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**ASSEMBLING THE NATION'S CULTURE?:THE
RELEVANCE OF FOUCAULT FOR STUDYING THE
ROLE OF THE CBC IN EMERGING CANADIAN
NATIONALISM, 1925-1930.**

by

Jeff Francis, B.A. Honours

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies**

**Carleton University
OTTAWA, Ontario
September 8, 1999
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**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis**

**“Assembling ‘The Nation’s’ Culture?:
The Relevance of ‘Foucault’ For Studying Nationalism”**

submitted by Jefferson C. Francis, Hons. B.A.

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

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Abstract

This study is an examination of a key event in the emergence of cultural-nationalism in Canada. Various Foucauldian methods are utilized to suggest that a transformation in the discursive formation of the nation in early twentieth century Canada had important implications regarding the nationalization of the cultural technology of radio broadcasting in the late 1920's. After exploring the shift in discursive relations and practices associated with 'the nation' in Canada, it is argued that the historical intelligibility of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission is found in a multiplicity of forces and struggles leading to a subsequent development of a new apparatus of 'Canadian' cultural-nationalism.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to 'Foucault' and the study of Nationalism

One of the most striking features of contemporary life in Canada, is the existential anguish expressed over the problem of national unity/identity. These anxieties appear to be over the definition of what constitutes the 'true nation' and are usually heavily laced with rhetoric of national unity and culture/identity. These issues have become so prominent in policy discourse in Canada that they seem to have developed their own discursive economy in that any policy from logging to health care seems to refer to the issue of national unity, 'Canadian' values, or the "national interest".

This study will focus on the development in the early part of this century of new discourses, practices, and institutional relations regarding the practice of nationhood in Canada, through an analysis of the materialization of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Company, or Commission (CRBC). A central tenant of this thesis is that the CRBC needs to be understood as a historically unique singularity around which numerous forces developed new spaces and possibilities for political action and subjection (Foucault 1991:76). In other words, this is a re-examination of the nationalization of radio broadcasting through a discussion of the re-epistemologization of the discourses and practices surrounding 'the nation' and the subsequent assemblage of a cultural-

nationalism. The organization of the CRBC will be analyzed as an “eventalization”¹ from which to gain a new “genealogical” understanding of ‘the nation’ and of ‘cultural nationalism’².

Even though “event history” has, for the most part, been rejected/neglected by most contemporary historians, this study will argue, following the work of Michel Foucault, that this is a useful theoretical procedure for the analysis of nationalism, for two important reasons: first, it debunks any notion(s) of historical continuity which would impose a universal ‘obviousness’ on the object(s) of analysis. For example, it problematizes any notion of a ‘real’ or an ‘authentic’ nation, and/or national identity. Also, it was not obvious that a public monopoly on radio broadcasting would be recommended by the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting³ in 1929, or that Prime Minister R.B. Bennett and his Conservative government would go ahead with the Aird recommendations in 1932, creating the institution that would in the future become the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (CBC)

Secondly, to study the CRBC as an event means to (re)examine the multiple and often contradictory forces, discourses, and connections which are part of the plurality of the processes involved in the discursive and material construction of a national radio

¹ This method of “eventalization” for historical analysis, is from the work of Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1991:76-78).

² The quotation marks are to problematize the notion of a singular ‘nation’, or ‘national culture’.

³ Popularly known as the Aird Commission, after its chair, Sir John Aird, who was known as a staunch capitalist in favor of the “free” market, and was apparently predisposed towards the private-enterprise model regarding radio broadcasting (Peers 1969:37).

network. The method of “eventalization” (Foucault, 1991:76) challenges the somewhat taken for granted “birth” of the CRBC, as simply an ‘ideological effect’ of, for example, capitalist forces, or an ‘institutional fact’, and instead opens it up to an examination of the “polyhedron” of processes which had a role in its constitution (Foucault 1991:76).

By adopting this method of historical analysis, we can begin to see the emergence of the CRBC in a new light, one which places it in a ‘grid’ of various and unconnected practices and discourses, and not as the result of an overall historical logic. This is to say, that if one can speak of a ‘logic’ regarding the CRBC, it would be found in the struggles and the contradictions of the numerous competing discourses and practices available to policy makers at the time. At the same time, the CRBC needs to be seen as the institutionalization of national, cultural, and political practices and discourses which are also in constant negotiation with other discourses and practices found within the everyday life of individuals.

The focal period for this study will span the years 1896 to 1932. As historians have shown, this is a period of vast societal transformation and intensive nationalism (cf. Valverde 1991; Vipond 1980). For example, the push towards industrialization, increased immigration, and urbanization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in English Canada reconfigured new domains of cultural, religious, economic, social, and political practices. Also at this time, the discipline/practice of Canadian political economy, and the construction of the ‘social expert’ began to displace the authority and legitimacy of amateur social workers, church volunteers, and private philanthropists, who

were the main groups concerned with ‘social reform’ and the welfare of the nation and ‘the masses’. Through the developing discourses and practices of Canadian political economy, a new field of knowledge/truth (and therefore of power) was forming that would have important political influence regarding the everyday practices of the population⁴.

As historians of this period have emphasized, this is a period of intense struggle between different ideas/discourses regarding how society, the nation, and government, is thought. This study will look over the transformation which began in the early part of this century with the rise of the social sciences, and the rise of numerous voluntary associations active in what Mary Vipond (1980:32) calls the “nationalist network”. These semi-connected discourses (and practices) are what Foucault might call a “discursive formation”⁵. This concept is useful because it shows how seemingly separate and multiple discourses which were disseminated from various institutions and locales such as the academy, church organizations, the media, etc., came to be linked to operations of the nation and also of the state.

The struggle over the definition of the nation was not a uniform class project, fully aware of its own identity and interests. The specific intentions of historical actors will not be addressed in this thesis, but rather an argument will be developed that there is

⁴ This study will argue that through the emergent intellectual technology of Canadian political economy and the subsequent new discursive practices which changed or reconfigured the understanding of public space, the importance of the production/exhibition of culture become an important ‘space’ or ‘domain’ for the management of ‘the citizen’ of the nation at this time.

a logic operating here. Stuart Hall might refer to this as a “discursive logic” (Hall, 1995:64). That is, all of the different discursive strands and relations produced by the numerous forces and effects participating in the discourse of ‘the nation’, although appearing contradictory, nevertheless do develop a form or a structure which comes together, at least temporarily, in the same discursive space or ‘position’. This ‘positionality’ in a sense, enables the generation of meaning around the idea of ‘the nation’. Stuart Hall elaborates his notion of a “discursive logic” in a discussion with Homi Bhabba and Jacqueline Rose in 1989,

What conception of politics emerges from this line of thinking? It undermines any notion of a politics constructed around fixed identities or “real” interests. Political collectivities are always partly the result of imaginary identifications. They are imagined communities; and none the less important or effective for that. It is because they are imagined--because they constructed between the real and desire- that such communities can act as a mobilizing political force. This does not imply that political identifications are free-floating. I can illustrate by an analogy with ideology and language. These two are not synonymous, because ideology is the thing that cuts language. By that I mean that, although language contains an infinite semiosis or plenitude of meaning, to become meaningful it has to be fixed in the form of a statement or utterance. It has to take up a position in meaning if it is to get something said/done in the world, and that is when its plenitude is cut by ideology (Hall 1995:66).

I will argue that the CRBC cannot be understood outside of this complex logic of contradictory discourses, forces, relations and practices of the discursive formation of the nation⁶. These forces or wills of nationalism became aligned in the formation of the CRBC, and therefore linked to the state, but it is important to note that this discursive

⁵ For an excellent definition of Foucault’s concept of “discursive formation” see Hunt and Wickham (1994:9)

⁶ Foucault: “The coherence of such a history does not derive from the revelation of a project but from a logic of opposing strategies.” (Foucault, 1980:61).

formation did not originate from the state. Instead these micro-forces are systematized within the discursive formation of 'the nation', and as a result form an "aggregate force" (Hunt and Wickham 1994:19) in the larger project of nation (re)formation, conducted at the level of the state but not limited to state actions. Hunt and Wickham write:

Disparate forces act upon social objects and the end result (the direction in which the object moves) is the outcome of that totality of disparate forces, but it is a direction distinct from any constitutive forces at work. (Hunt and Wickham 1994:33).

Along with "eventalization", and "discursive formation", Foucault's concepts of "governmentality" (Foucault 1991) and "political technology of individuals" (Foucault 1988) will also be utilized in this analysis. First, governmentality was a term Foucault coined to account for a 'mentality' of a way of thinking about the utility, and multiplicity of power in modern western societies. Foucault argued that the state was "over-valorized" in most theoretical conceptions of power and that from the sixteenth century onwards there has been a vast expansion of what he, somewhat idiosyncratically, terms 'governmental' power. By this he means that there was at this time the beginning of a new economy of power which operated in a continuous, immanent fashion, at both the micro and macro levels (Foucault 1980:119, Foucault 1991:91, Foucault 1997a:27).

For Foucault, governmental power operated outside of the liberal model or "social contract" of consent/coercion (ie, Foucault 1977b). In the traditional liberal model of power, consent is given by the public, and any power which operates without the consent of the public is coercion, and therefore is an illegitimate operation of power. The central

mechanism of power in this model is the (sovereign) state-juridical apparatus, which is why he encouraged us to unthink the notion of “the” sovereign state. For example, in an interview Foucault said:

I do not mean in any way to minimize the importance and effectiveness of State power. I simply feel that excessive insistence on its playing an exclusive role leads to the risk of overlooking all the mechanisms and effects of power which don't pass directly via the State apparatus, yet often sustain the State more effectively than its own institutions, enlarging and maximizing its effectiveness (Foucault 1980:72-3).

However, this is not an argument that the state is not important in the functioning of power, but only to argue that the state is not the locus or centre of power. For example, the nationalization of radio broadcasting should not be understood as a logical, or ‘natural’ decision by the state. Rather, it will be argued in the following chapters that the decision to monopolize and institutionalize radio broadcasting found its rationale in the system of relations assembled between various knowledges, practices, and discourses located outside the state, in university social science departments, the churches, voluntary associations, and other national-cultural movements and organizations operating at the time. The state became involved after the “conditions of acceptability” have already been established.

Nevertheless, Foucault argued that governmental power operates at the level of the factory, religion, medicine, education, etc (ie, Foucault 1980:56). This type of governance is conducted without the conscious consent of the people it effects. Rather, this type of power shapes the subjective states of the individuals it affects (Ransom

1997:13). In other words, it does not repress individual freedom by acting despotically; it produces and 'normalizes' individuals and totalities.

Here Foucault was talking about "individuals" in two senses. First, the individual "units" which are the 'objects' of knowledge/power. Or, in other words, the single parts of a multiplicity which make up the total population of a nation or a state, and which incidentally makes a country weak or strong. The second meaning is in the sense of the individuals that are the 'subjects' of power relations. These are the individuals who "create" themselves through constant negotiations and relations of power, and through configurations of knowledge which act as the 'truthful' (ontological) discourses for the acceptance of certain discursive practices over others.

Foucault thought we should dispense with the (outdated) idea of the "sovereign" subject, operating with its natural, self-identical capacities of 'reason' (ie, Foucault 1980:58). In other words, he thought we should conceive the subject as,

within a historical framework....a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history (Foucault 1980:117).

What Foucault rejected here was the liberal/humanist idea of a universal, rational, "fixed" subject. He argued against the idea that subjective freedom exists outside of power configurations. Foucault, I think, would argue that there is no such thing as a subject-identity which existed 'out there' beyond power, but rather that a subject is imbricated

and formed within domains of knowledge and power. In this sense, power should be conceived as alive in all relations of social life, and that it is not held in one central locality. The question we should put to power, according to Foucault, is not whether it is good or bad, liberating or repressive, but the important thing is its productivity. For example, Foucault writes,

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it “excludes”, it “represses”, it “censors”, it “abstracts”, it “masks”, it “conceals”. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (Foucault 1977b:194).

To sum up, this study follows Foucault’s interest in the political rationalities and technologies of power formations. It views the projects of cultural production/exhibition (such as the CRBC) as an important “political technology”⁷ (Foucault 1988:153) in the genealogy of “political ethics” and “political subjectification” regarding the power relations of cultural nationalism and the discursive formation of the nation.

This study sees itself as adding to the existing literature on the CRBC by re-examining a few of the (numerous) discourses and practices, which were at play in the formation of public radio in Canada. Through asking such questions as, how the CRBC formed?, how do we practice nationalism?, and how are national boundaries operated? I argue that a Foucauldian analysis of the “accidentality” of the CRBC can offer a new

⁷ Here we meet the problem I would like to analyze in some future work. The problem is this: Which kind of political techniques, which technology of government, has been put to work and used and developed in the general framework of the reason of the state in order to make of the individual a significant element for the state? (Foucault 1988:153).

method for understanding an important part of the historical emergence of the apparatus of cultural nationalism in Canada. This is part of the same interest which Foucault expressed in one of his lectures at the University of Vermont:

There is now another field of questions that I would like to study: the way by which, through some political technology of individuals, we have been led to recognize ourselves as a society, as a part of a social entity, as part of a nation or of a state (Foucault 1988:146).

The following chapters will follow from the discussion begun in this introductory chapter. Chapter 2, will further explore the Foucauldian method and its implications for the analysis of the discursive formation of the nation and its application to an understanding of the formation of an apparatus of cultural nationalism in the Canadian context. Chapter 3 will look at the shift in the “diagrammatic” function of ‘the nation’, with special attention to the discourses of Canadian political economy. Chapter 4 will examine the formation of a specific national-cultural apparatus with unique links to the Canadian state.

CHAPTER TWO

Understanding Cultural Nationalism: Utilizing a Foucauldian Toolbox

One of the most compelling aspects of Foucault is the difficulty in any attempt to summarize his works. This is intentional on his part, and based on his insistence that anything pointing to the "book", the "author" or the *oeuvre* of the author is a fiction which disintegrates upon further inspection (Foucault 1998:209; Foucault 1972a:23). While acknowledging this, I want to outline the Foucauldian tools that will be used in this study of Canadian nationalism in order to clarify first, what I am trying to accomplish and second, to differentiate this work from previous works on the same topic. I will begin with a brief discussion as to why I think Foucault is useful for studying nationalism, and then I will provide an examination of Foucault's concepts and methods referred to in the previous chapter, as well as some others which will be introduced here.

To begin with, why Foucault? After volumes of work published on the topic of nationalism in Canada, why should there be another, especially one that appropriates concepts from a continental 'philosopher' who never wrote anything (specifically) about nationalism, or for that matter Canada? I argue that it is time to rethink the usual discourse on nationalism which has achieved a sort of self-evidentiality about the "social spatialization"¹ of Canada and the historical formation of the Canadian nation-state. Foucault's concepts are extremely useful in that they offer a refreshing set of methodological tools for us to reconceptualize how we live and understand our relationship to a Nation, a Society, and a State. Scholarship pertaining to nationalism, and the nation can, I will argue here, benefit greatly by perceiving nationalism through a Foucauldian lens.

¹The term *social spatialization* is borrowed from Rob Shields (1991:7), and is used here to designate the, "social construction of the spatial which is a formation of both discursive and non-discursive elements, practices, and processes".

For example, a good portion of previous work on nationalism can be loosely grouped under the labels of the "history of dialectics", "institutional history", "class, or elite history", and the history of ideas pertaining to great men and women. What these examples of historical work have in common is their use of theories based on "scientific" notions of "truth", and a belief in moral progress, in order to understand the past. For instance, all sorts of historical documentation are taken to be mirror reflections of universal and transcendental 'meta-agents', (such as 'the conscious subject') and are in a sense, rewritten from the theoretical and moral standpoints of the present. In other words, contemporary understandings of such things as classes and institutions, to take two examples, are found to be originary historical agents in the history of the nation. That is to say, Canada is a nation because of the actions and non-actions of elite classes, or of the progressive evolution of institutions. Somewhat continuous and linear accounts are offered in these historical models, of these transcendent agents influencing the making and functioning of our history up to the present. These historical models commonly use such notions as tradition, and evolution, in order to establish historical narratives which adhere to the widely accepted notion of a progressive rationalization of our modernity (Foucault 1972a:21). Aspects of history which appear as irrational or unusual from our present context are usually written off (or not written at all) as unimportant in the overall unfolding of the historical narrative (Hunt and Wickham 1994:32). With respect to the history of ideas, Gary Gutting writes,

historians of ideas see documents as clues to the intentional acts (beliefs, thoughts, desires, feelings) of those who produced them. It uses the objective linguistic data of statements to reconstruct the inner life of subjects. Foucault, by contrast, proposes to take statements as objects of study in their own right, making no effort to retrieve the thoughts of the dead (Gutting 1989:231).

Foucault explicitly set out to develop a new way of understanding the discourse of history beginning with his 'archaeological' method, and shortly thereafter his refinement of Nietzschean genealogy (Foucault, 1977a). Some writers hold that Foucault switched

archaeology for genealogy upon an assumption that archaeology tends to lead to idealism. However, this study follows the assertion made by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, that Foucault amalgamated the two methods, and that archaeology works together with genealogy to

[take] on a different function than it had in Foucault's earlier works...[t]he genealogist is led back to find the system whose partial appropriation is contemporaneous with the beginnings of the cultural conditions he is seeking to understand. And it is this prior system in its integrity which the archaeologist unearths and seeks to make intelligible (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:256).

Archaeology specifies a method in which the formation of language, statements, and discourses are reconstructed according to specific rules which establish a multi-dimensional space in which numerous, and specific discourses function. Historical discourses are not to be understood here as documents which have an underlying logic or hidden meaning that reflect the intentions of their authors. Rather, they are to be understood, and treated as "monuments" (Foucault 1972a:7) in order to get away from the intentionality of those who produced them and to treat them in their own right with their own internal 'intelligibility'. Genealogy is a method in which historical events are highlighted in order to show the unique, yet multiple, discontinuous, and somewhat accidental outcomes that happen over historical time. Foucault utilizes Nietzsche's concepts of 'descent' and 'emergence' to replace orthodox history's obsession with linear origins. 'Descent' is the analysis of the potentially infinite events which are alive at any historical beginning, and this entails simultaneous rejection of any notions of stable, continuous historical narratives (Smart 1985:56). 'Emergence' is the analysis of the temporal "play of dominations" (Foucault 1977a:148). It is not to be understood as the end result of a process of historical development. Rather, these concepts point to spaces or to an "incorporeal materialism" (Foucault 1972b:231) in which numerous forces are in continuous struggle with each other for dominance. This is always an on-going process in which successive powers or forces establish periods, and possibly epochs of dominance.

But, the possibilities for resistance and usurpation are also incessant. Michael Payne comments on the concept of 'emergence':

The idea of emergence is important, however, in that it exposes the dynamics of contending forces that activate history. One force may contend with another, divide and contend with itself, fall into lassitude, or regain strength. Emergence...is simply the moment of the eruption of force...[t]he drama of subjugation is endlessly replayed there, not in order to reach a point at which combat gives way to reciprocity or war submits to law. The total warfare of contending forces does not simply exhaust itself in a contradiction that positively gives rise to peace and law; rather, the law itself continues the endless play of domination (Payne 1997:22)

In this respect historical change is understood as a never-ending story of repeating formations of one form of dominance to another, instead of the usual self-evidence offered from traditional histories of increasing rationalization, or modernization of 'man' and 'society'. Change and transformation in history thus belong to those forces and effects which are capable of establishing dominance through the rules of interpretation, whether they be of religious, juridical, political, or popular domains. In other words, "the history which bears and determines us has the form of a war...relations of power, not relations of meaning" (Foucault 1980:114).

One of the central reasons Foucault developed these methods was in order to escape that sort of traditional historical analysis which tended to attribute all meaning in history to the transcendental subject. In this traditional form of analysis there is a belief in the ability of science to capture the 'essence' of history and therefore to come closer to an understanding of the 'true' nature of 'man'. In contrast, the Foucauldian method leaves consciousness and the subject aside, allowing historical analysis the freedom to examine historical discourses and practices on their own without relying on metaphysical notions such as 'man'. What begins to emerge from the deployment of this method is a conception of history in which difference, disruption, and discontinuity lie at historical beginnings rather than central, or fixed, points of origin. A term of Foucault's which could be used to

describe the dual archaeological-genealogical method is "eventalization", which he describes as

First of all, a breach of self evidence. It [eventalization] means making visible a singularity at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant, an immediate anthropological trait, or an obviousness which imposes itself uniformly on all...[s]econdly, eventalization means rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies, and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary. In this sense one is indeed effecting a sort of multiplication or pluralization of causes (Foucault 1991:76).

This method reveals that there are no historical necessities. For example, such taken for granted notions in history such as penal confinement for prisoners are breached and shown to be the outcome of a whole process of numerous forces at play within the juridical realm and to a plethora of external discourses and practices, which are shown to be not directly connected to penal incarceration, but are attached to it through a multiplicity of strategies, accidents, and other external and unintended causalities (Foucault 1980:195). Thus, the Foucauldian method remains in opposition to traditional historical analysis in that its major task is to reveal that beneath the constructed unity of things there lies not a central point of origin, but numerous points of dispersion (Foucault 1991:76). By dismantling the foundations of history, eventalization proceeds to dismantle the idea of timeless and universal truths. Since there are no hidden meanings or ahistorical structures in this interpretation of history, this method involves the endless uncovering of layers of dominant interpretations which have achieved the status of being 'true'. Summing up his method of eventalization, Foucault said

[t]o put the matter clearly: my problem is to see how men govern (themselves and others) by the production of truth....[and] to resituate the production of true and false at the heart of historical analysis and political critique (Foucault 1991:79).

In an early text, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault outlines his idea of "discursive formation" (Foucault 1972a).² First, the term 'discourse' is meant here as

a group of statements which provide a language for talking about- i.e. a way of representing- a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed (Hall 1996:201).

In this usage, discourses are not in any way singular but are made up of multiple statements (*enonce-enonciation*) which under certain conditions and rules can form into a discursive formation. The discursive formation in turn delineates a 'field' in which particular 'positionalities' of speakers/writers of the discourse adhere to a certain way of thinking, understanding, and doing, according to laws which operate behind what are deemed as true or false statements and practices (Sheridan 1980:99). Thus, a discourse refers to a production of knowledge (and therefore to power), but the very important key to this is the role of 'practices' or 'discursive practices'. Stuart Hall states " [s]ince all social practices entail *meaning*, all practices have a discursive aspect. So discourse enters into and influences all social practices" (Hall 1996:201-02). However, for purposes of clarification, an archaeological analysis is not after the hidden or underlying meaning of discourses, it is focused on the 'rules' and relations of discourse which make meaning possible, and not after meaning itself (Major-Poetzl, 1983:35). Archaeology is a "task", as Foucault puts it,

that consists of not- of no longer- treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe (Foucault 1972a:49).

²Foucault describes a "discursive formation" as: "Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation* - thus avoiding words that are already overlaid with conditions and consequences, and in any case inadequate to the task of designating such a dispersion, such as 'science', 'ideology', 'theory', or 'domain of objectivity' (Foucault 1972a:38).

Therefore, discursive practices are important in that they acknowledge the 'reality' of discourse. They make the necessary link between knowledge and reality, or ideas and practices. Hunt and Wickham describe it this way

Discourses have real effects; they are not just the way social issues get talked and thought about. They structure the possibility of what gets included and excluded and of what gets done or remains undone...In its most obvious sense discourse authorizes some to speak, some views to be taken seriously, while others marginalized, derided, excluded and even prohibited. Discourses impose themselves upon social life, indeed they produce what it is possible to think, speak and do (Hunt and Wickham 1994:8-9).

It is in this imperative which discourses (and more broadly discursive formations) assemble "truths". In this method, truth is not something 'out-there' waiting to be uncovered through scientific rigor. Instead, truth is 'produced' as mentioned above, as a battle between forces and strategies causing the emergence of "truth regimes"³(Foucault, 1991:79). However, this does not mean that truth is simply the concealed relations of power, and that there is nothing in life which is 'true'. What Foucault is trying to analyze is how truth, power, strategy, and knowledge/practice establish relations with each other which are fixed for a period of time, and in turn can drastically 'rupture' into another set of principles, rules of procedure, and relations of power unrelated (or related) to the previous form from which it descended. The operations, and relations of forces are intimately connected to this process.

Another important theme in Foucault's work is how power can produce knowledge, and how knowledge can produce power. For example, new discourses, practices, and institutions interconnected through a developing knowledge (*savoir*) of European liberalism around the eighteenth century produced a new domain of power, and a new mode of being connected to a new spatial division between 'the State' and civil society, new knowledges and technologies of government concerned and connected to

³"Truth regimes" operate alongside, and are replaced by old, new, and renewed truths.

new conceptions of 'population' and 'economy', and to the rise of the bourgeois class. Not one of these 'forces' just mentioned was the causal variable of transformation and change, but they all influenced, and were influenced by each other as well as by other numerous forces at play, during this event in Western European history. However, new 'knowledges' of the population, and a new understanding of the word 'economy' connected with existing practices of government and began to designate a new "level of reality" and a new "field of intervention" (Foucault 1991:93). This historical event was also a new formation of a discourse: liberalism. In other words, a new discursive formation developed which would greatly influence how people would govern themselves as well as others.

The unity of a discursive formation or its 'functionality' is not based on the conventional notions of propositional logic of scientific evolution, or even of the unity of elements which make up a discursive formation. Instead, a discursive formation should be understood as an 'interspace' for the *dispersion* of its elements. As Foucault puts it, it is "the space in which discursive events are deployed" (Foucault, 1972a:29). Its analytical purpose is to describe the formation of specific discourses, and their relationships to other discourses through the interplay of 'rules' of formation.

These rules of formation are what Foucault deems "discursive relations"⁴, which are multiple and have various interconnections with other discourses and with other discursive formations. These interactions between discourses and discursive practices are the key to the differentiation and transformation of a discursive formation (Gutting 1989:238). It is the interplay of these rules/relations⁵ which make possible the appearance

⁴"These relations characterize not the language (*langue*) used by discourse, nor the circumstance in which it is deployed, but the discourse itself as a practice." (Foucault 1972a:46) Later on in the same text he describes them as, "a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function" (Foucault 1972a:117).

⁵In an essay on Foucault, Michel DeCerteau comments on this aspect of Foucault's work and writes, "...meanings must be grasped in terms of relations (and no longer as something hidden and seen); for propositions, texts or institutions, as for the words of a language, the value accorded each element is determined and can be explained only by the relations into which it enters" (DeCerteau 1985:175).

of objects (and subjects) of a discursive formation during a given period of time. To reiterate, the object of a discursive formation is not defined by its statements once and for all, but are constantly (re)forming and changing, so that the object(s) of the same discursive formation (eg, nationalism) can transform into something quite different within a very short period of time.⁶ To put this another way, the statements, that is, the "serious speech acts" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:48)⁷ are constitutive of the elements of the discursive formation, and do not refer to a "secret content" of a "silent self -enclosed truth" outside of discourse. For example, Foucault describes the role statements play in the discursive formation of madness this way:

...mental illness was constituted by all that was said in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its developments, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave it speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were taken to be its own (Foucault 1972a:32).

Furthermore, every statement has a 'subject' (different from the Cartesian subject, and not a consciousness) which is a 'position' that can be 'filled' in certain contexts by various individuals. The subject that makes the statement, or the enunciation, is taking a position which has already been defined by the rules of the discursive formation, and not the internal 'cogito' of the subject (Gutting, 1989:241). Also, a discursive formation is 'reflexive' in the sense that it is always being elaborated, and contested, and the possibilities for transformation are potentially never-ending. As Foucault reminds us:

⁶Foucault clarifies this somewhat in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, when describing the rules of the formation of madness he writes "...the problem arises of knowing whether the unity of a discourse is based not so much on the permanence and the uniqueness of an object as on the space in which various objects emerge and are continuously transformed. Would not the typical relation that would enable us to individualize a group of statements concerning madness then be: the rule of simultaneous or successive emergence of the various objects that are named, described, analyzed, appreciated, or judged in that relation? The unity of discourses on madness would not be based upon the existence of the object 'madness', or the constitution of a single horizon of objectivity; it would be the interplay of the rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time...[m]oreover, the unity of the discourses on madness would be the interplay of the rules that define the transformations of these different objects, their non-identity through time, the break produced in them, the internal discontinuity that suspends their permanence" (Foucault 1972a:33).

⁷"Any speech act can be serious if one sets up the necessary validation procedures, community of experts, and so on. For example, "It is going to rain" is normally an everyday speech act with only local significance, but it can also be a serious speech act if uttered by a spokesman for the National Weather Service as a consequence of a general meteorological theory" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:48).

[A] system of formation is no stranger to time...[it] does not play the role of a figure that arrests time and freezes it for decades or for centuries; it determines a regularity proper to temporal processes; it presents the principle of articulation between a series of discursive events, transformations, mutations, and processes. It is not an atemporal form, but a schema of correspondence between several temporal series (Foucault 1972a:74).

The production of a discursive formation depends on four key rules: the rules for the formation of objects, the rules for the formation of enunciative modalities, the rules for the formation of concepts, and the rules for the formation of strategies (Foucault, 1972a). These rules, according to Foucault, elaborate how statements, constitute subject-object 'positions', (radically different from the conscious, self-forming 'identity' in humanist discourses) which have already been defined based on the rules of the specific discursive formation in question (Gutting 1989:241). These rules which govern the discursive formation, and the 'positionalities' within it, are not transcendental or ahistorical, but on the contrary have distinct, and identifiable, historical relations.

For example, with respect to the rules of the formation of objects, Foucault claims that a discursive formation is defined if one can establish a group of relations between: "surfaces of emergence", "authorities of delimitation", and "grids of specification" (Foucault 1972a:44). 'Surfaces of emergence' are rules that designate 'points' for the a) separation of certain objects from a social context, and brought within the space of the discursive formation, and b) the whole 'normalization' process where the object is now given a 'status', is analyzed, and observed, from within its new domain..."and therefore of making it manifest, nameable, and describable" (Foucault, 1972a:41). "Authorities of delimitation" are rules and connections which establish locations and subjects from which authoritative discourse can be recognized, analyzed, limited, and practised (Foucault, 1972a:42). "Grids of specification" are what Foucault deems as 'systems' in which different aspects of objects of the discursive formation are "divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another" (Foucault, 1972a:42). In other words,

like a taxonomic table, these order, classify, and hierarchize different kinds of objects within a discursive formation. The example Foucault gives for this is the different kinds of madness which were "derived from one another as objects of psychiatric discourse." In the nineteenth century these were; the soul, the body, and the life history of individuals (Foucault 1972a:42).

One frequent criticism of Foucault is that he places too much emphasis on discourses. This is a good place to reiterate that Foucault was not an idealist, and his analytics were about a lot more than just discourse. A good way to make this aspect clearer is to explore his concept of "apparatus" (*dispositif*). It is with this concept that Foucault exemplifies that his purpose is to show that the heterogeneous system of relations within a discursive formation is about "the said as much as the unsaid" (Foucault 1980:194). In other words, he is trying to work out what Dreyfus and Rabinow call an "interpretive analytics" which takes account of the numerous non-discursive, as well as discursive elements which make up an apparatus, and the "relations which can be established between these elements" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:122). Elemental examples of a *dispositif* are, according to Foucault:

...a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions...[s]uch are the elements of the apparatus." (Foucault 1980:194)

Another important aspect of the concept of apparatus, is its recognition of a "functional overdetermination" and the continual "strategic elaboration" involved with the operations of every apparatus. What these two methodological terms do is to recognize first, that because of the plurality of effects, there is necessarily an 'overdetermination' between them which creates certain contradictory effects and forces. Keeping this in mind, there is also a series of perpetual strategic reconfigurations

adapting to the differences produced between effects and forces involved in each apparatus.

This account of *dispositif* is linked to Foucault's notion of 'strategy' in his analysis of historical events. This is similar to Nietzsche's now famous critique of Hegel, in the sense that there is no originary moment, or subject of a strategy, which has its negation and synthesis. Rather, strategies are the interactions between multiple forces, and effects which travel in a direction not intended by any single 'agent' but are "necessarily, radically contingent" (Hunt, and Wickham 1994:33; Foucault 1980:195). By establishing these systems of relations of an apparatus, one can also narrow down the historical moment when an apparatus is recognized as part of an overall "strategic objective" (Foucault 1980:195). We must be careful here. This is not a methodological search for authentic beginnings, or a way to determine the intentions of subjects reconfigured in a new concept, but rather a temporal genesis, derived from various points of descent and emergence, causalities, wills, and an answer to a "dire necessity" in history (Foucault 1980:195; Foucault 1997a:58). For example, Foucault explains in an interview:

...I understand by the term 'apparatus' a sort of -shall we say- formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an *urgent need*. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function. This may have been, for example, the assimilation of a floating population found to be burdensome for an essentially mercantilist economy... What did this apparatus produce? An entirely unforeseen effect which had nothing to do with any kind of strategic ruse on the part of some meta- or trans-historic subject willing and conceiving it (Foucault 1980:195).

This apparatus which has as its target the 'population' that Foucault speaks of, leads us to another important Foucauldian method utilized in this work. 'Governmentality' (sometimes also referred to by Foucault as "government" or "biopolitics"). This concept has a quite different understanding from the usual notion of government which traditionally refers to a legislature, parliament, or form of state institution. However, in the Foucauldian sense, government is used as a verb, in which to describe a previously

invisible (theoretically at least) power relation. He locates the explosive emergence, and descent, of this exercise of (non-sovereign) power, or "rationality", roughly around the historical events of the development first of mercantilism, then industrialism on the one hand, and the birth and expansion of the human sciences on the other (Ransom, 1997:61).

This new relation of power can be found operating in numerous distinct and separate locales or domains, and is tied to particular characterizations of true and false in knowledges or discourses. What makes this conceptualization of power so completely unique is that usual understandings of governmental power are thought to be relatively centralized and deployed from 'sovereign' institutions such as 'the state' or the judiciary. Governmentality on the other hand, is the occupation of numerous agents not necessarily within the jurisdiction of the state. This is similar to Nietzsche's conception of the "will to power", in the sense that Foucault's 'government' does not necessarily operate negatively, as a repressive or censoring power, but rather 'governmentality' is a polyhedron of *relations* of power concerned with the 'lifeblood' or the healthy *production* and reproduction of populations and individuals within the boundaries of its jurisdiction and veridiction. In the first volume of his text, The History of Sexuality, Foucault wrote

...power would no longer be dealing simply with subjects over whom the ultimate dominion was death, but with living beings, and the mastery it would be able to exercise over them would be applied at the level of life itself; it was the taking charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body (Foucault 1978:142-43).

This is why 'governmentality' is also referred to by Foucault as "biopower" or "biopolitics", because of its ability to operate 'below' the level of the traditional, and assumed to be self-evident notion of the legal, or sovereign subject. The governmental power to which Foucault refers operates at the (micro) level of bodies (non-discursive), and subject 'positions' (discursive). As mentioned above, this type of power is fundamentally tied to the production of knowledge (discourse), and especially notions of 'truth' and 'falsity' within particular domains of discourse. The production of truth and

falsity establishes (albeit permeable) boundaries which influence who, what, where, why, and how people govern themselves, and others. This idea of power is also 'creative' in the sense that it 'produces' (and therefore "disciplines") the actual subjects and objects with which it is concerned. Traditional theories and understandings usually place power on the 'oppressive', or 'evil' side of the binary opposition; freedom/suppression, or good/evil. Foucault does not deny that power can be both good and bad, or that power can and does dominate and repress. But Foucault insists that we must also recognize that power is not inherently evil, but actually essential for the functioning of our culture. The mistake according to Foucault, is to place power on one side of the binary, or to imagine power to be 'held' by a central source. We should instead, according to Foucault, understand power as fluid relations or "relations of power". In one interview Foucault puts it this way;

The analyses I am trying to make bear essentially on relations of power. By this I mean something different from states of domination. Power relations are extremely widespread in human relationships. Now, this means not that political power is everywhere, but there is in human relationships a whole range of power relations which come into play among individuals, within families, in pedagogical relationships, political life, and so on...(Foucault 1997b:283) It seems to me that we must distinguish between power relations understood as strategic games between liberties- in which some try to control the conduct of others, who in turn try to avoid allowing their conduct to be controlled... and the states of domination that people ordinarily call "power" (Foucault 1997b:299).

Governmentality, as a method, purports to account for the numerous discourses, practices, and 'technologies' of government, which affect individuals and the population. Again, these power relations most often operate below the level of the 'consent' required in traditional liberal understandings of power. For example, in the liberal model, power is located and fixed in a particular person, class, or space, and 'society' or 'the individual' are imagined to be outside of the locale of power. Power which does not operate according to the required consent of the public, is considered illegitimate. However, no one 'consents' to the power relations analyzed with the governmentality concept. In fact, these power relations are often unrecognizable (in the first instance at least) because we 'assemble' or 'enfold' ourselves through numerous governmental technologies, available in the worlds

we inhabit. In the end, there is no clear distinction between the inside and the outside these power relations. This is because, according to Foucault, there is no *outside* to discourse, or discursive practices, in which the theoretician can tell us what is true, and what is not. In an interview Foucault stated that

The essential political problem for the intellectual is not to criticize the ideological contents supposedly linked to a science...but that of ascertaining the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth. The problem is not changing people's consciousness...but the political, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the present time...[t]he political question...is not error, illusion, alienated consciousness or ideology; it is truth itself (Foucault 1980:133).

Under the general term "technologies of government" Foucault has distinguished between what he calls "political technologies of individuals" and "technologies of the self"⁸. Technologies of the self are the numerous 'techniques' (ethical practices) we appropriate, modify, and resist everyday in order to govern our own behavior, as well as others around us. There are as many sources for these as there are techniques, although some emerge as more dominant, popular, or 'truthful' than others. How we decide which techniques or practices of government we choose in our lives usually depends on complex choices and negotiations by a specific individual, and her/his specific circumstances in their lives. In other respects, "political technologies of government" refer to those governmental techniques which are interconnected with the operations and functions of a nation or 'the state'. It is through these technologies in which we recognize ourselves to be part of a 'society' or a 'nation' (Foucault 1988:146).

Political technologies of individuals, according to Foucault, were born in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the general idea of a 'reason of state'

⁸In one of his lectures, Foucault refers to four major types of "technologies" that human beings use to understand themselves, each of which are a "matrix of practical reason" (Foucault 1997b:225). Elsewhere he has referred to a "political technology of the body" (eg, Foucault 1977:162). However, this study would like to utilize his less developed, "political technologies of individuals" (Foucault 1988:46) in order to examine how humans become a part of a nation or a state. One of the central arguments that will be discussed in the following chapters is that through the institutionalization of radio broadcasting (CRBC), individuals can ethically create 'national-identities' through the programming, and content (including non-Canadian) offered over its airwaves. In this sense, this study views the political rationality of the CRBC as a political technology that links individuals to a larger social entity in the form of 'the nation'.

(Foucault 1988:148). This was the idea that the government of individuals and populations is an objective for the state, in that its ends are for the expansion and reproduction of the state itself. This type of governmental reason and practice is unique in the history of the West in that it differs from the Christian and Machiavellian traditions of government. For example, it differs from the Christian practice in that its aims are not about salvation, or adherence to 'natural' and divine laws. It also differs from the Machiavellian tradition because it does not aim to reproduce the power of the Prince, but rather it aims "...to reinforce the state itself....to its nature, and to its own rationality" (Foucault 1988:149-50).

The important point about the historical rationale of reason of the state, is that a new relation is established between politics and a specific knowledge and practice. "For the first time...the one who has to rule others in the framework of the state has to be a politician, has to attain a specific political competence and knowledge" (Foucault 1988:151). This emergence of the 'politician' was combined with the extension of the model of 'economy' (previously confined to households or the family) to the larger social landscape, along with the emergence of the intellectual technology of statistics. 'Political knowledge', connected to a reason of state is about government of the populations in order to strengthen the state. Knowledge begins to become necessary for governing in the sense that by knowing the strengths and weaknesses of the state, and other states, certain political decisions can be made that will create differences in the overall functioning of the state according to its needs, and its position in the global order of states (Foucault 1988:151).

New knowledges and discourses create new modes and domains of action and existence, and also new techniques of practice and/or government. The new technique of

government connected to the reason of state is what Foucault calls "police"⁹ (Foucault 1988:153). This, according to Foucault, is also quite different than the Greek form of ethical attachment to the polis or community:

From the state's point of view, the individual exists insofar as what he does is able to introduce even a minimal change in the strength of the state, either in a positive or negative direction. It is only insofar as an individual is able to introduce this change that the state has to do with him...[t]he marginalistic integration of individuals in the state's utility is not obtained in the modern state by the form of the ethical community which was characteristic of the Greek city. It is obtained in this new political rationality by a certain specific technique called then, at this moment, the police...What I am looking for...are the techniques, the practices, which give concrete form to this new political rationality and to this new kind of relationship between the social entity and the individual (Foucault 1988:153)

Traditional analysis of the state, for the most part, focuses on the operations of institutions, administrations, and ideologies which are perceived to be the 'drivers' of the state machine. However, Foucault points out that with the birth of the technology of police, a new field of intervention, and subsequently a new field of reality is developed which makes individuals within the territory of a state a significant target of attention for governmental technologies and practices. These are located within the state as well as outside the state through the development of a new 'apparatus' (*dispositif*) of power-knowledge relations which reconfigures how individuals become objects of the state or the techniques of 'police' (policy). The technologies which are developed through these relations become, according to Foucault, "political technologies of individuals".

The "political technologies of individuals" concept can be useful for the purposes of historical research regarding nationalism in Canada, along with Foucault's concept of 'government' in the belief that both are necessary when considering the contextual location of analysis: Canada. For example, the practice of liberalism is never universal, as

⁹"When people spoke about police at this moment, they spoke about the specific techniques by which a government in the framework of the state was able to govern people as individuals significantly useful for the world" (Foucault 1988:154).

can be seen with the uses it has been put in Canada as compared to the extent or utility that it was in Britain or the United States (Owram 1986:29-30). Because of its vast geography, harsh climate, scattered and sparse populations, and its history as a 'colonized' space, in need of "improvement" (Hunt and Wickham 1994:26), Canada has quite a different story regarding the development of governmental apparatuses than those in Europe, and the United States. Therefore, the uniqueness of the historical context must be taken into account before methods are applied in this kind of research. For example, most historians agree that 'the state' has always had a large role in historical development in Canada, which is a key part of its distinctiveness as a nation when compared to the history of American, and Western European nation-states. Political technologies of individuals combined with the above methods, are able to take account of the unique role of the somewhat 'mercantilist' mentality, and a quasi-liberal state apparatus in Canada at this time in its history. Generally speaking, for the purposes of this study, Foucauldian concepts will be a focus of analysis in order to understand how individuals and the populations of Canada, come to envision themselves as citizens and subjects, and are seen as especially useful for discussing how 'culture' becomes connected to the functions of state apparatuses through discourses and techniques of nationalism.

The following chapters will put these methods and concepts into operation through an analysis of the 'eventalization' of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, and the subsequent birth of a national, cultural institutionalization which, this study argues, produced new 'modes of being' and new domains of government through new discursive practices and relations of 'social scientists', and the formation of a new apparatus (*dispositif*) of national culture. However, while taking into account the role played by state agencies and institutions, the production of the cultural 'field' cannot be thought as simply as part of the 'formation of the nation-state'. To reiterate, this will not be a new theorization of state formation, but an analysis of the practices of government of which 'the state' is one part, but not the central force. The sites and forces of the

development, and the effects of national culture are located both inside and outside the state. The state/civil society distinction will not be used here because the analysis undertaken will focus on the relations between discursive and non-discursive formations which transcend this opposition. In a sense this is a new mapping of the trajectory of the political relations between culture and 'the nation'. What is needed are new methods to make visible the relations of power that are formed from new discursive and non-discursive relations inside and outside of the state apparatus (Allor, and Gagnon, 1994:27). This will be the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Transformation of a National Apparatus: From Space to Government.

The previous chapters have been occupied with the general methodological concerns of this study. They have sought to lay out the key methods which in the following chapters will form an argument for a reconceptualization of Canadian cultural nationalism. These next two chapters will supplement the previous chapters with an emphasis on historical research and an examination of the practices and discourses of nationalism in the early part of this century, from the time of Laurier (1896) until the birth of the CRBC (1932). This historical examination will be very different from the traditional accounts of nationalism offered by the dominant historical discourse of Canada which, for example, (over) emphasizes the role of 'heroic' politicians leading the foray from "colony to nation" (Lower, 1969). Instead of linear continuity, disruptions in the discursive practices and modes of nationalism are stressed. Specifically, this chapter will examine the shift in the discursive practices and relations of the discursive formation of the nation which occurred (approximately) between 1878-1914.

Within the Foucauldian method, politicians and their political practices are not the most important force behind the 'doing' of government, but rather it is what Foucault terms "problematizations" which are constitutive of politics (Foucault 1997b:114). John Rachjman notes that Foucault's notion of 'problematizations' are ways of perceiving and responding to specific problems in a society during a certain historical period, and it is these "...problematizations that posed questions to politics and obliged it to transform its conception of itself...", rather than the other way around (Rachjman 1991:64).

For example, in early twentieth century Canada, it was the posing of new questions concerning the governance of the self and the governance of others, and the simultaneous formation of new knowledges, discourses and practices within several

domains which began a transformation regarding the practice of nationhood. Following the Foucauldian method, this transformation cannot be viewed as the function of a centralized power, such as an instrumental or autonomous state, but must be seen as taking place first in numerous locales outside the state. These would eventually lead to a change in the conception and operations of the Canadian state, and its relation to 'civil society'. This can be construed as an example of what Foucault refers to as the "governmentalization of the state" (Foucault 1991:103)¹. In other words, the birth of a modern, predominantly secular, cultural nationalism, began with a rapid transformation of the discursive formation of 'the nation'. Several new discursive practices, strategies and institutions were becoming fused with, or were gradually replacing older practices and relations. This fusion eventually became to form a new national apparatus, thereby a new 'nation-state', and a new architecture of power.

Central to this chapter is the argument that the discourse and practice of 'the nation' should be conceived as the (re)production of the 'cultural', through what Gilles Deleuze calls an "abstract machine" (Deleuze 1988:34). A similar idea can be discerned in Foucault's notion of the "diagram". For example, a national culture, broadly understood, composed of such things as national institutions like the CRBC, the National Gallery, a national literature, a national history, or a national art movement, are ordered according to a certain rationality or regime of power/knowledge based upon both discursive, and non-discursive formations. In Deleuze's text on Foucault, he explains Foucault's "diagrammatic functions" this way;

The diagram is no longer an auditory or visual archive but a map, a cartography that is coextensive with the whole social field. It is an abstract machine. It is defined by its informal functions and matter and in terms of

¹"[T]he governmentalization of the state is at the same time what has permitted the state to survive, and it is possible to suppose that if the state is what it is today, this is precisely so thanks to this governmentality, which is at once internal and external to the state, since it is the tactics of government which make possible the continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state and what is not, the public versus private, and so on; thus the state can only be understood in its survival and its limits on the basis of the general tactics of governmentality" (Foucault, 1991:103).

form makes no distinction between content and expression, a discursive formation and a non-discursive formation. It is a machine that is almost blind and mute, even though it makes others see and speak...every diagram is intersocial and constantly evolving. It never functions in order to represent a persisting world but produces a new kind of reality, a new model of truth (Deleuze 1988:34-5).

This is not to say that all of the institutions or practices we have mentioned are simply configured in an identical manner, or that they are even perpetuating the same object or 'nation'. Rather, they are categorized together because they were constituted through multiple rationales and logics based on a historically specific 'positivity', and on an epistemology of nationalism. Which is to say, different understandings of nationalism and different techniques and practices of nationalism are used in different ways depending upon the context (Dean 1994:170). In any event, the important point here is that together these practices and discourses form an apparatus, thereby working to configure a certain unity of the time and space of the nation, and also as a response to a particular "urgent need" (Foucault 1980:195).

The response in this case was to seismic transformations taking place within the social, political, theological, geo-political, artistic, and economic fabric of Canada, at the beginning of what has been called the "century of Canada" (Careless 1970:301). The strategic function was not singular but numerous. True to the conception of an apparatus, not all of the effects and consequences can be construed as the result of specific intentions or actions by groups or individuals. However, through the various maneuvers of the various players concerned about culture, and the nation, a new domain of existence was born. The (re)production of cultural nationalism which took place during this period involves the development of new statements, and knowledges of the nation about its inhabitants, and its resources. At the same time, new practices affiliated with changing social relations of both local and international events, resulting in a disposition of knowledge and power, effecting as it were, the national 'soul'. In general, this effect is what Mitchell Dean calls a 'global strategy' (Dean 1994:167), culminating in a new

assemblage of a national cultural space in which borders, or the "interior frontiers" (Stoler 1995:7) of good and evil, patriotic and treasonous, inside and outside were grafted and resisted. The formation of this new national space was built upon numerous strategic relations at the local, provincial, and federal levels, as Foucault says "from the great strategies of geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitat" (Foucault 1980:149). The key is the 'simultaneity' of the whole process.

This chapter and the next, will seek to outline the discursive formation in the field of cultural nationalism in the early twentieth century by first examining some of the 'events' of discourse through the production of statements and practices concerning the field of culture, and the link to 'the nation' and its populations. Secondly, the formation of a cultural-national apparatus in which various discursive practices, knowledges, institutions, and strategies become joined together in a new field of political rationality (based on individuals and populations) will be discussed. In other words, the production of new systems of relations between previously unrelated discourses and practices came to be associated with 'the nation' and its subsequent transformation. This set up a new domain, or apparatus, made up of various relations between new and old discourses and practices, new and old institutions in which the nation as a political and governmental project of true versus false, inside opposed to outside were constructed and also, deconstructed. This new formation is simultaneously a virtual, and a material 'matrix', effecting physical, as well as metaphysical environments. Before this, however, I will briefly describe the previous national apparatus (1867- 1895), which I argue was chiefly made up of a spatial "diagrammatic" (see above) logic.

POST CONFEDERATION NATIONAL APPARATUS

A.R.M. Lower writes that even though the new Dominion of Canada soon acquired 'national' organizations after Confederation one could not speak of an existing feeling of nationalism or an "inner concept" of Canada (Lower 1969:354). What had

united the four previous British colonies, according to Lower, was the expansionist and ever powerful United States (Lower 1969:379) and not the feeling of a national affiliation or unity. In the days of John A. MacDonald, to live in Canada was to be first and foremost British, regardless of the presence of Quebecois, non-British immigrants and First Nations. Because of 'the Conquest', and the fact that the population was made up of a majority of British origin, there was an assumption that a respect for (British) liberalism, Protestant Christianity, and capacities for social virtue, moral integrity, and "civic self-policing" already existed in the majority of people and it would be a matter of time for the assimilation of the rest (Valverde 1991:105).

Needless to say, most individuals and political communities at the time were tied to regional, ethnic, religious, class, age, and gender 'identities', not 'Canadian'. For example, Lower writes that there was an estimated 2000 lodges, with over 100,000 members of the Orange Order in Ontario at this time. Ontario, having a population around 500,000, the influence of this sectarian organization is easily imaginable (Lower 1969:373). The situation with Catholicism in Quebec was similar: "[t]he atmosphere of religious hatred prevailing in the Canada of the 1870's and 1880's accounted for more political changes to a greater degree than did National Policies" (Lower 1969:373). Furthermore, "[i]t was first of all a man's own home that commanded his loyalty, then his church, after that town or province, and on full-dress occasions, the Empire." (Lower 1969:406). Ramsay Cook notes that during this time period, the essence of social criticism in English Canada was mainly through "religious and theological" discourse (Cook 1985:8). Also, the influential historian G.M. Wrong "habitually spoke of Canadians as preeminently a British people", and that "Canada was a British country" (Berger 1986:11). Also, education (an important 'moulder' of subjectivity) remained a provincial, or regional matter,² and the cultural sphere was either preoccupied with things English, or European, or very local such as so called 'folk' culture. By most accounts, one

²With the exception of First Nations, which was Federal jurisdiction.

could not speak of a national culture. For example, Carl Berger points out that critics in Canada at this time blamed,

the smallness of the population divided into two linguistic groups, the absorption with pioneering and material growth, and the colonial condition that implied a reliance on imported reading matter, an imitative spirit, and a lack of faith in native ability. Always they mentioned that Canada as yet possessed no wealthy leisure class that in other societies served as the custodian and creator of a national literature would almost automatically follow as a consequence of material maturity and the flowering of a national spirit (Berger 1986:3).

In almost all accounts, the 'dominant' discourse regarding nationalism was one which spoke of imperial ties to Great Britain.³ National sovereignty at this time was somewhat ambiguous because of Canadian reliance on British military protection, and British legislation. The Canadian Parliament could not even change the position of its capital without consulting the British Parliament first (Berger 1986:12).

However, there was a plan of action, and a rough design to unify the nation by the Canadian Parliament. This can be seen in J.A. MacDonald's "National Policy" of 1878. When the MacDonald Conservatives returned to power in 1878, they laid out the blueprints for what J.M.S. Careless would call "the most daring period of nation-building in Canada's history" (Careless 1970:276). This was composed of three parts; tariff protection, a national railway, and immigration and settlement of the West.

First of all, the tariff was designed to promote investment and the development of industry within Canada. It was hoped that the tariff would protect existing industry in from external competition, especially from the United States, and at the same time it would help increase the flow of trade between east and west. Staples from the Prairies or the Maritimes for example, would be processed in the industrial heartland of Ontario and Quebec, and a national market economy would result. The MacDonald government also

³ Although there were groups at this time which advocated an attitude of 'Canada first', and the importance of such things as a national history, ideology, etc., they were more about how Canada can strengthen its ties to the Empire rather than strengthening a local, distinct, national entity (Creighton 1970:43).

granted a railway monopoly (along with generous land grants) to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in exchange for the completion of a national railway which would establish a line from the east coast to the west coast. In order to spur demand for the railway, and the consumption of Canadian manufactured goods, immigration and settlement of the prairies was a necessary component of the National Policy. Also, immigrants were seen as necessary to discourage what was then believed to be attempts of annexation of the west by the United States.

This multi-pronged strategy was the culmination of many decades under the sway of MacDonald Conservatism. These policies were designed to produce a nation from a governmental apparatus which has territory as its central object. In other words, territorial sovereignty and territorial security were the main rationality behind the 1878 National Policy. Its main purpose was to establish "structures of sovereignty" in a regime of space, which is both material and imaginary. For example, it aimed to transform what Deleuze would call "smooth space" largely inhabited by groups such as First Nations, Metis, miners, and fur traders in the west, into a "striated space" of the State⁴ (Deleuze 1993:167). In the rush to settle the western frontier of the United States, which took place twenty years prior to Canadian settlement, homesteaders, miners, farmers, and adventurers were the first non-Aboriginal people's to "open up" the West. State governance came in after initial settlement by the groups we have mentioned (farmers, etc.). Contrary to this, in Canada, the trek westward was lead by state 'officials' who had the task of surveying, and policing the land and its inhabitants. Donald Creighton writes that

The power of the state preceded rather than followed the westward movement in Canada. Long before any considerable body of settlers

⁴Deleuze and Guattari describe "State space" as, "striated, or gridded. Movement in it is confined as by gravity to a horizontal plane, and limited by the order of that plane to preset paths between fixed and identifiable points. Nomad space is 'smooth', or open ended. One can rise up at any point and move to any other." (Deleuze and Guattari 1991:xiii). The construction of canals, or the transcontinental railway provides a classic exemplar of such striated space.

reached the west, federal Indian agents, surveyors, engineers, and police had arrived to prepare the way for the newcomers and to protect and control them (Creighton 1970:26).⁵

The official survey of the huge region of what was then the Northwest Territory had begun in 1869, and during the 1870's numerous treaties were negotiated with several western First Nations which meant surrendering their land in exchange for federal reserve life. Along with these events, the North West Mounted Police established their presence in the west in 1874 (Creighton, 1970:26). These 'state' operations were mainly about circumscribing a national spatial policy in the sense that they had as their central characteristic the aim to 'fix' objects and boundaries, regardless of whether they be natural resources, or individuals and groups of people. Mechanisms of territorial sovereignty such as a national economy, and a national settlement campaign were the focus of the 'national apparatus' in this era of "challenge", which saw the forging of a 'nation-space' out of a union of previously separate British North American colonies.

However, 'John A.'s National Policy would not be effective until the revival of international trade after 1891, when the economic recession in Europe had passed (Creighton 1970:76-7; Brown and Cook 1974:83-4). Industry in England and France resumed at a fast pace and the populations of each required resources from the hinterlands of Canada for food and shelter. The return of the Dominion of Canada to prosperity also marked the election of Sir Wilfred Laurier and the second Liberal government of Canada. This was also, according to Careless, a time of a new "national confidence" in which Laurier could say, "[t]he nineteenth century was the century of the United States, the twentieth century will be the century of Canada" (Careless 1970:301). Nevertheless,

⁵Northrop Frye makes a similar point when he remarks, "[c]ivilization in Canada, as elsewhere, has advanced geometrically across the country, throwing down the long parallel lines of the railways, dividing up the farm lands into chessboards of square-mile sections and concession-line roads. There is little adaptation to nature: in both architecture and arrangement, Canadian cities and villages express rather an arrogant abstraction, the conquest of nature by an intelligence that does not love it...Canadian expansion westward had a tight grip of authority over it that American expansion, with its outlaws and sheriffs and vigilantes and the like, did not have in the same measure. America moved from the back country to the wild west; Canada moved from a New France held down by British military occupation to a Northwest patrolled by mounted police" (Frye 1995:226).

Lower notes that, "[b]y the end of the century the communities of Canada still had to become the community of Canada. The over-riding conception, of a Canadian nation was still vague" (Lower 1969:408). However, this begins to change with the end of the "first age of the Dominion" (Careless 1970:300) and with it came new "problematizations" regarding the governing practices and discourses of 'the nation'.

'STATE' OF TRANSITION

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Canada was a period of complex social shifts leading to re-assessments of old traditions and ways of perceiving and understanding the social landscape. Afterall, this was the age of 'modernization' with such aspects as the rapid expansion of machine technology, mass urban democracy, and electricity. Railways and telegraph lines had been developed considerably, and the first transoceanic wireless radio transmission was sent in 1901 from Cornwall, England to Signal Hill, Newfoundland (Vipond 1992:6). Also, revolutions were taking place in academic discourses with the influence of secular, 'scientific' evolutionary theories regarding 'man', 'society', and 'race'. Numerous inventions such as these were supposed to pave the way to a glorious future for the nations of the Western world, and by the early twentieth century, modernization, industrialization, and urbanization were effectively shifting the demographic landscape in Canada. For the first time in Canadian history, the majority of the population lived in the city, which became a major focus of attention for social reformers and those interested in the health of not just people living in the city but also 'the nation'. For example, George Munro Grant, principal of Queens University, spoke of how Canada was "territorially complete and economically was finally making rapid progress", but was still "empty as a nation". Grant asked,

[w]hat kind of nation is it to be? Is it to be a huge 'city of pigs',...or is it to be a land of high-souled men and women? (Grant, quoted from Owrham 1986:15).

It is here, with the "problem of the city" (Owram 1986:54) and the statements which created a new discourse, that a major opening for the production of a new knowledges/practices developed, eventually leading to a transformation in the discursive formation of the nation, and hence a new governmental apparatus. The event of urbanization-industrialization also meant the very important development of new fields of 'expertise' in the social field in Canada (Owram 186:54). In any event, changes in the social make up of 'the nation', and changes in discursive practices and relations from a number of locales began the transformation of the national apparatus from a 'spatial' to a 'governmental' logic.

As previously mentioned, MacDonald's National Policy did not make the impact it was intended (designing the 'nation-space') until after world events such as, the recovery of international trade, new agricultural technologies, the completion of the C.P.R., and a vigorous publicity campaign in Europe and the U.S., by the Ministry of the Interior, led to increased immigration to the Canadian West. As a result, there was to be increased prosperity for the railways, industries and the government of Canada. Also during the period between 1896 to 1901, the population of Canada expanded by 2.5 million, and from 1901 to 1911 it had doubled in size (Careless 1970:304). Lower describes this period as,

a most extraordinary change in the material situation, which within a few years completely transformed her [Canada], giving her two new provinces and more new people than had been added in a generation. These newcomers fundamentally altered the character of the Dominion, for many of them were of alien extraction. The new life was felt everywhere. Cities east and west began to shoot ahead in population and wealth. Canada at last seemed to have its feet on that endless road of prosperity and growth which its American neighbor had so long been treading (Lower 1969:420).

These material and demographic developments brought new problematizations in the field of governance. Accompanying the new problematizations was a change in the power/knowledge relations in the field of nationalism. Articulations of 'the nation', along

with emerging intellectual technologies and practices transformed the system of relations within the discursive formation of nationalism, and literally, a new 'nation' was born. Again, it is not the 'ontological' roots of nationalism which are being described here, but instead it is a shift in the 'abstract formula' or the "epistemologization" (MacKay 1997:80) of nationalism, and the new relations formed between a number of heterogeneous elements which brought about this shift. Nationalism in Canada was not something which simply evolved from the fact of Confederation, but should be understood as something that was, "administered...it called for management procedures; it had to be taken charge of by analytical discourses...an ordered maximization of collective and individual forces...through useful and public discourses" (Foucault 1978:24-5). I argue that the production of new "statements" in such fields as the discipline of (old) Canadian Political Economy, and within the discourse associated with 'cultural producers', perform as 'generators' of new objects, and new domains/apparatuses of government.⁶

Before we get to the statements however, a reminder that a discursive formation was defined in the previous chapter as having four main rules; the rules on the formation of, 1) objects, 2) enunciative modalities, 3) concepts, and 4) themes. This thesis will focus on the first aspect, the formation of objects, in order to demonstrate how certain objects come to be linked to the nation (giving the impression of authenticity), through new systems of relations. Foucault sums up this task in this fashion;

...it is not the objects that remain constant, nor the domain that they form; it is not even their point of emergence or their mode of characterization; but the relation between the surfaces on which they appear, on which they can be delimited, on which they can be analyzed and specified (Foucault 1972a:47)

The rules for the formation of objects as noted by Foucault, involve three key relations. They are; 1) "surfaces of emergence", 2) "authorities of delimitation", and 3)

⁶I recognize there are other fields and locales, such as medicine, religion, and education which attributed to this shift, but I will focus here on political economists and the others will be left for further study.

"grids of specification". Surfaces of emergence are where certain social objects 'appear' in a discursive formation, or are specified to be a part of a discursive formation. Surfaces of emergence can be new or old, and they are differentiated, designated, and hierarchialized according to certain degrees of rationalization within the space of the discursive formation (Foucault 1972a:41). These "fields of initial differentiation" establish boundaries and limits to what a discursive formation "is talking about...and therefore making it manifest, namable, and describable" (Foucault 1972a:41).

With respect to the discursive formation of the nation in early twentieth century Canada, the surfaces of emergence were firstly, religious communities, which meant that 'the nation' became, even in Quebec, a site of competition between religious groups over whose ideals, values, morals, etc., 'the nation' would mold into. Secondly, the population, which begins to be seen not as a 'sign' of the success of the National Policy, or the outcome of the effort by Ministry of the Interior to populate the nation, but as the major target of governmental strategies and effects. Third, the economy, which since Confederation has had an enormous significance and effect on the discourse of 'the nation'. Last, urbanization and the individual/citizen, with new medical and scientific discourses there developed new knowledges and technologies aimed at constructing, healthy, "efficient" urban environments and maintaining the "social well-being" of 'the citizen' (Owram 1986:77). Obviously not all of these are new appearances, but what is new is the system of relations which each of these 'surfaces' develops in accordance with the apparatus of cultural nationalism.

The next rule for the formation of objects Foucault describes are the "authorities of delimitation". These, according to Foucault, can be "an institution possessing its own rules,...a group of individuals,...a body of knowledge and practice", or "an authority recognized by public opinion" (Foucault 1972a:42). These delimiting 'authorities' become very important forces in society through various relations of power and struggles over

how particular objects are categorized and analyzed within the space of a discursive formation. For example, in the time period of this study, academics, health officials, and members of certain voluntary associations⁷ come to concern themselves directly with social, economic, and cultural 'problems' of the nation. They established new discursive relations and practices tied to developing the health, and 'character' of the nation, and as a result of the struggles to get their ideas into the realm of public discourse and government policy, become important authorities in the realm of the discursive formation of cultural nationalism.

Finally, "grids of specification" are systems of difference, in which different aspects of nationalism, and 'the nation', are derived and divided from each other (Foucault 1972a:42). Examples from this period could be seen in the meta-discourses of Imperialist, French Canadian or Quebecois, and 'North American' ideologies of nationalism. Although each of these discourses have different understandings of 'the nation', they are nevertheless grouped together in the same discursive formation as objects/phenomena of the discourse of cultural nationalism.

Within a few decades at the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, a field of objects comes to be associated with the discursive formation of the nation, which will transform understandings of nationhood, and the ways in which the nation has been 'ordered'. In other words, this transformation of 'the nation' was not a self-evident outcome of certain events. It was not the outcome of a natural evolution, or a progression of 'traditions'. In fact, simply because of the heterogeneity of statements being made about nationalism at this time, it is impossible to speak of 'the nation', understood as a singular entity, dialectically unraveling itself through its history. Instead

⁷Included are: amateur social workers, womens groups, religious organizations, intellectuals, artists, and political groups, all of which were very occupied at this time with questions of national significance. For more on these groups see Cook 1985; Faris 1975; Owram 1986; Peers 1969; Raboy 1990; Riseborough 1995; Valverde 1991; Vipond 1980. This study will focus on the work of academics in the university environment and "cultural educators" (professional and amateur), who were interested in linking 'Culture' and 'the nation'.

this history of transformation needs to be understood in its historical specificity as a "system of dispersion" regarding variegated "strategic possibilities" which allow completely different ideals of nationalism in Canada, to "play different games" in the same discursive network (Foucault, 1972a:37).

Foucault's understanding of 'statements' is true to form in relation to his work on discourse. Statements should be understood as both; a) the raw material of historical research (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:59) and as b) the "events" of discourse (Foucault 1972a:128). They should also be understood as "positivities". Which means, that they should not be analyzed for their hidden meaning, or the intentions of a speaking subject, but need to be 'bracketed' and analyzed only in relation to the enunciative field in which they operate, or make sense that is to say, in their immediate 'reality' as utterances. "Statement-events" are a key component in Foucault's archaeological, and genealogical methods, because they are able to act as catalysts in a transformation of a discursive formation, or can also lead to what Mary MacKay calls "specific moments of paradigmatic change" (MacKay 1997:80). Statements, according to MacKay, are able to make small "incisions", or "very tiny emergence[s]", in the fabric of discourse, and thereby shift entire environments. Statements can come from various bodies of knowledge and do not have to be 'scientific' in order to be effective. For example, Mariana Valverde has written about the importance of the discourse of "maternal feminists" and their entry into the political and public spheres through publications, lectures, and speeches such as this given by a member of the National Council of Women at a convention in 1907,

It is with a great degree of hesitancy that I presume to introduce...the question we are now about to consider, and one of a so great moment in our individual, our social and our national life, that of Purity. A question the underlying principles of which are the vital principles on which depends the successful building of the individual's or the nation's life (Valverde 1991:28).

This could be taken as a "statement-event" because it is an example of a precedent-setting statement, pertaining not only to personal and physical hygiene but to the 'purity' of the nation as well. In other words, this is an example of how previously distinct discourses come to be associated with one another. These new discursive relations can either modify, transform, or begin new discursive formations. What is important to remember here is Foucault's insistence that there is never a singular, originary statement, emanating from a centralized source. Rather there is a complexity of struggles between a myriad of statements, which contend for dominance. These struggles take place from within and without, of a discourse and have specific effects, but do not in themselves determine a discursive formation.

At the turn of century, the Canadian academic realm was going through a period of intellectual crisis and debate over such issues as the decline of morals in the face of modernity, the role of the state in society, and the role of the academic with respect to government social policy (Owram 1986:18-9). In the decades between 1890-1910, debates between academics, politicians, and 'social reformers', were predominantly cloaked in a conservative-religious discourse in which they expressed worry about the turbulence caused by urbanization, industrialization, and a perceived increase in the secularization of society, and the impact it might have on the moral virtue of the nation and individuals. However, according to Owram, although they felt there was a need for a change, they were in general agreement that the university and the church should remain the central moral guides of individuals (Owram 1986:8). That is to say, that the disciplining and training of the population should stay within the confines of the already existing institutions of civic and spiritual direction and education.

Because most politicians and civil servants were born before the onslaught of industrialism, and urbanism, most of them had agreed with the traditional social reformers and maintained a somewhat paradoxical position with respect to the

'development' of society and the individual (Owram 1986:34). For example, most legislators agreed that business should be left in the hands of businessmen and the state should remain outside of the affairs of civil society. At the same time, the state in Canada has historically always played a huge role in the development of large public enterprise projects like the railways. Nevertheless, according to Owram, they agreed that reform was,

to be an internal rather than an external matter [and] it must derive from an individual act of will rather than external enforcement...[t]he proper role for the reformer therefore, was not as lawmaker but as educator (Owram 1986:5).

However, because of the increasing failure of both religious conservatism and classical liberal ideology to adapt to rapidly changing social structures and institutions, a unique discursive hybrid of liberalism, mercantilism, empiricism, and post-Hegelian idealism began to displace the traditional conservative-religious discourse of the academic and social reformer. Owram cites the most likely reason for the success of the new discourse over the previous was that it was able to drop the dramatic religious overtones while it kept the moral aspect, and then combined it with the new scientific theories which were gaining ascendancy in Canadian universities at the time (Owram 1986:14). Political Economists, who before this time were seen as, "dry", "boring", and of "little relevance" to the affairs of the real world outside of the ivory tower (Owram 1986:50), were beginning to associate their names and works with the urban reform movements in Canadian cities. The increased activity of urban reform can be tied to a growing population in Canadian cities, which demanded increased efficiency and accountability regarding the administration and maintenance of increasingly essential services such as streetcars and electric power (Owram 1986:51).

Prior to the first World War, the academic was not seen as an agent of social reform. The majority of social reform movements were made up of businessmen,

philanthropists, and "amateur enthusiasts who had 'studied' the issue of the day much more than the academic" (Owram 1986:52). Public health, and the 'quality' of the population (which also meant at this time, racial composition) was closely linked to social and urban reform, placing doctors and other medical officials in important positions of authority regarding not only the city, and the nation, but the 'national citizen' as well⁸. There was a lot of activity regarding reform of all kinds in this period. Numerous conventions and associations were developed and participated by members of various reform movements, but with respect to academics they always had a minority voice at these events (Owram 1986:65).

However, the academy in general and especially social scientists, began to advocate change in the university curriculum in order to make itself more relevant to a modern society such as the one developing in Canada at this time. Along with this, a key event took place in 1913 which would see the creation of the Canadian Political Science Association, which was a new organizing body of scientifically trained intellectuals interested in the uses of social expertise for policy ideas and strategies of modern government. Furthermore, Owram states that the C.P.S.A. was significant not only because it was a staging ground for academics to develop policy ideas that would create efficiency in government, but also "...it provided an occasion for an explicit statement of the view that social expertise had a special role to play in modern society" (Owram 1986:66).

The first president of the C.P.S.A. was Adam Shortt, the prominent Queen's University political economist (Shortt was also at this time the Civil Service

⁸Neil Sutherland writes, "...Canadian school medical workers and their supporters, in common with their British and American counterparts, gradually shifted their goal to...one of creating a nation whose children were all in rude good health" (Sutherland, 1981:379). And that, "medical service members of the public health movement firmly believed that they had developed and demonstrated the worth of a practical and effective way of making Canada a healthier and happier nation" (Sutherland, 1981:387).

Commissioner in Ottawa), and its first vice-president was O.D. Skelton, another influential political economist from Queen's. In order to stress his belief in the importance of the professionally trained social scientist, Shortt utilized medical metaphors such as the hypodermic needle to emphasize the role of the academic as the doctor for society. Little by little they would inject their new theories and methods into the, "...tissues of the body politic. If the operation is skillfully performed, the serum will diffuse itself by way of the proper channels throughout the whole system" (Shortt, cited in Owram 1986:66).

In time the discourses of scientific efficiency and moral improvement, and that of the individual and the environment, would become intertwined with the discourse of 'the nation'. Also, the discursive practices of Canadian academics were beginning to become more influential and interventionist and would eventually upset the Victorian ideal which had positioned the academic in a marginal, and (supposedly) 'objective' position to society and social policy. S.E.D. Shortt ironically points out, that the perceived 'objectivity' of academia to Canadian society, was what initially brought them to a position where they were seen as neutral commentators with the 'authority' to 'truthfully' comment on Canadian society, and social problems. "Canadian intellectuals," Shortt writes, were beginning their "search for an ideal" (Shortt, 1976:5), and armed with the empirical and scientific discourses of new disciplines such as Political Economy⁹ (which was the most advanced social science at the time), they were starting to act as "ad hoc" advisors for government policies (Shortt, 1976:7).

A key result from the changing practices and authority of Canadian political economists at this time was a new system of relations developed between the scientifically based discourse of political economy and the discursive formation of the nation. For example,

⁹Even though Canadian Political Economy had departments at the University of Toronto and Queen's University by 1889, it was not the technical, empirical science it resembles today, but more or less a generalist discourse dealing with social problems (Owram, 1986:12). Canadian Political Economy, as a 'technical-scientific' academic discipline began with the arrival of such professorial appointments as Adam Shortt (Queen's), Stephen Leacock (McGill), and James Mavor (U. of Toronto).

the elaboration of a type of knowledge (that of the discipline of Canadian political economy), and its connections to other disciplines and sub-disciplines such as History or Medical Science led to the formation of a field of rules (or true/false distinctions) predominantly based on empirical, scientific theories regarding such things as efficiency, or an proper understanding of economic or historical forces on the population and are the citizens of the nation.

Before the turn of the century in Canada the concept of the "professional social scientist", or the "professional expert" did not exist. There were areas of technical expertise, such as railway engineers, but with respect to social policy, elected politicians devised legislation, and civil servants administered it (Owram 1986:45). Academics were starting to differentiate themselves from other groups of social reformers, and to believe they could and should influence the development of the nation through their scientifically informed opinions. They believed the future of the nation depended on their advice, because from their perspective, elected representatives and the mass public were lacking in not only in the proper virtue, but more importantly the right knowledge necessary to make the decisions affecting the nation and everyday life (Owram 1986:45).

This chapter has sketched an outline of a governmental apparatus which was developed from a spatial rationality, and gave it a brief description of transitions in material and discursive realms taking place in the Canadian context at this time. The focus was on the shifting discursive practices of Canadian political economists and their increasing influence, and expertise involving government policy. A central argument of this chapter is that changing demographics and changing discursive practices led to a change in the relations of power and government with respect to the practices of nationalism in the Canadian context. The next chapter will look at the emerging discourses of cultural nationalism, and the subsequent (trans)formation of the national-

cultural apparatus which became the historical a priori for the nationalization of radio broadcasting in Canada, leading to the birth of the CRBC, and thus to the institutionalization of cultural nationalism.

CHAPTER FOUR

The CRBC and the Discursive Practices of Nationalism

The last chapter argued that a shift of major importance had occurred in the early part of this century regarding the discursive formation of nationalism in the Canadian context. Central to this argument was the notion that the "abstract formula" of nationalism changed from one predominantly (although not exclusively) focused on geopolitical borders, space, or territory, to a national formation which has as its central rationale, a governmental logic, one which had as its central 'target', the management of citizens and the population. Highlighted in this shift in the discursive formation of the nation was the knowledges and practices of 'agents' interested in social reform, especially the changing discursive practices and status of Canadian political economy and the subsequent transition of the subject position of the 'social expert' in Canada.

This chapter will complement the last by focusing on the subsequent formation of a new type of apparatus and intervention, that which I will call the apparatus of 'cultural nationalism'. Refusing the popular belief that culture is a 'natural' arrangement or progression, and in the same way that 'the nation' cannot be taken as a natural, linear development, this chapter will look at how a national-culture comes to be arranged as an object related to certain knowledges, and also as a technique for ordering everyday existence rather than as a taken-for-granted, historical continuum (Allor and Gagnon 1994:38). A lot of the literature on national cultures, looks back to certain, specific key events and codifies them as originary moments and as the roots of a national-cultural identity which has developed over the natural progression of that nation's history. This chapter questions the self-evidentiality of these notions of national culture through a genealogy of some of the discursive relations which began to produce a 'unity' between culture and the discursive formation of the nation in Canada. One of the implications of this unity is the possibility of it simultaneously operating as a political technology of the

individual and as a totalizing strategy of 'the state'¹. The central argument of the last chapter was that the care of the citizen becomes a concern for the state through the governmental discourses of political economists. This chapter argues that the nationalization of radio broadcasting has its rationale in the governmentality² of the (new) discursive formation of the nation rather than certain class interests or the heroic nationalism of policy makers.

It is impossible to know fully what the exact interests were of the actors involved with the push to nationally institutionalize radio broadcasting in Canada. However, it is not impossible to argue that the nationalization of the cultural technology of radio broadcasting functioned as a political technology, or as a new discursive mechanism with the capacity to influence the conduct, or self management of 'the citizen' and the population of a nation, therefore directly or indirectly becoming part of a larger (state) strategy to unify 'the nation'. This will be examined later in this chapter. For now, it is important to note that the "conditions of possibility" for this eventalization, or in other words, the rationality behind state intervention into the (supposed) private sphere of culture (radio broadcasting) was tied to the new governmental logic of the discursive formation of the nation described in the last chapter. For example, the change in the knowledge's and discursive practices of the social scientist at this time, simultaneously reconfigured the perception and the relations between policy and the public space of culture (Dorland 1998:21). This means that the new knowledges, discursive practices, and discursive relations of social scientists, and other social 'experts' changed the relationship

¹ As noted in the chapter on methods (chapter, 3) I am using 'the state' for purposes of simplicity. In no way do I intend it to mean that there is a unitary state, or a unity in state operations and/or dominations. I follow Mitchell Dean's suggestion on the subject when he writes that analysis of 'the state' needs, "to be complimented by a greater sense of the fragmentary character of state formation and the difficulty (and, in a sense, fruitlessness) of seeking to locate a division between 'the state' and its outside", and, "[n]ot only are there other practices of governance of the conduct of individuals that exist in various relations...to sectors of the state, but there are also other practices and techniques which centre on the self and its construction" (Dean 1994:151).

² Kevin Dowler offers a similar argument with respect to the 1952 Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, popularly known as the Massey Commission (see, Dowler 1996).

of politics to the cultural life of Canada, thereby allowing state policy to influence the constitution of cultural nationalism (Smith 1994:57-8). This does not mean that culture or nationalism in Canada has been developed solely by the state, or a state linked institution, far from it. What I intend to develop here is a general argument about the way in which certain "types of power relations enable the state to act as a centralized, unified locale, and the implications of this for the conduct of life of the governed" (Dean 1994:179).

A central issue was a shift in the word 'nation'. For example, in the late nineteenth century the word signified for the most part a "reason of state", meaning that policies developed through a discourse of the 'national interest', were about increasing the prominence, and the sovereignty of the state in and for itself (Foucault 1997b:74). With the discursive and material shifts that took place during the early twentieth century in Canada (chapter 4), the words 'nation' and 'culture' began to designate a new level of reality, and a new field of intervention regarding the objects of the discursive formation of the nation, and governmental practices not limited to the state (Foucault 1991:93). In other words, the transformation of the discursive formation of the nation described in the previous chapter also spawned a new governmental apparatus, that of cultural nationalism. The techniques and practices of national sovereignty now began to include within its frontiers of jurisdiction, the bodies and souls of the inhabitants residing inside of its liberal-democratic borders.

To put this in slightly other terms, this chapter will discuss how the abstract entities of 'the nation', 'culture', 'the citizen', and 'national identity' were united into a unique apparatus of cultural nationalism made up of particular institutions, practices, policies, etc., and the discursive relations of the discursive formation of the nation. Special attention will be paid to what I will here call 'cultural agents', meaning those individuals, groups, and associations of persons interested in culture and the nation

during the early part of this century, as well as the discursive production of some official documents of the state, and public statements of state officials at this time.

EQUATING CULTURE AND THE NATION

"A concept denoting political superiority always resolves itself into a concept denoting superiority of soul..." (Nietzsche 1989:31).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, such events as the decline of religion in English Canada, increased immigration, or the rise of industrialization and urbanization, the concept and reality of a 'national culture', was for the most part non-existent (especially in English Canada) since the development of 'culture' was based on regional and local differences and was linked to European cultural ideals and standards. It was thought by most cultural critics before the turn of the century in Canada that any measurement of the nation's maturity should be seen by its adherence to 'things' British (Tippett 1990:65). Tippett explains that

both the cultural product- play, painting, musical composition, poem- and the institutional framework sustaining it- educational and cultural organizations, public and private patronage- were shaped by forces emanating from outside the country (Tippett 1990:127).

The first cultural institution in Canada that claimed to be 'national' in scope, was the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (the forerunner of the National Gallery) established in 1880. This was accomplished largely through the efforts of the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne, who was also influential in the establishment of the Royal Society of Canada (Sciences and Humanities) in 1882. Most Governors General in Canada since the Marquis of Lorne have been active in shaping their visions of national culture, not only for their own benefit, but also for the 'benefit' (read; moral improvement) of 'the citizen' of the nation. According to Tippett, the Governor Generals saw part of their mandate as "unifying the culturally diverse and geographically dispersed people of the Dominion through exposing them to the institutions, sentiments, and culture of Great Britain." (Tippett 1990:63-4).

The office of the Governor General in Canada, especially around the turn of the century, worried about increasing regionalism, the presence of "alien races", and societal alienation caused by the pressures of modernization. For example Lord Grey, who was Governor General to Canada from 1904-1911, had made the Plains of Abraham a historical site and set up the Historic Landmarks Association in 1907. In 1908, the tercentenary of Champlain's arrival in North America, Grey saw as a potential

instrument for welding more closely together the two races and nine provinces of the Dominion, and for the planting in the hearts of the People, particularly of the children the ideals and sentiments of Patriotic love and loyalty (Grey, quoted in Tippet 1990:66).

Governor General Grey also developed 'national' music and drama competitions and festivals which took place from 1907 to 1911 in major urban centers across Canada. These were not created simply for superficial purposes and Grey was well aware of their political potential, which is made clear in a statement he made to a colleague, "please realize that there is more politics than frivolity in this movement." (Grey quoted in Tippet 1990:66). Festivals and competitions (especially before broadcasting) were a major site for national-cultural participation, education, and communication in Canada. Usually beginning at local or regional levels, they often grew into larger, sometimes national organizations, like the Federation of Canadian Music Festivals or the Dominion Drama Festival.

The academy also got involved with a form of cultural nationalism in that some universities began to offer courses and programs aimed at persons other than the traditional 'elite' which usually made up the student body of Canadian Universities at this time (Tippet 1990:58-9). The perception of the academy as the guardian of elite morality was changing in favour of teaching the wider public technical skills and methods through which to understand the increasing complexities of modern life. O'ram and Tippet, argue this resulted from the declining authority of religion and the rise of the social

sciences and increased involvement of state funding of universities (Owram 1986:3, Tippet 1990:59). Similarly, Prime Ministers Laurier and King were both known to be in favour of some kind of state support for 'the Arts' Laurier went as far as saying that, "there could be...no national life without literature, art and science" (Laurier, quoted from Tippet 1990:72). However, there would not be any large-scale state or academic involvement in cultural affairs until the late 1920s. The mode of (secular) cultural education and communication would remain local and regional in size and character.

A key national-cultural event took place in the summer of 1927, which would have great influence on the national cultural apparatus in Canada. This was the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation and was the first explicit attempt to develop a truly national community and sense of unity through the field of "public culture" (Cupido 1998:19). All types of groups, communities, and associations took part, but the state took the leading role in the organization of the celebration and had designated funds, a national committee and a national public holiday through legislation passed by the House of Commons in February of 1927. The event was a grandiose program consisting of parades, pageants, concerts, athletic competitions, picnics and essay contests (Cupido 1998:21).

Particularly important to this study was the first national radio broadcast which took place on July 1, 1927 in honour of the Diamond Jubilee. This was the result of the organization and cooperation of numerous broadcasting, telephone, telegraph, and railway companies, both public (i.e.. provincial) and private, from coast to coast. The Department of Marine and Fisheries (which had jurisdiction over broadcasting at the time) reserved time on all broadcasting stations for July 1, 1927, anticipating the Dominion celebrations, and thus setting a precedent for the utilization of broadcasting for national purposes (Weir 1965:37). One of the key statements made about this premier broadcast was made by Prime Minister McKenzie King in a speech given at the Canadian National Exhibition on August, 27, 1927, after the celebrations had taken place. The

quote is lengthy, but it is important in that it concerns an important shift in our understanding of the relations between culture, the state, the nation, national unity, 'the people', 'the individual citizen' and the cultural technology of radio. Prime Minister King said:

There has been nothing comparable in its way to the nation-wide broadcasting of the proceedings on Parliament Hill on July 1...[f]or the first time in the history of Canada, the words spoken on Parliament Hill and the sounds of the chimes and bells...were carried instantaneously to all parts of this vast Dominion. It is doubtful if ever before, at one and the same moment, the thoughts of so many of the citizens of any country were concentrated upon what was taking place at its capital, or whether those in authority were brought into such immediate and sympathetic personal touch with those from whom their authority was derived. On the morning, afternoon, and evening of July 1, all Canada became for the time being, a single assemblage, swayed by a common emotion, within the sound of a single voice. Thus has modern science for the first time realized in the great nation-state of modern days that condition which existed in the little city-states of ancient times and which was considered by the wisdom of the ancients as indispensable to free and democratic government- that all citizens should be able to hear for themselves the living voice of a single orator- a Demosthenes or a Cicero- speaking on public questions in the Athenian Assembly or in the Roman Forum. Hitherto to most Canadians, Ottawa has seemed far off...but henceforth all Canadians will stand within the sound of the carillon and within hearing of the speakers on Parliament Hill. May we not predict that as a result of this carrying of the living voice throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion, there will be aroused a more general interest in public affairs, and an increased devotion of the individual citizen to the common weal. (King, quoted in Weir 1965:39)

The Prime Minister's statement is unique for its frank recognition of the usefulness of a cultural technology for purposes of communication, unification, education and creating a 'presence' of the power of the state in all regions of the nation at once. According to Foucault, one of the key political rationalities in the exercise of power relations of the modern state has its genealogical roots in the combination of first, the old Greek ideal of the "city-citizen" game, which was a central problem for the politicians in the Greek city-state as to how they could 'unite' together the citizens of the city (Dean 1994:183). Second, this was combined with what Foucault calls "pastoral power", which is the Christian notion of the political leader as the shepherd, who must guide and protect both the individual and the flock, leading them to them towards the 'good life' and hence

'salvation' (Foucault 1997a:26, Dean 1994:183). Strikingly, these two political rationalities appear to be manifest in the above statement by Prime Minister King. The conditions of acceptability for King's statement, had its historical a priori in the discursive formation of nation outlined in the last chapter, and more precisely through the discourse and discursive practices of Canadian political economists and social scientists who, by employing empirical and scientific justifications, advocated state involvement in spaces of life previously understood to be outside of the competencies and jurisdictions of liberal-democratic legislative bodies.

In other words, the influence of the statements, discursive practices and the new authority of 'social experts' validated a new definition of liberal governance. Whereas the liberal technology of government was understood before in a 'negative' fashion, in the sense that political government should remain outside of the boundaries of 'civil society', it now began to be defined in a more 'positive' fashion, in the sense that 'proper' liberal government meant that governing bodies, like the state, had an important role to play in such spheres as the home, the hospital, and in this case, culture.

Although this is not a case where one discursive practice simply displaces and completely replaces an older practice. Rather, this is an example of the dispersionary character of the strategic relations within a discursive formation. 'Contradictions' within the practices of liberalism, and their links to the discursive formation of the nation were (and are) numerous. These can be seen as the prevalence of "strategic imperatives" acting within the apparatus of cultural nationalism. The need for national unity can be said to be the dominant strategic function in the above statement. However, because of the multiple forces which make up any apparatus there is necessarily an "overdetermination" between them, creating certain contradictory effects and forces, and calling for constant readjustments and strategic elaborations. Another example from this time period in which the same speaking subject, Prime Minister King, who after dramatically advocating the

benefits of a national broadcasting network in the above statement, could also say as the leader of the opposition in 1933, that state involvement in the realm of culture is a "mad desire to bring about state control and interference beyond all bounds" (King, quoted from Tippet 1990:73). These statements are examples of how liberalism can operate simultaneously as a technology of constitution and a technology of critique, or as Foucault puts it,

...we will be able to find liberalism, in different but simultaneous forms, as a regulative scheme of governmental practice, and as a theme of a sometimes radical opposition. (Foucault 1997b:75).

However, even though these two currents of liberal thought are found intersected with each other forming a 'discursive brew' within the same discursive formation, what this study focuses on is a new "distributional logic" (Bennett 1997:399), or 'epistemic space' in which the cultural technology of radio became infused with new relations of knowledge, power, culture and the nation. In other words, the search for a liberal technology of government in the realm of culture was a response to certain perceived needs and strategies which led to the practice of state intervention into radio broadcasting, and thereby developing a new national cultural apparatus, still in operation today.

Nevertheless, it would not be the state that would be the first to develop a national broadcasting network which operated on a regular basis. The materialization of the first coast to coast radio broadcasting network was accomplished by the Canadian National Railway (CNR) company in 1929 (Peers 1969:24). The intentions of the CNR according to a statement given to the House to Commons by the Minister of Railways and Canals was to;

...provide a ready means of communication between the executive officers of the railway and the public, to advertise Canada and the Canadian National railways, to furnish entertainment to passengers on long distance trains and guests at the company's hotels, and generally to make the service of the railway more attractive to the...public...(Peers 1969:22).

According to the public statements of CNR executives, one of their main intentions was to use radio to advertise the railway system for the purposes of attracting tourists and settlers to Canada (furthering the old National Policy), and to enrich the social and economic life of the nation (Peers 1969:23-4). One of the methods used to accomplish these objectives became the first national network sponsored program in Canadian history (1931), and would eventually lead to a weekly series aptly titled, "The Romance of Canada". The then president of the CNR, Sir Henry Thorton, described the radio series this way,

We hope to kindle in Canadians generally a deeper interest in the romantic history of their country...[t]he tales of courage, heroism, fortitude, and valor are legion...[a]mong other peoples such incidents furnish the source of national folklore and have been woven into the great sagas of the past. When...listeners can gather around their fireplaces, it is our purpose to provide a series of dramatizations depicting some of these historic incidents. (Thorton, quoted in Weir 1965:53).

According to Frank Peers, radio broadcasting was not considered by anyone (with the possible exception of Sir Henry Thorton) before 1928 other than for business interests (Peers, 1969:20). Initial involvement in radio broadcasting by the state came in 1923 with the remitting of some of the revenue collected by the federal government in licensing fees, due to a situation in Manitoba in which the only two radio stations in existence in that province closed down. The provincial government of Manitoba decided it would run its own station provided the federal government would give direct remuneration of the license fees collected in the province. A bill was passed in 1923 which allowed the Department of Marine and Fisheries to split license fees with the Manitoba government. Although there was talk of extending this to other provinces it never happened (Peers 1969:27-8).

This was the extent of state involvement in radio until an important event at the beginning of 1928 which would create the key document, the 1929 Report of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, regarding state intervention into radio broadcasting,

and on a broader scale, cultural-nationalism. This event was a series of programs broadcast in most large cities across Canada, by stations owned by a Jehovah's Witness organization. These programs, according to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, "were unpatriotic and abusive of all our churches" (Peers, 1969:31). Controversially, the license of the Toronto station which broadcast these programs was not renewed by the Department. This sparked a debate in the House of Commons regarding the censorship of religious expression and would eventually lead to a debate on the way the entire broadcasting structure operated in Canada (Peers 1969:31). The result of the debate was an allocation of 25, 000 dollars for a commission of inquiry "to examine into the broadcasting situation in the Dominion of Canada, and to make recommendations to the Government as to the future administration, management, control and finance thereof." (Canada 1929:5).

The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Aird Commission) began its inquiry in December 1928. Its mandate was "to inquire into the existing situation in Canada and to examine the different methods adopted in other countries...[and] to determine how radio broadcasting in Canada could be most effectively carried on in the interests of Canadian listeners and in the national interests of Canada." (Canada 1929:5). The commission found that in every European country which they visited they found similar inquiries, "being conducted under government auspices for the purpose of organizing broadcasting on a nation-wide basis in the public interest." (Canada 1929:5). The commission also traveled across the country in order to survey the conditions of each region and to solicit the opinion of certain individuals asked to give written and oral testimony regarding the future of radio broadcasting in Canada.

The main points the commission took away from its inquiries were that listeners of radio wanted more Canadian programming, the rural areas of Canada were under served³, and that the,

...potentialities of broadcasting as an instrument of education have been impressed upon us; education in the broad sense, not only as it is conducted in the schools and colleges, but in providing entertainment and of informing the public on questions of national interest...[i]n a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship." (Canada 1929:6).

The commission recommended that radio broadcasting be taken over by the state in the form of a single, nation-wide, public utility (Canadian Radio Broadcasting Company) and that it be funded through annual subsidy from the Dominion government and revenue from license fees, and (indirect) advertising. The commission proposed that the CRBC take over selected (privately owned) stations already in operation, (with financial compensation) and that the other existing stations should be shut down. In the rhetoric of today's neo-liberal world, this sounds particularly despotic, and anti-liberal, but this can be seen as an example of how a liberal technology of government can rationalize its operations and effects through a notion of 'the good of the nation'. In the discursive relations formed between 'positive' liberalism and 'the nation' the commission could firmly state:

As our foremost duty, we have concentrated our attention on the broader consideration of the interests of the listening public and of the nation. From what we have learned in our investigations and our studies, we are impelled to the conclusion that these interests can be adequately served only by some form of public ownership, operation and control behind which is the national power and prestige of the whole public of the Dominion of Canada. (Canada 1929:6).

And that,

We believe that broadcasting should be considered of such importance in promoting the unity of the nation that a subsidy by the Dominion Government should be regarded as an essential aid to the general

³Interestingly, it was thought by the authors of the Report of the Aird Commission that rural areas, and the "remote and scattered points" of the northern territories of Canada would, "...come to be as densely populated as some European countries in the same latitude" (Canada 1929:7).

advantage of Canada rather than as an expedient to meet any deficit in the cost of maintenance of the service. (Canada 1929:10).

What makes the Aird Report highly significant is that it is the first official document which links culture (in the form of the cultural technology of radio), the nation and state policy. A new "truth game" in the discursive formation of the nation is that national culture now becomes within the responsibility of state policy. Secondly, the recommendations of the Aird Report are not based on moral improvement or the 'moral unity' of the nation (although this logic is not totally absent), but rather, it is based on a new ('positive') liberal understanding of "education", "national unity", and the "interests of Canadian listeners...and the *national interests* of Canada" (emphasis added). Cultural nationalism, at least in the formation of this new apparatus, has a new political rationality which problematizes and codifies the relationship of culture and the nation in a secular, non-elitist, and utilitarian fashion.

RADIO: THE IDEAL LIBERAL 'TECHNOLOGY'?

After the publication of the Aird Report radio broadcasting in Canada would be forever linked to the discursive formation of the nation and would also be a key component in the future development of the apparatus of cultural nationalism. This section will discuss the way in which new systems of relations in this apparatus of culture, the nation and radio changed ethical and political practices of individual citizens and the larger population. I argue that even though in popular discourses radio is thought to be a medium of 'popular entertainment' or 'popular culture' (and therefore apolitical); a national radio broadcasting network is a distinctive political technology of individuals.

For example, a national radio broadcasting network is ubiquitous, pervasive, with no apparent centre, and keeps within the classic liberal promise of no direct intervention. It is able to simultaneously survey the activities of the populace, and also corporate, and state institutions by way of news and current affairs programs, without intruding on the

privacy rights guaranteed in the rhetoric of the liberal social contract. Politicians can influence and keep careful watch of editorial content, thereby keeping 'in touch' with the concerns of the populace and they can have immediate access to information enabling them to respond quickly to national disasters and events of political importance (Barry 1996:124). Also radio allows a national agenda in the form of 'public opinion' to be disseminated to each and every citizen. According to Foucault, public opinion is an important mechanism in the "circulation of effects of power" (Foucault 1980:151). For example, with respect to the French Revolution, Foucault said,

When the Revolution poses the question of a new justice, what does it envisage as its principle? Opinion. The new aspect of the problem of justice, for the Revolution, was not so much to punish wrongdoers as to prevent even the possibility of wrongdoing, by immersing people in a field of total visibility where the opinion, observation and discourse of others would restrain them from harmful acts (Foucault 1980:153).

A national radio network also sets up a virtual "grid" of the (cultural) "space-time" of the nation. It discursively⁴ produces, and associates 'objects' of cultural nationalism, like images of all the regions, discursively communicated over the air waves, a national history, a national 'folk' culture, a national vernacular, the national population, and the national citizen. In other words, it assembles and orders in a particular fashion a plethora of cultural artifacts and objects which attempt a certain authenticity or ontology of 'our' national-cultural history. It can produce or "illuminate" a macro-object such as a nation, and a micro-object such as an individual subject position. It can delimit the sacred and profane, as well as rituals deemed to be anti-state or patriotic conceptually, and politically linking a community of Canadians from coast to coast. In fact it can be understood as a modern example of the "Rousseauist dream" which Foucault elaborates as,

...the dream of the transparent society, visible and legible in each of its parts, the dream of no longer existing any zones of darkness, zones established by the privileges of royal power or the prerogatives of some

⁴As a side note, in Bentham's infamous design of the Panopticon, it was not just the gaze of the overseer that was to 'discipline' the inhabitant of each cell, but included in his intentions for the diagram was the implementation of "tin tubes" in which the chief inspector could speak to each cell individually (Foucault 1980:154). In a way, this is similar to modern broadcasting.

corporation, zones of disorder. It was the dream that each individual, whatever position he occupied, might be able to see the whole of society, that men's hearts should communicate, their vision be unobstructed from obstacles, and that opinion of all reign over each (Foucault 1980:152).

One of the key effects of radio, and one which usually is 'invisible' to academic power theorists, is that as a discursive technology; radio *constitutes*. What I mean by this is that through its day to day operations, radio sets up particular domains of popular knowledge regarding the everyday life choices of individuals, and practices of the political formation of citizens of the nation. It disseminates, in the form of popular discourse, possibilities regarding certain forms of "political ethics" (Dean 1994:153) of the good and virtuous citizen. The individual is left to make particular decisions of self-governance, or domination (Foucault 1997b:225) from the various knowledges made available through programming content dispersed over the air waves. In this way, the cultural technology of radio is able to influence the conduct of persons who are interested in 'being' or 'becoming' *Canadian*, thereby adhering to a certain form of political subjectification, albeit one which is in constant rearticulation and elaboration.

To sum up, the purpose of this chapter was to further the analysis begun in the previous chapter regarding the discursive formation of the nation, by a brief description of a series of discursive and non-discursive events in which the effects of each set up the possibility for the nationalization of radio broadcasting, and hence a shift in the apparatus of cultural nationalism. Taken together the last two chapters 'eventalize' the CRBC by taking a single institution and revealing a part of the multiplicity of relations and forces which were active in its creation. The next chapter will offer an overview of current research and future considerations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion: Thoughts on the Possibilities for 'Genealogical' Politics.

For some time now historians, philosophers, journalists, and other observers of the Canadian 'scene' have attempted various logocentric definitions to what is considered to be the ontological problem of the 'national-cultural identity' in English Canada. All kinds of historical, empirical and theoretical explanations have been given to account for the *absence* of 'a' or 'the' national identity. Colonialism, regionalism, religion, lack of political or creative 'will', or the "longitudinal mentality" are just a few of the usual suspects critics use to explain why Canada does not have the (presumed) national-cultural identity of, for example, our neighbors to the south.

Because of the relative monotony regarding what Northrop Frye referred to as, "the famous Canadian problem of identity" (Frye 1995:xxi), the work left by the late 'Foucault'¹ can offer fresh insights, and new implications for the anxieties expressed in much of the traditional literature. Instead of the incessant quest for a 'truth' lying in wait for some quick-witted sleuth, or scientific discourse to discover, Foucault challenges those interested in social, historical and political problematics, to think them outside of their usual, "taken-for-granted self-evidence" (Hunt and Wickham 1994:4). This was the main pretext for this study. That is, to revisit the literature and documents of one of the key historical events of cultural nationalism in Canada without the intentions of arriving at 'the truth' regarding its formation and effects. This study was more like a 'probe' asking the historical documents and literature 'how' is something like nationalism practiced? and, how does one become to think of 'the nation'? Through the application of the theories and methods left by Foucault, to Canadian national discourses, it sees itself as a new contribution to the existing literature on the CRBC and cultural nationalism. Mitchell

¹Quotation marks are used following Hunt and Wickham's assertion that there is not a "real Foucault", but instead there are numerous "'Foucaults' who coexist and interact with one another." (Hunt and Wickham 1994:3).

Dean has described Foucault's thought as "a three-dimensional grid of intelligibility that follows a path of permanent mutation" (Dean 1994:194). The three 'dimensions' Dean refers to are; 'truth', 'power' and 'self' (Dean 1994:2; see also Schrift 1996:33). This thesis has followed this analytical axis of archaeology, genealogy, and ethics in relation to the 'eventalization' of the CRBC.

For example, Chapter 3 noted the formation of new discursive relations and discursive practices of groups and organizations such as Canadian Political Economists, and the subsequent transformation of the discursive formation of the nation in early twentieth century Canada. Next, Chapter 4 looked at the development of a national radio broadcasting network and the subsequent formation of a national-cultural apparatus. The last part of Chapter 4 touched upon the possible effects of the ethical practices, and self-governing capacities of individuals and the national population, with respect to the institutionalization of radio broadcasting. However, the majority of the research was focused not on the individual-subject per-se, but on the knowledge/power relations which made possible the nationalization of radio broadcasting and hence the possibility for the production of a 'national-subject'.

It is also important to point out here that this has not been an all encompassing study of the entirety of archival and documentary material of the CRBC, or the heterogeneous discourses of Political Economy and 'social reform'. This study was intended as a trajectory for possible theoretical and methodological 'problematizations' pertaining to the multiplicity of relations, practices and operations of the emergence of modern nationalism in Canada. Of course, there are numerous ways to go about conducting a history of early twentieth century Canadian nationalism of which this study has offered one perspective and does not by any means pretend to lay claims to totality. Therefore, the focus has been on using existing literature and documents only as illustrations for theoretical and methodological questions.

It can however, lay claim to offer a new interpretation of the rationale behind the 'birth' of the CRBC that does not equate it with the administrative evolution of the state, or the outcome of lobbying by a "nationalist network" of elites. As argued in Chapter 2, the historical documents pertinent to the CRBC or Canadian Political Economy were not implicated here as representations of the 'real intentions', or the individual 'genius' of the authors involved in their formation or as evidence of a dialectical logic of contradictions. Instead, "historical intelligibility" was sought in the conditions of possibility, and heterogeneity of the 'forces of struggle' associated with a rupture in the discursive formation of the nation, and the historical appearance of the CRBC, as well as an apparatus (*dispositif*) of cultural nationalism.

However, with this said, it left open is a space for particular "strategic imperatives" or a "discursive logic" (Hall 1995:64) with the understanding that their rationale must be sought in the multiplicity of the "relations of power" based on particular rationalities, and not the usual 'structural' or 'dialectic' explanations presented in historical research (Foucault 1980:114). A "discursive logic" must be conceived as tied to the unpredictability of the way in which certain statements come to be associated and connected to one another through the battles between various discourses and discursive practices. For example, the shift in the position of Canadian Political Economists in the early decades of this century from 'ivory tower' academics to policy 'experts' was the result of not only the changing relations and practices, but also the result of the struggles between political economists and other 'social reformers' such as the clergy, philanthropists, and social workers.

In a 1978 lecture given to the French Society of Philosophy, Foucault said that "critique" should be understood as a "critical attitude" which accompanies the explosion of 'the art of governing' from the fifteenth century on (Foucault 1997a:27). Furthermore, he gives this attitude a characterization which asks of itself, 'how not to be governed in a

certain way', or in Foucault's terms, "the art of not being governed quite so much" (Foucault 1997a:29). Also, throughout his writings Foucault asserts that the outcome of political struggles cannot be known beforehand because of the polymorphous 'reality' of the strategies, tactics, and resources involved with the 'events' themselves (O'Malley et al. 1993:510). These aspects of genealogy and critique are the central underlying motivations which have driven this thesis. Through an examination of the emergence of historical events (such as the CRBC), which are composed of differing orders, levels, amplitudes, chronologies, and "capacities to produce effects" (Foucault 1980:114), a critical-political practice can emerge in which the researcher can identify possible gaps or spaces in which certain taken for granted 'truths' (for example, national culture) are shown to have their historical origins in (symbolic) violence, conflict and domination (Foucault 1977a:151). And in which through the critique of certain 'truth regimes' the possibility for different knowledges, and interpretations can at least be imagined, if not practiced.

Thus the discursive formation of the nation in the early twentieth century came to form a different 'object' from that of the late nineteenth century. This was not the result of the natural evolution of the nation-state or the flux of historical time. It was the result of the formation of new discursive relations which came to be associated with the discursive formation of the nation, and subsequent definitions of 'truth' and 'falsehood' leading to certain practices of power/knowledge around the apparatus of cultural nationalism. Things said about the nation in 1878, are not said in the 1920's because the word 'nation' now denotes a new object, and associated with this new denotation are new practices and 'realities' which did not, or could not, exist in the late nineteenth century discourse of the nation. This is because the system of relations which establish or govern the 'truths' of the discourses of nationalism are intimately linked to the operations of the systems and relations of power which produced and maintained it (Hacking 1996:35). This has serious consequences for the way we conduct ourselves; as individuals, and as a part of a larger

"we" or a nation. This study has discussed one of the ways in which this complex practice has its rationality in a historical web of events.

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