felt that a Quebec policy on Communications must be the result of as broad a consensus as possible” (L’Allier 1971, 1). The report argues that it is up to Quebec to establish a communications policy, one that must coordinate policies of other governments and be consistent with the North American situation (L’Allier 1971, 2). Further in the report, the idea of local

programming is introduced. First, the report references page 4 of the 1969 Report of the Task Force on Federal Government Information, which states, ““The lack of clear information available to all those who wish to participate in the democratic process is fast becoming one of the greatest tragedies of our time”” (L’Allier 1971, 46). Secondly, it includes, as an appendix, “Quebec’s Policy on Community Cables” from May 1971, which states, “It is essential to promote local programming. It is at this level that public opinion is heard, that the daily rhythm of life is perceived and that the concerns of real life are dealt with. This is where the freedom of expression takes shape” (L’Allier, Appendix, 1971, 12). The concerns expressed by L’Allier illustrate the formation of ideas regarding local media production—a defining characteristic of community media.

Community media development in Quebec, whether in the form of radio, television, or other media, was also tied to the establishment of the *Ministère des Communications du Québec (MCQ)* (Quebec Ministry of Communications) in 1969. The MCQ’s mandate “was to formulate and implement communications policies, supervise broadcasting networks in Quebec, and establish communications services for government departments” (Stiles and Lachance 1988). Instrumental in bringing community media under the control of the provinces, in this case Quebec, it established in 1972 the *Service du développement des media*, which made an inventory of community media projects and brought project staff together to converse about their work (Stiles and Lachance 1998, 12-13).

Furthermore, in 1973, the Quebec Treasury Board brought forth a subsidy program for community media projects. Its first year budget was about \$390, 000, of which half was given to Vidéographe, a group in Montreal that used video to promote

social activism (Stiles and Lachance 1988, 13). Most of the projects funded by the program were television-based, because the MCQ believed television had greater potential than that of radio. Because the MCQ prioritized television, some of the first instances of community radio in Quebec began without financial support from the province. Examples of such stations are CKRL-FM, “which was licensed as a non-commercial station and operated on funding from the Laval University community”, and CINQ-FM, “a multilingual, community ethnic station in Montreal” that began broadcasting in 1972 in collaboration with Radio McGill (Stiles and Lachance 1988, 13-14).

CINQ-FM, Radio Centre-Ville, was established after a difficult struggle with the CRTC for a license (Radio Centre-Ville 1992, 51). Activists involved in the social changes that transformed Quebec society and politics throughout the seventies were involved in the foundation of the station, which was eventually licensed as an “experiment” by the CRTC (as was CFRO-FM Co-Op Radio in Vancouver, developing around the same time). The station’s license was granted on February 27th, 1975, and it became an official station on the FM band broadcasting with 7.2 watts of power (Radio Centre-Ville 1992, 50). Once established, Radio-Centre Ville effectively catered to Montreal’s multilingual communities, contributing “to the coexistence of individuals and different cultures within Quebec society” (Radio Centre-Ville 1992, 49). The station was able to do what neither a national public broadcaster, nor a locally-oriented private broadcaster could do, which was to provide information relevant to a particular segment of the city without promoting nationalist ideology from the federal government, or be bound by the demands of corporate advertisers, as were many stations in the private

sector (although some sponsorship from the local community and non-profits was permitted on CINQ-FM). The licensing of Radio Centre-Ville is a significant step for Canadian community radio, as it helped set the political and ideological foundation for other stations in Quebec and across the country.

North of Montreal and Quebec City, in the Saugenay sub-region, community radio was developing in the neighbouring towns of Chicoutimi and Jonquière. McNulty discusses community radio in Chicoutimi-Jonquière, along with five other areas in Canada including, Vancouver, Kitchener-Waterloo, Inuvik, Saskatoon, and Halifax. McNulty notes that in the sixties, Chicoutimi-Jonquière was a “distinct geographic, economic and social region, physically isolated...from the main centres of population in the province” (McNulty 1979, 202). The services provided by Canada’s national public broadcaster were not prominent nor relevant in the Saugenay sub-region, as the area did not perceive a strong parallel to other places of similar size and population in Canada. Moreover, in Chicoutimi, citizens had access to only one FM station in the region, which in turn, was an important instigator toward the development of a local radio station. A group of professors and staff members from the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, along with journalists, businesspeople and union members, took an interest in providing radio programming for the region, and began a preliminary approach to the station that would become CHUT-FM in 1973 (McNulty 1979, 207, 208). The station eventually went on the air in June of 1975 after CRTC approval in the previous year. At this time, notably early in the development of Canadian community radio, it was required by the CRTC that the station utilize advertising revenue in order to support itself (McNulty 1979, 207). This stipulation would later contribute the downfall of the Chicoutimi-based

station, highlighting the tension between corporate advertising and the mandate of many local radio stations.

The station continued to broadcast after 1975, but became increasingly confused as to how to serve and relate to its local community, adopting programming with a heavy emphasis on rock music (McNulty 1979, 209). The station had problems maintaining the “20% community programming” that it claimed it would provide, and it began to have issues keeping a full staff. Furthermore, “staff members were heard to criticize certain sponsors on the air and this, combined with the sponsor’s view of some programming as ill-organized and ill-prepared, led to a drop in sponsorship revenue” (McNulty 1979, 208, 210). Other problems and conflicts between the station’s board and staff members are cited as contributing to the station’s demise, but in August 1977, the station was informed that the MCQ would not be providing a grant for the following year and its license was soon surrendered to the CRTC (McNulty 1979, 211). While the community media developments in Jonquière were much more successful, the Chicoutimi example illustrates some of the problems faced by local media developers in the early seventies.

The community media developments in Quebec are significant as they illustrate how a particular cultural and political climate led to the development of alternative forms of media. Moreover, it is relevant that at the same time (and even many years prior in some cases) other instances of both licensed and non-licensed community media were developing. As McNulty notes, “most of the earliest community radio stations were established in the Northwest Territories to provide service in native communities to be run by the people themselves...to provide a message service for people out on the land from those in the village” (McNulty 1979, 113). Urban areas across the nation began to

initiate community radio programs in the mid-late seventies, and while the government was involved in much of these developments, Charles Fairchild notes, in *Community Radio and Public Culture*, that “a truly national system of community access radio stations developed only gradually *into* (not *from*) a clear, well-defined policy of providing a public access alternative to the CBC and commercial media” (Fairchild 2001, 147).

The developments in community media are largely due in part to the initiatives carried out by individuals groups, and other organizations, as Fairchild argues, and from this, came the CBC’s Office of Community Radio, which was active from 1971 to 1979.

Fairchild points out that the office was not a programming unit, but was a research and technical development unit that sought to provide instruction and information to those interested in applying knowledge and skill toward the development of community radio (Fairchild 2001, 137). The Office of Community Radio also became “a central source of guidance for the development of the CRTC’s widely respected and imitated regulatory policy on community radio” (Fairchild 2001, 137). By the mid-1970s, government policy had begun to appreciate and adapt the initiatives and progress made in community radio broadcasting. One prominent initiative, for instance, was the licensing of campus-community radio stations across Canada.

Further Developments: Campus-Community Radio Broadcasting

Before the mid-70s, radio had existed on a number of Canadian college and university campuses, primarily as sites of technical training for students interested in media production. These stations, in turn, served the campus community and operated at a very low wattage with a very limited range, with just enough power to serve the campus community (Wilkinson 1988, 18). Many similarities are present between community

radio stations and campus-community radio stations, although with campus-community radio, a University, a university-based corporation, or a student society or government may hold the license (McNulty 1979, 115). Campus-community stations are also better at avoiding funding complications, as they can receive money from student dollars, or general funding from the college or university. Because of this, the CRTC stated in 1975 that it “will continue to accommodate the financial needs of community access stations before those of a student station in the same location” (CRTC 1975, 5). Currently, many campus-community stations make an effort to include the respective city or community in which the university or college is near, but the campus stations licensed by the CRTC in the mid-70s catered specifically to the campus. For instance, a number of university and college student organizations had been licensed by the CRTC to operate with a very limited signal to specific campus buildings only (McNulty 1979, 116). Nevertheless, from the early-mid seventies, “what is called ‘campus-community’ radio became the dominant form of public access radio” across Canada (Fairchild 2001, 151), and its range and prominence would quickly develop in the late seventies.

On the 27th of June, 1975, the CRTC licensed two Canadian campus-community radio stations. The June ’75 decision came after the CRTC had already licensed CKWR-FM in Kitchener-Waterloo, CFRO-FM in Vancouver, and as discussed before, CINQ-FM in Montreal. In “remote” areas, the CRTC had licensed community stations such as CKQN-FM at Baker Lake and CFTL-FM at Big Trout Lake. CHUT-FM Chicoutimi had also been licensed (which has also been described in this paper, but defined by this decision as a cooperative that “incorporates some of the features of a community access station”), as well as CKRL-FM Quebec—“a student station with some community

involvement” (CRTC 1975, 3-4). These decisions represent significant developments in urban and rural areas, whereas the June 1975 decision pertains to the development of campus-community radio.

In the June 1975 decision, the CRTC outlines the sort of service that these stations were to provide at the time. The first station included in the decision is a campus station based in Winnipeg, Manitoba that was applied for by Jim Rogers, on behalf of the Radio Operations Committee, “a non-profit corporation without share capital” (CRTC 1975, 7). The second application was by the Carleton University Student’s Association for a station in Ottawa, Ontario. Both applications were “for a broadcast license to carry on an English language FM radio station” (CRTC 1976, 1). The CRTC decision outlines that “many of the different sectors of social life cannot find a place on the national service or the private commercial outlets. It is for this reason that the Commission has been willing to develop new models for different voices” (CRTC 1975, 4). The decision also defines student radio as referring to “broadcasting undertakings whose structure provides for membership, direction, management, operation and programming primarily by students as members of a post-secondary academic community” (CRTC 1975, 2). It is fairly evident that at the time of this decision the licensing of campus-community radio was a new endeavor, as the CRTC is careful to include such working definitions and stipulations in its decision.

The specific function of campus-community radio, within their respective community, is also described in the 1975 decision. The decision notes that “an intervention to the Ottawa application asked if the Commission would be prepared to license two or more student FM stations in the same locality”, to which it responded, “the

public interest at this time will be best served if only one such channel is used for student broadcasting” (CRTC 1975, 2-3). In cases where both the English and French languages are present, the CRTC refines its previous statement, and says, “where there are both English-speaking and French-speaking post-secondary educational institutions and a sufficient number of frequencies is available in a locality, the Commission may issue two licences, one in each language, in that locality” (CRTC 1975, 3). This particular section of the decision is significant as it highlights the way in which the government was still quite present in the restricting and defining of the particular service each station was to provide, and was still very aware of its role as a regulator of Canadian airwaves.

Further stipulations of the 1975 decision include the need for campus-community stations to acknowledge community issues in its programming, and to allow for community groups outside of the campus to have a voice on the station (CRTC 1975, 6). Non-campus communities were integrated into the CRTC’s policy on campus-community radio advertising. The decision states that “the Commission is of the opinion that truly alternative forms of programming can best be achieved and maintained through financing other than from the sale of air time” (CRTC 1975, 4). Despite this opinion, the decision recognizes the difficulty in generating funding for alternative broadcasting, and because of this, allows for promotional announcements limited to four minutes and six times per clock hour (CRTC 1975, 6). Such promotional announcements were to be regulated in the same way as outlined for CINQ-FM in Montreal, allowing for the inclusion of the sponsor’s name, business address, business hours, and a brief description of the product or service, but without mentioning or referencing brand names. Favoured sponsors included members of the local community, and promotions could also “not refer to price,

quality, convenience, durability, or desirability, or contain other comparative or competitive references” (CRTC 1975, 5). The CRTC Decision of June 27th, 1975 is a significant document as it signifies the CRTC’s official recognition of both community and campus-community radio, and it displays a desire to formulate a coherent set of stipulations and requirements—a policy, in which to regulate subsequent community and campus-community radio stations in the years following its 1975 decision.

Conclusion

The development of community radio in Quebec can be attributed to the changing political, cultural, and technological environment both in the province, and nationally, during the mid to late 1960s. Canadian broadcast policy at the federal level was beginning to show signs of progress, namely the progressive statements found in the 1965 Report on Canadian Broadcasting, but the 1968 Broadcasting Act reiterated the role of broadcasting on a national level. Nevertheless, individuals and communities expressed interest in locally produced and programmed media, and changing provincial policy aided in facilitating the development of community media projects in both Quebec and elsewhere in Canada. Throughout the 1970s, community media would continue to develop, as illustrated by the licensing of campus-community stations in Ottawa, Winnipeg, Montreal, and throughout the rest of the country. Community radio continues to serve a variety of communities and localities throughout Canada, even with recent changes to Canada’s broadcast environment in the form of digital and satellite radio technology.

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