



ENGLISH-LANGUAGE RADIO DRAMA: A COMPARISON OF CENTRAL & REGIONAL PRODUCTION UNITS

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ABSTRACT

A comparison of the work of two radio drama producers, Andrew Allan (Toronto) and Rupert Caplan (Montreal), between 1941 and 1961. The two are taken to represent distinct creative formations examined in relation to the complex of production elements in the context of the tensions between region and centre in Canada.

Nous comparons les oeuvres de deux réalisateurs de dramatiques radiophoniques, celles du torontois Andrew Allan avec celles du montréalais Rupert Caplan, entre 1941 et 1961. Nous analysons leur démarche créatrice respective en fonction de la configuration des composantes de production dans le contexte des tensions entre le centre et la périphérie au Canada.

Andrew Allan and Rupert Caplan were two of the major producers of radio drama aired by the CRBC and the CBC between 1932 and 1961. Allan, who began his radio career as a writer and announcer in Toronto, joined the CBC in Vancouver as a drama producer during the early 1940's. In 1943 he returned to Toronto as National Drama Supervisor and, in this role, produced English-Canada's "National Theatre of the Air". Caplan began his radio career in 1931 as an actor in the Canadian National Railway's "Romance of Canada" series produced in Montreal. He remained with the series until its conclusion in 1932. He continued with the CRBC and later became the major producer of radio drama originating from the Montreal studios of the CBC.

This essay addresses the tensions between centre and region in early CBC radio drama through a comparison of the work of Allan and Caplan, each representing, respectively, national and regional voices. It should be noted that Rupert Caplan's productions are considered regional in the sense that anglophone Quebec may be viewed as a cultural region within English-Canada. In general, English-Canadians (including Montreal anglophones) tend to define the Quebec question as a regional issue within Canada as a whole in much the same way as they would define western alienation. In contrast, Francophone Quebecers adhering to the dual-nation theory of confederation define the Quebec question as a national issue. In support of this position, a decade ago Bernard Blishen (1978:29) noted that, while 71.4% of the "non-French" in Quebec identified with "Canada first", only 32.2% identified with either the province or Canada and the province equally. For Quebec francophones the responses were 46.2% and 52.9% respectively. (see also McLeod-Arnopoulos & Clift 1980: 35-50, Stein 1982: 109-125).

More recently George Woodcock (1987:32) drew attention to anglophone Montreal as itself comprising a region. He expressed the opinion that,

All the really important innovative tendencies in English-Canadian literature have originated in the regions, especially if one regards anglophone Montreal as a region in its relation to the centralist axis of Toronto-Ottawa.

He went on to describe the artistic community in anglophone Montreal from 1920 to 1950. This is the period in which we are interested; a period when the centralizing tendencies of national institutions, such as the CBC, were exceptionally strong.

The question is, were there differences between the *complex of elements* creating and producing radio theatre in Montreal and Toronto during those early years? If the answer is affirmative, might these differences be explained in the light of the historical tension between region and centre in Canada? Methodologically, it is important to note that although we base our analysis on the work of Allan and Caplan, we do not intend to suggest that observed differences are mere expressions of individual personality differences. Though the biography of each is crucial to the analysis, each is, in a sense, a "label" for a creative formation (or social network) nurtured in a particular field of social and political forces -- one in Toronto and one in Montreal. Furthermore, our interest is not in Toronto as such, but in Toronto as the location of the centripetal forces accompanying English-Canadian nation building (e.g. see Nader 1975: 214-224).

THE FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

The Context

We need not dwell on the point that centralizing forces accompany nation building. Cultural nationalism accompanies economic and political nationalism. Nor need we argue at length that in the process tensions are built into the push and pull of centripetal and centrifugal forces. Indeed, the centralist/ regionalist and nationalist/continentalist axes capture most of the discourse on Canadian polity. To this we may add a public/private enterprise axis. A move toward the continentalist position tends to push toward the privatization of economic and cultural institutions.

English-Canadian cultural institutions are repeatedly trapped in the ambiguities found at points along the regional/central axis. Witness the debates over the role of the National Arts Centre or the ever present debates within the CBC regarding the role of regional production units. Cultural nationalism demands centralization; i.e., a move toward the nationalist pole on one axis tends to require a move towards the centralist pole on the other. If one accepts that the regions of English-Canada are not merely geographic and administrative units but the location of every-day lived culture, then the centralization of cultural institutions is the imposition of *the* meaning upon a multiplicity of local meanings (e.g. Fiske, et al. 1987:x). It is in this general context of central/regional tensions that we wish to examine the Montreal and Toronto radio drama production units, keeping in mind that centralization is the concomitant of cultural nationalism.

The Production Units

In the analysis of the two production units we adopted a perspective which focuses on the complex of interrelated elements which together yield artistic productions. Following Williams (1981), the organization and administration of production, the creative formations or social networks of artists (in this case writers, producers, performers, musicians, and technicians), the text or broadcast and reception must be taken into account as that complex of interrelated elements. There is a strong tendency in culture and communications studies to begin and remain with the text (e.g., the broadcast, the policy, etc.) as evidence of cultural patterns. To do so is to adhere to practices frozen in time. The artifact is an end product of living culture, not itself that culture. It may become so as it re-enters the complex of production/reception at a later date, but it is the complex of social and material relations which are the living culture, not the artifact. Indeed once an artifact enters into relations in a new time/space context, its meaning has already changed. Though the artifact is not to be dispensed with, the work of Williams, among others, requires that *practices* are the more appropriate object for media studies. A focus

on practices demands that one attend to the organization of production, the creators or creative formations, and reception in addition to the artifact.

In the case of CBC radio drama the organization of production draws our attention to the history of the development of the CBC in the context of English-Canadian nationalism, state policies bearing on broadcasting and the organization itself. Creative formations draw attention to social networks composed of writers, producer/directors, actors and technicians who conceive of and produce the artifact. Reception calls for analysis of audiences, not as static units in a market place but as themselves participants in cultural practices. In the research reported here reception was temporarily put aside.

Given the interest in three (organization, formations and text) of the four elements discussed above, it was necessary to adopt two modes of analysis. First, in order to reconstruct the organizational element and the formations of artists, extensive interviewing, documentary analysis and the use of secondary sources were required. The second required a way of comprehending a mass of scripts and tapes (where available) of broadcasts. We elected to proceed with a content analysis of samples of the productions. The content analysis is presented as an initial view of the corpus of each producer. Though it falls short of a complete discourse analysis, it does capture major discursive elements around which the plays were constituted. One may ask, why organize the analysis around the work of producers rather than playwrights? Radio theatre is a collective project involving playwrights, producers, performers and technicians. Plays were broadcast in series identified with particular producers. Producers selected, supervised the editing of, and directed the plays. Each producer tended to develop a "stable" of writers and, to a lesser extent, performers, who together constituted the creative social formation.

A Note on Radio Drama

The selection of radio drama from among the several areas of CBC production was not arbitrary. First, insofar as our approach requires an analysis of the relations within a complex of interrelated production elements, it was necessary to select a particular production area. In principle one could select features, music, news and public affairs, or sports. Drama was selected because of the crucial role it played in the development of Canadian writers, theatre producers/directors and musicians. In many ways early radio drama was the "Canada Council" of the theatrical and literary community.

In addition, radio was a new and exciting medium for dramatic expression. It was not accidental that some saw radio and radio theatre in particular as the critical medium through which to advance a project -- the English-Canadian nationalist project. The route was open. Culturally, the English-Canadian voice was weak,

constrained by a public oriented to American and British literature, theatre, and most other forms of entertainment. At the same time it was (and remains) malformed in its very negativity. If it was anti-American, it was pro-British; if it was pro-American, it was anti-British; it was seldom pro-Canadian. In the absence of a strong national voice and, though the objectives of the CRBC/CBC were to promote Canadian nationalism, discursive practices directed to this end carried all the multi-voicing, contradictions, ambiguity and ambivalence one might expect to find in a less than coherent vision (e.g. Nielsen 1986).

THE CBC: THE ORGANIZATION & ADMINISTRATION OF PRODUCTION

Public broadcasting in English-Canada has its roots in locally based university stations, provincial telephone companies and, as early as 1923, in the use of the telegraph facilities of the Canadian National Railways (CNR). Theatre was an early component of radio programming. The CNR's first dramatic presentation was broadcast from Moncton in 1925. As examples of independent regional units, station CKUA owned and operated by the University of Alberta in cooperation with the Government of Alberta and the Alberta Wheat Pool was broadcasting locally written and produced radio drama over a western network by 1928 (Fink 1987). The Government of Manitoba's station CKY was active during the same period (Vipond 1987). It is not surprising that the Provinces resisted the nationalization of broadcasting—a process which would weaken provincial prerogatives in communications and appropriate local culture.

There are two characteristics of these early days of public broadcasting in English-Canada which demand attention. First, CKUA, not untypical of the publicly owned stations of the time, was locally owned and controlled. Its drama productions were very much tied to local theatre groups. Secondly, CNR broadcasting was cross-Canada in scope and founded on an explicit national mandate. The first President of the CNR envisioned the new nationalized unit not merely as a conveyer of goods and people, but as a device to diffuse "ideas and ideals nationally by radio." (Weir 1965:4). Though the CNR encouraged locally produced programming, it carried with it the seeds of centralization and a mandate to promulgate a nationalist vision. The "Romance of Canada" series, a set of radio plays produced to recall epic moments in Canadian history, was designed to create a sense of national identity over and against local identities. In the words of the Railway's President, "We hope to kindle in Canadians generally a deeper interest in the romantic early history of their country." Weir (1965:53). The series was produced in Montreal under the direction of Tyrone Guthrie, an imported British director and writer of radio scripts who later had considerable influence on English-Canadian theatre.

The movement toward nationalization was clearly motivated by a desire to create a national culture—an official culture concomitant with political and economic centralization. Consider, for example, the statement by R.B. Bennett, the Prime Minister at the time of the establishment of the CRBC in 1932 (Canada 1986:6):

This country must be assured of complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources. Without such control, broadcasting can never be the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened.

With the nationalization of radio and the formation of the CRBC in 1932 the centralization of broadcasting in Toronto proceeded at a rapid pace. The invitation to Andrew Allan to head a national theatre of the air in 1943 was a major step in the implementation of a national policy designed to produce a centralized Canadian state. In its 19th century form this policy was political and economic in content. It involved Confederation itself, the subsequent centralization of the banking system, the building of the CPR and the development of a wheat based economy. The entry of the CNR into broadcasting in the mid-1920's was an extension of the original policy into the cultural domain. The nationalization of radio transformed the structure of broadcasting from CNR radio and multiple public stations into the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission and its affiliates. This eventually moved the production of radio theatre from a relatively large number of autonomous local regional centres across the country to a monopoly composed of five or six regional centres, under the control of the CRBC and later the CBC (Fink & Jackson 1987:xiv). There was resistance to the process from Vancouver, Halifax and most especially from Montreal.

THE CREATIVE FORMATIONS

The World of Andrew Allan

Andrew Allan was born in Scotland in 1907, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman. Before arriving in Peterborough, Ontario, Allan had spent the first seventeen years of his life living in ten different cities on two continents. He attended the University of Toronto where he was seriously involved with theatre as a performer and with the University newspaper (*Varsity*) as a writer. The depression cut short his university career and, failing to find steady work in the theatre, he worked as an announcer and writer for Toronto's CFRB. He wrote and produced radio-drama until his departure for England in 1938 where he produced a number of programmes for Radio Luxembourg and Radio Normandie, broadcasting across the Channel to England. In 1939 he returned to Canada to become a producer with CBC Vancouver (Fink & Jackson 1987:vi-xiv).

In 1943 he moved to Toronto as National Drama Supervisor. He later returned to England for a brief period during the late 1950's. In Toronto he attracted several writers and actors from Western Canada. Prominent among them were John Drainie, Fletcher Markle, Lister Sinclair, and Tommy Tweed who joined Alice Frick, a University of Alberta drama graduate, National Script Editor, and assistant to Andrew Allan in all phases of production. Other producers were brought in from Halifax (J. Frank Willis) and Winnipeg (Esse W. Ljung). By 1947, the two major drama series, *Stage* and *Wednesday Night*, went out nationally from Toronto. Regional centres were limited financially and in network exposure. Script selection and editing was consolidated in Toronto.

The process resulted in a regrouping of artists associated with radio theatre in Toronto. If they were not resident in Toronto, their scripts were forwarded for evaluation and editing. Thus were the artists who created the "National Theatre of the Air" from the peripheral centres of English-Canada, principally Western Canada. This new Toronto based formation was grouped around Andrew Allan. Writers Fletcher Markle, Lister Sinclair, and Bernard Braden and actor John Drainie had migrated from Vancouver. Actor and writer Tommy Tweed had migrated from Medicine Hat, Alberta and writer Len Petersen from Regina. These and several others became the key members of the Toronto formation.

This creative formation, with its core group from Western Canada, carried that blend of social democratic values and populism peculiar to English-Canada's periphery. Nationalist they were, consistent with the CBC's mandate, but it was a nationalism articulated with a social democratic, Fabian voice. In Allan's words (1974:109):

If many of our plays in the first years had what was called 'social content', this was because the writers—in fact, all of us—were products of a Depression and a War. Ideas bred from these twin phenomena were inevitable, unless you put artificial curbs on them. And we had determined not to apply those curbs.

Their determination placed them in a state of permanent conflict with CBC management. To Allan (1974:115), the *Stage* series was "several seasons of guerilla warfare". The "dangerous" plays, as Allan referred to those which mediated a social democratic vision, were interspersed, again in Allan's words, with "bland" pieces.

The Toronto formation was not a mere collection of individual artists earning their living through CBC radio theatre production. They were colleagues and friends, the core group frequently collectively creating ideas and outlines for future performances. Though we may be stretching the point too far, they came close to creating a school of thought related to radio theatre production.

The World of Rupert Caplan

Rupert Caplan was born in the last decade of the 19th century in Montreal. His early dramatic experience, compared with Andrew Allan's, was largely practical in nature. His extensive involvement in local stage work began in high school, first as an actor at 14 and then as a director of high school productions at 15 and 16. He went on to act and direct in local English-language theatre in Montreal. It was in 1931 that Caplan's involvement in Radio theatre began with Tyrone Guthrie's "Romance of Canada" series. Caplan performed in most of the 24 plays in the series.

In the 1940's Caplan's career began to flourish. In addition to his responsibilities as producer of Radio drama in Montreal, he was responsible for the "Victory Loans" series which brought him into contact with the top national and international talent of the day. He also established a popular series of biblical dramatizations for radio, as well as maintaining his live theatre involvement locally. These involvements, with the exception of the "Victory Loans" series, continued through the 1940's and 1950's. Caplan would maintain his live theatre involvement until his retirement from CBC Montreal in the mid-1960's. This included attention to and admiration for French-language theatrical productions. He attended Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde regularly, including visits backstage and during rehearsals, where he shared a classical theatre orientation with many of the participants.

Caplan highlighted his own career with reference to particular theatrical accomplishments, measured not by local standards, but by international and most especially American standards. He was the first to produce Kafka (*The Trial*) in North America. He claimed responsibility for the Eugene O'Neill renaissance in the 1950's, producing *Long Days Journey into Night* for national radio after O'Neill's death. This production was acclaimed by critics for its biting realism and daring and criticized in the House of Commons for its profanity and abuse of public mores.

Caplan's ability to gather and sustain a group of actors and writers in Montreal was constrained by the dynamics of his position within a national, centralized network. Firstly, he had a smaller quantity of material to produce. Ancillary documents in Concordia University's radio drama archives point to Caplan's struggle with the Toronto office to have a sufficient quantity of material produced in Montreal to give his actors work. Despite his efforts, the quantity of material produced out of Montreal diminished throughout his career. Secondly, Montreal became increasingly identified as a secondary location within English-Canadian theatre in general and radio theatre in particular. While continuing to produce many talented actors during this period many of the best would migrate to Toronto, Stratford and points in the United States. Caplan's ties with the local theatre scene

provided one source of actors and writers. Two of his 'finds' in this regard were Earle Pennington and Mac Shoub. Pennington first worked for Caplan at the age of 11 and went on to succeed him as Montreal producer. Mac Shoub began acting with Caplan as a teenager. Their close collaboration as writer and producer respectively produced one of the most prolific teams in Canadian radio drama history. Both men had their roots in Montreal's working-class Jewish community. Both were "self-taught" with little formal education.

Placing their work in context recalls the cultural specificity of the anglophone minority in Montreal generally and the Jewish community particularly. The cultural voicing of anglophone Montreal has tended to be constructed around universality and cosmopolitanism, a discourse which places the francophone majority in a pluralist context. Anglophone Montreal thus becomes a regional voice within English Canada. But the conditions of this regionalism (Montreal's cosmopolitanism) have historically been associated with universal themes rather than regional particularity. For the dominant English minority this also entailed evoking Imperial and United Empire Loyalist roots. The working class Jewish community, if separated from the French majority through linguistic and cultural difference, was equally separated from this British evocation through class and cultural differences. An identification with continentalist values provided the conditions for surpassing these situational boundaries. We might add that this identification was often supported by familial, community and artistic ties with the New York Jewish community. The Montreal regional voice can be seen as pushing toward a continentalist position both as a reaction to the strong movement toward nationalism in Toronto, and as a result of these culturally specific factors.

Creative Formations: Concluding Note

Allan and Caplan, one the national producer in Toronto and the other a regional producer in Montreal, one British born and educated to the university level in Toronto, the other Montreal born, Jewish, and, though a high school dropout, educated in Montreal. Andrew Allan's early work tied him to theatre and radio as a writer (he was known as a "writer's producer"), announcer and producer. Rupert Caplan's early work tied him to classical theatre as a performer and director with deep roots in Montreal's anglophone theatre and a less than casual association with francophone theatre. Over the years Allan worked at his craft in Canada (Vancouver and Toronto) and in England while Caplan's experience was largely based in Montreal with ties to the New York Theatre.

Is it possible to think of Allan as the "London connection" and Caplan as the "New York connection"? Allan's presence in England in the 1930's must have placed him close to the British nationalist movement of the day, a nationalism which in film and radio was fuelled by anti-Americanism (Chambers 1986:36-38). The political base (left to left-liberal) and the rhetoric of that movement was almost

identical to its English-Canadian counterpart (Chambers 1986:87). It was the President of the CNR, himself of British origin, who brought Tyrone Guthrie from England to direct the CNR's "Romance of Canada" series. Furthermore, the CN's Programme Director, Austin Weir, had worked in England prior to taking up his new post. On the other hand, Tyrone Guthrie was Caplan's early mentor in radio. However, Caplan, in contrast with Allan's British Canadian and Toronto base, had already established a firm base in local (Montreal) theatre and connections with the New York stage.

There was a brief period of one to two years, prior to Allan's return to Toronto, when Caplan acted as National Supervisor of Drama. The appointment of Allan to this position was, it has been claimed by some, not too well received by Caplan who returned to Montreal. One might speculate as to why Allan and not Caplan. What is clear is that each carried a distinctly different voice—Allan, the British oriented anglo-Canadian nationalist and Caplan, the American oriented, Montreal based continentalist. The two competed in a less than friendly manner, a competition which often resulted in Caplan ignoring the directives from script editors in Toronto. He ran "his own show".

THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

A Note on Procedures

A content analysis of plays accomplishes no more than an overview of the work. Based on predetermined categories, this type of analysis does not permit the play "to speak for itself". However, it allows for an initial assessment of the works of the two producers in question. One can assess general differences and similarities between the two producers and specify the nature of these. The data so acquired serves as a base for decisions leading to the selection of particular plays for in-depth analyses of voicing.

Keeping in mind the persuasive and inciting aspects of discourse, content analysis lends itself to an identification of the themes around which dialogue is structured and the political or social positions toward which the resolution of the tensions created tends to move. Accordingly, the analysis of the plays proceeded as follows:

- (a) first, the major theme of the play was identified;
- (b) then, given a list of sets (or domains) of social relations, coders were asked to identify the presence or absence of particular domains in each play, and, if present, whether the domain served as a primary or secondary device in the thematic development; and

- (c) thirdly, a judgement was made on whether the particular domain of social relations (gender relations, for example) was thematically resolved in opposition to, alternatively to, or in support of existing values.

Several domains of social relations were used in the Caplan analysis—social class, gender, ethnicity/race, national/continental relations, centre/local relations, capital/state relations, labour/state relations, labour/capital relations, and family & kinship relations. In order to make comparisons with the Allan data in which slightly different domains were used, the following analysis is limited to social class, gender, and family.

The categories referred to above under (c) require a note. *Sustaining* refers to the reproduction of existing social relations within a particular domain. *Alternative* refers to the articulation of a new vision in opposition to the status quo, and *oppositional* to the raising of an alternative vision to active opposition through the depiction of the means necessary to create new social relations in a particular domain. For this analysis the alternative and oppositional categories were collapsed (e.g. Williams 1981:70).

The Allan sample was analyzed some six years prior to the Caplan work using a slightly different framework. Although it was possible to adjust the Allan analysis in order to make comparisons, certain features of the Caplan analysis, not pursued in the former, are not addressed in this paper. A stratified random sample was used in both cases. A cross-classification of time periods (1939-'45; '46-'51; '52-'61) and genre yielded the strata. In each case the population was defined as the total number of original Canadian plays (as different from adaptations) produced between 1939 and 1961. Allan produced 451 plays during this period from which were drawn 150 (33%). Caplan produced 252 according to these criteria from which 83 plays were drawn (33%).

Allan & Caplan: A Comparison

In discussing the results of the content analysis we refer to similarities and differences between the two producers using three variables: (1) the presence or absence of particular domains of social relations; (2) the question of how social relations are depicted (as sustaining or providing alternatives to the status quo); and (3) how these portrayals changed over the three time periods investigated. While the focus of the analysis was on the substantive differences between the producers' work, we should note first that, taken as a whole, the thematic treatments of social relations were sustaining; that is, they reproduced existing social relations. Nevertheless, the results indicated that Allan's work was much more organized around the articulation of alternative and oppositional positions than was Caplan's. In the Allan sample 45% of the themes expressed an alternative or oppositional position compared to 25% in the Caplan sample. This finding,

especially when combined with the use of social class as a principal theme, is in keeping with the view that the Allan formation expressed a social democratic voice.

Regarding the presence of social class, Caplan and Allan reversed positions over time, with class strongly present in the first two time periods in the Allan material (61%, 69%) but not in the third (45%). It was not a strong theme in the first time period in the Caplan material (37%), but became so in the second and third (72%, 71%). Ignoring time periods, we found that 55% of the Allan plays took an alternative/oppositional position with respect to social class compared to 20% of the Caplan plays. This alternative/ oppositional position was strongest in the first two time periods for Allan but remained consistent at 20% across all three time periods for Caplan. Thus, the increase in the presence of social class as a theme in the Caplan plays did not correspond to a change in the way social class was portrayed, whereas for Allan the diminution in the presence of social class in the third time period corresponded to an increase in the sustaining nature of its portrayal.

Family relations were present in the majority of plays except for Caplan's material in the second time period when it dropped to 40% in contrast to 72% for Allan. This difference was in contrast to the first and third time periods where the percentage of plays depicting family relations was almost identical for the two producers. In contrast to the findings for social class, most of the plays from both samples sustained family relations, with 35% of the Allan material and 24% of the Caplan material taking an alternative/oppositional position. Little variation was found in this respect for time periods within the Caplan material while the alternative/oppositional expression jumps to 60% in the third time period for Allan.

Gender relations were also present in the majority of plays for both samples—84% for Allan and 73% for Caplan. Allan's work assumed a much more alternative oppositional stance than Caplan's across all three time periods (40% and 22% respectively), although there is a substantial reduction (of 16%) in the alternative/oppositional expressions in Allan's third time period.

Allan and Caplan used the various genre (comedy, drama, documentary-drama, entertainment and light drama, fantasy, mystery, and satire) with about the same frequency, with the important exception of documentary drama, which was used twice as frequently by Allan. This is interesting in light of the particular status of the documentary genre in English-Canadian literature, film, and television. Given the dual themes of nationalism and social democracy which were the hallmarks of Allan's work, it should not be surprising to find a form which was associated with English Canada's "national culture" and a social realist tradition (e.g., Livesay 1971:267).

In summary, the findings pointed to the image of the Allan formation as a carrier of a social democratic voice. Overall, 20% more of the Allan plays opposed established social relations, articulating both alternative visions and the oppositional means to change the status quo. The three domains of social relations discussed (class, gender and family) may be viewed as minor voices expressed by the Allan formation. In the first two time periods the strong position against existing class relations carried a questioning of gender relations, and comparatively little concern with family relations. Can this be seen as a protest against public inequality between the sexes with little attention addressed to private inequality; that is, to the relatively private domain of the family? This would be consistent with the fact that the writers of those plays carrying a questioning of gender relations were largely male, assuming that males would be more likely to avoid carrying a "feminist" perspective into the domain of family relations.

In the third time period there is a drop in the alternative/oppositional position on gender and class and a sharp rise in these positions on family relations. A protest against family relations which excludes the gender question becomes an expression of "neutral" humanism and an individualist protest against the collective restraints of family. Such a shift corresponds to the shift from the collective, societal issues of the 1930's and 40's to the individualistic, private issues characteristic of the new suburban families of the 1950's (e.g., Clark 1966:191-222).

The results for the Caplan sample indicated different developments relative to the articulation of alternative and oppositional voices. The Caplan material was much more sustaining. Secondly, the fluctuation from one time period to another was much less severe, with the emphasis more one of continuity than discontinuity in alternative/oppositional positions over time. Much of the alternative/oppositional voicing in the Caplan material can be attributed to the work of Mac Shoub. While Shoub's work represented 27% of the Caplan sample, it also represented 41% of the alternative/oppositional positions within the sample. This disproportionate influence of a single author/producer team was in marked contrast to the Toronto social formation. With the above qualifications in mind, we should note that, as with the Allan material, there was a marked drop in the alternative/oppositional voicing of gender relations in the third time period, and an increase in terms of family relations in the second and third time periods. These results are in keeping with the trends noted in the Allan discussion. In total the findings with respect to the texts add weight to the notion of two distinct creative formations centred in Toronto and Montreal. The fact that there was overlap (some of Caplan's material was broadcast over the Trans-Canada network and some of his writers wrote for Allan as well as other Toronto based producers) does not diminish the conclusion.

CONCLUSIONS

From the point of view of geography and the hierarchical organization of the CBC, the Allan productions were indeed a central Canadian voice and the Caplan productions a regional voice. But this conclusion is not of any particular importance. What is significant was the development of the two formations and the voicing of their work in the context of nationalism and centralization. The core of Andrew Allan's circle of writers and performers gathered in Toronto in response to the centralization of radio broadcasting in particular and cultural industries in general. Toronto was where the work was to be found and it is where the means were provided for them to pursue their mission—the "making of Canada".

In the process the earlier local broadcasting units had lost their autonomy and become units within a highly centralized industry. The irony in the process was that the new, centralized radio theatre formation was composed of artists from the periphery who carried the left-wing populist voice of western Canada into their work, a voice which ran parallel to British nationalism and anti-Americanism while, at the same time, contradicting the voice of capital and the growing continentalist position of the Canadian state. As indicated in the findings, the voice was subdued, but not eliminated by the third time period.

Caplan too had to struggle with those opposed to a critical realism, but his work was far less oppositional and far more even over the time periods considered. Neither he nor his circle were imbedded in the popular nationalism rooted in Toronto, nor were the majority of his writers migrants from western Canada. He was rooted in classical, legitimate theatre and looked to neither London nor Toronto, but to Montreal and New York. Proportionately, he produced fewer original Canadian plays and more adaptations than Allan and he made less use of the documentary-drama genre. This we attribute to the cultural peculiarities of Montreal anglophone culture and its continentalist tendencies. His principal struggle was with the central bureau itself, which, to the extent that he could, he simply ignored.

These contradictions reinforce the decision to consider programming, as one aspect of broadcasting practices, in terms of all of its elements—the creative formations, the organizational context, and the "text" or artifact. We would add the element of reception, but only insofar as audience is taken as subject rather than as object; that is, as part of the creative process rather than as a passive receiver of messages. Tensions and contradictions may exist at several points in the total process. They may be found between the organization and the creative formations (as was the case between both Allan and Caplan with CBC management) or between the formations (with respect to centre and region as was the case here). They may be found within the organization, within the audience, between the

audience and the organization, or between the creative formations and the audience.

If we generalize to the societal level, the organization, the CBC in this case, may well pursue objectives contrary to capital and/or the state. Indeed, the CBC as an agency of the state was in a very ambivalent position during the post-war period. On the one hand it was being pulled toward the continentalist and technocratic orientation of the state while, on the other, the remnants of the original founding formations associated with various populist organizations remained in senior administrative positions. Objectives contrary to, or harmonious with capital or the state will become intertwined with creative formations and their discourse. The English-Canadian nationalist movement has traditionally moved toward centralization on the centralist/regionalist axis and public enterprise on the private/public axis. The Allan formation was at its peak when, following World War II, the state was moving toward a continentalist position. The clash of objectives was inevitable. In appropriating the regional voice of western Canada, the CBC created its own regional oppositions, the Caplan formation was but one.

ENDNOTES

1. An expanded and revised version of a paper presented at the annual meetings of L'Association canadienne de sociologues et des anthropologues de langue française, Moncton, N.B., May 10, 1988. The research reported in this paper was based on projects funded by the SSHRC and FCAR (Quebec).
2. Jacques Parizeau, Leader of the Parti Québécois, expressed the ideal quite well in a comment regarding the election of four members of the Equality Party made at a news conference on September 27th "For the first time Quebecers who feel Canadian before being Quebecers stand up and are counted".
3. Of course the critic is also a reader. The theoretical and methodological problem is to bridge the gap between the artifact and the creative complex rather than between the reader as audience and the artifact. Content analysis, with all its limitations, is but one mode of reading. The gap between "the material residue of an absent intending subject—the author", as Robert C. Allen (1987:78) puts it, and the object brought to life by the reader is, in this case, bridged by returning the text to the complex of creative elements.
4. One is reminded of Robin Mathews' critical comments on the works of Mordecai Richler and Leonard Cohen, two Montreal anglophone writers. Mathews (1978: 92, 132, 193).

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