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**"TUNING IN": THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
COMMERCIAL RADIO BROADCASTING IN CANADA**

by

DEBORAH L. PARNIS

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

October 7, 1994

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"TUNING IN": THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
COMMERCIAL RADIO BROADCASTING IN CANADA

submitted by

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

Using a critical framework, the interaction between developments in commercial radio broadcasting and those of the political and economic structures of Canadian society since the 1960s is investigated. The central thesis argues that commercial radio can be viewed as a site upon which the larger patterns of power - unique to this country - have been played out. In turn, as a marginal part of the power bloc, commercial broadcasting itself has impacted on the Canadian social system where, far from being a benign household appliance, the medium has been symbolic of the direction this country has taken since the late 1960s, embodying and signifying the contradictions, tensions and struggles of Canada's development.

Using a political economy framework, this investigation unfolds in two parts. The first half is a largely descriptive analysis intended to situate the medium both historically and theoretically with respect to other cultural and non-cultural sectors in Canada, and to highlight the political character of commercial radio, especially in relation to 'Canadian nationalism'. The second half - marked by the Broadcasting Act of 1968 and the social changes occurring at that time - is a dynamic account of the evolution of commercial radio broadcasting throughout what is labelled the 'modern era'. Emphasis is placed on changes in the nature and structure of the medium as the post-Fordist crisis unfolded in this country. Of particular interest is the way in which commercial radio has been drawn into the larger 'communications revolution'. Conceptualizing regulation as the nodal point connecting the medium to the larger structures and forces in Canadian society, it

is argued that radio broadcasting has been regulated in different ways throughout different historical periods, and that commercial radio has been linked to the dominant (and shifting) powers in Canadian society not only through economic interests, but through the regulatory practices of the 'biased' state structure. Within these practices, the interests of commercial broadcasters have been both represented and subordinated in varying ways as state priorities and projects have shifted over time. The study concludes with a consideration of the current changes occurring within the industry, in particular the recent development of Digital Audio Broadcasting.

**My deepest gratitude goes to my parents for a lifetime of love and support, and to
Mark for both his help and his unending enthusiasm for this work.**

.....to Kate

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INTRODUCTION

'nationhood' thus became fused in the broadcasting policy" and the CRBC (the CBC as of 1936), for all its purposes, largely became a public relations medium for the diverse forces behind the new 'Canadian nationalism' (in the face of Quebec nationalists, who played very little part in the associations that dominated at that time) (Raboy;1990,p.7). Public broadcasting has, since its inception then, been characterized by the rhetorical incorporation of 'the public' - conceived as a citizenry of shareholders in the state - into its mandate and structure (Bennett;1992,p.29).

There was a deep complexity to the motivations surrounding the creation of the public national broadcasting system. While the English-Canadian movement was overtly centred on the sentiments and symbolic appeal of national unity and identity, there was also an implicit aim of cultural enlightenment behind the agenda of intellectual and political and business leaders. It was not simply the hope that public national radio would make Canadians nationalistic and responsible citizens. It was the belief that it would also provide intellectual, moral and educational guidance - an end that most felt could never be achieved through the crass commercialism of private broadcasting. This elitist sense of the "rhetorical enlistment of 'the people' in support of programs of moral, cultural and intellectual leadership" (Ibid.,p.30) was rooted in the ideals of a liberal democracy still connected to a colonial and aristocratic past. The activities of liberal democratic states have historically included those which serve to socialize the public through moralized education (Bennett;1992). That is, the moralizing function of enlightenment helped to safeguard against the unchecked expansion of democracy and maintain control through the high standards of bourgeois education. The development of Canadian culture was a

as a business and as a bearer of Canadian culture? The answers to these questions suggest that the commercial radio industry represents more than just another economic sector. It is symbolic of the direction this country has taken since the late 1960s, embodying and signifying the contradictions, tensions and struggles in Canada's development. As a central player within the protracted debates over 'Canadian nationalism', and as a marginal segment of the world of 'high-tech' communications technology, commercial radio broadcasting is a fascinating subject, not only because of the nature of the content it disseminates and the role it plays in social life, but because of its intimate links to the changing fabric of this nation.

The Impact and the Influence of a Medium: Making a Case for the Study of Commercial Radio

Commercial radio represents an engaging case of study for two reasons. First, few academics or cultural analysts have chosen to focus on this medium, favouring instead television, film and print media. Second, the little research or writing on radio which has been done has tended to emphasize either the early days of broadcasting (rather than the modern period of the 1970s and 1980s), or the public side of radio instead of the commercial sector. As a result, a striking void has been left in both communications and cultural studies, as well as in sociological studies of Canadian society. This lacuna is curious given that radio broadcasting has been a powerful and pervasive force in Canadian life for the better part of this century. By 1982, virtually every home in Canada had at least one radio receiving set (20% had four or more) and 97% of drivers

reported ownership of car radios (Burns Fry Ltd;1983,p.2). In 1993, 95% of all men and women listened to an average of 21.5 hours per week (Sutton;1993,p.7).¹ And, despite the proliferation of modern leisure technologies and information and entertainment alternatives, radio still maintains a central presence in everyday life.

Historically, commercial radio broadcasting has been an integral part of this country's cultural economy. In 1985, the largely Canadian-owned and controlled commercial radio industry employed almost 10,000 people and generated over \$579 million in operating revenue (Statistics Canada;56-204). Although, like many other businesses (especially those closely tied into retail sales and advertising), it has suffered from the economic downturn of the 1980s, radio air-time has historically been able to attract roughly 10% of the dollars spent on print and broadcasting media advertising in this country (Burns Fry Ltd;1983,p.1).

In addition to its direct impact on listeners and the general economy, modern commercial radio has been intimately connected to the recording business, where it has helped to facilitate the promotion of the product of record companies.² More specifically, commercial radio broadcasting in this country has played a significant role in fostering the growth of the Canadian recording industry over the last two decades. Prior to the 1960s, recorded music was rarely by Canadian musicians (Raymond;1966,p.115). However, after the government introduced Canadian musical content quotas in the early 1970s, the Canadian music industry began to benefit from the mandatory broadcasting of Canadian artists and music recorded in this country.³

Radio has, since its earliest days, been a pawn in the ideological evolution of

Canadian cultural nationalism. From the technical capability of the medium to communicate nation-wide political messages, to the larger and more symbolic role it has played in nation-building as a force that should "safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural political, social and economic fabric of Canada" (Broadcasting Act;1968,2(b)), commercial radio has been the site of ceaseless contestation since its inception in the 1920s. Caught in the decades-long conflicts and tensions between federal/provincial, private/public, protectionist/free trade, and national/international forces, radio broadcasting and radio broadcasting policy have been, in many ways, reflective of the larger power struggles that have characterized this nation's development. In a 1981 submission to the Cultural Policy Review Committee, representatives of the public broadcaster stated that "the CBC is a mirror of the country" (CBC;1981,p.13). It could be argued, however, that the commercial broadcasting system has equally reflected Canadian cultural, social, economic and political life.

Despite widespread penetration into the Canadian political and economic landscape and into the private lives of millions of Canadians, very little effort has been dedicated to the critical analysis of commercial radio broadcasting in this country. Radio remains the medium that is rarely talked about - the "invisible" medium. As Moss & Higgins (1984) state, "since the fifties, usually seen as the period of the cultural demise of radio, media analyses have concentrated on visual systems, with the press running in a strong but definite second place" (p.353). Otherwise excellent historic accounts of Canadian broadcasting (Peers;1969:1979: Weir;1965) have tended to chronicle the development of broadcasting as one which began with radio in the first half of this century and then

moved to television for the second half, as if radio had died at the birth of television. The term "broadcasting", more often than not, seems to refer to television, with only token attention given to radio. In instances where the aural medium has been addressed, it has often taken on an almost romantic quality. A cursory glance of the books devoted to radio broadcasting finds titles such as: "The Golden Age of Radio", "Radio's Golden Years", "Those Vintage Years of Radio", "The Big Broadcast, 1920-1950", "What's On The Wireless", "Radio - The Remote Years" and "Don't Touch That Dial: Radio Programming in American Life, 1920-1960", as well as a battery of personal memoirs from radio announcers from the early days.⁴ Countless references to the 'golden age' of radio infer that television became the 'here and now' and radio an outmoded technology of a bygone era. Still, the fact remains, that Canadians have faithfully continued to listen to the radio, which persists as a staple of cultural activity in this country.

This work draws on sociological, political, cultural and economic analytic traditions in an attempt to illuminate the subtle, yet profound nature of commercial radio broadcasting within Canadian society. Using a political economy framework, this investigation unfolds in two parts. The first half (chapters one through four) is a largely descriptive analysis intended to situate the medium both historically and theoretically in relation to other cultural and non-cultural sectors in Canada. Chapter One is an account of how the development of commercial radio influenced, and was influenced by, both public radio and television broadcasting. While the unique character of commercial radio, along with the role it has played in Canadian history, suggests that the medium

warrants its own study, it must also be recognized that radio's evolution has been interconnected with the development of both television and the public sector. This chapter is intended to highlight these relationships by looking at the roots of private broadcasting in Canada in order to set the stage for the birth and development of modern commercial radio. Having established the historic background of the medium, Chapters Two and Three present theoretical explorations of the comparative economic and cultural dimensions of commercial radio broadcasting in this country in order to locate the nature of the medium both conceptually and empirically. Chapter Four, in part an extension of these ideas, draws in the political character of commercial radio broadcasting, especially in terms of 'Canadian nationalism'. Here, a political economy framework is provided through which a theoretical outline of the state, regulation and the historically dominant forces in Canadian society is established. The concept of 'property' is centred within this framework.

Beginning with the Broadcasting Act of 1968 and the changes occurring at that time - not only within broadcasting and communications, but within Canadian society as a whole - chapters five through eight are a dynamic account of the evolution of commercial radio broadcasting throughout what is labelled as the 'modern era'. With emphasis on the role of the state and cultural and communications policies, these chapters focus on changes in the nature and structure of the medium as the post-Fordist crisis, and the economic, political and social changes it wrought, unfolded in this country. Conceptualizing regulation as the nodal point connecting the unique character of the medium to the larger structures and forces in Canadian society, it is argued that radio

broadcasting has been regulated in different ways throughout different historical periods, and that commercial radio has been linked to the dominant (and shifting) powers in Canadian society not only through economic interests, but through the regulatory practices of the 'biased' state structure. Within these practices, the interests of commercial broadcasters have been both represented and subordinated in varying ways as state priorities and projects have shifted over time.

After summarizing the 'modern era', Chapter Nine concludes with a consideration of the current changes happening within the commercial radio industry, in particular the recent development of Digital Audio Broadcasting. While it is not yet clear how this new technology (and the social relations behind it) will manifest itself, the potential for undermining commercial radio broadcasting as we have known it over the last several decades is evident.

ENDNOTES: INTRODUCTION

1. In 1982, the 20% of the population that listened most to the radio tuned in for 45.3 hours per week, in contrast with 20% of those that did the least listening and tuned in for an average of 2.9 hours (CKTC;1982,p.10).
2. Record companies, in turn, have supplied the bulk of radio programming. It is largely a reciprocal relationship, wherein, record companies provide (usually complimentary) copies of recorded music for air-play. This is a small cost for the record companies in return for widespread exposure. The costs involved in playing this music for the radio station lie in the system of royalty payments that broadcasters must make to the music composers, publishers and musicians.
3. While the Canadian sound recording industry can be divided into the production and manufacturing sub-sectors, it is the production sector - which centres around selecting artists, compositions, recording-studio facilities, manufacturing locations and the marketing of the product - that relates most directly to commercial radio.
4. Gifford, Dennis The Golden Age of Radio, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1988; Terrace, Vincent Radio's Golden Years. The Encyclopedia of Radio Programs 1930-1960, California: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1981; Snagge, John & Michael Barley Those Vintage Years of Radio, London: Pitman Publishing, 1972; Buxton, Frank & Bill Owen The Big Broadcast 1920-1950, New York: The Viking Press, 1972; Lazer, David What's on the Wireless, Gloucestershire: Evergreen, 1989; Halhed, Dick and Dodi Halhed Radio - The Remote Years, Scarborough: D. Halhed, 1981; McDonald, J. Fred Don't Touch That Dial: Radio Programming in American Life 1920-1960, Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979; Bannerman, R. Leroy Norman Corwin and Radio: The Golden Years, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1981; Settel, Irving A Pictorial History of Radio, New York: The Citadel Press, 1960; Nobbs, George & Wensum Boaks The Wireless Stars, Norwich: Norwich Ltd., 1972.

CHAPTER ONE
AN HISTORICAL CASE FOR THE STUDY OF RADIO

1. The Emergence of Commercial Radio in Canada

"My mother bought our first radio during the Depression. Money was very scarce but somehow she found the two dollars down and two dollars a month. When dad came home and found out what she had contracted for he was furious...But he soon found out that what it gave us - that connection with the outside world - was worth it...That radio made us feel part of what was going on."

**-An Ottawa valley radio listener
(McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.75)**

When radio broadcasting began in the 1920s, it afforded Canadians one of the first opportunities to link private life to the public sphere through electronic communications. This development in broadcast communication accompanied the shift in family and working life as agrarian production decreased in the face of industrialization, leading labour (primarily male) out of the home and into mainly urban work environments, thus re-shaping the nature of the household/family unit. Wages began to grow, working hours declined (Ewen;1976,p.28-29) and new practices of leisure and consumerism took hold. It was in conjunction with this rise in mass production, consumption and marketing that commercial radio broadcasting first assumed its place in the new North American Fordist era. "(Radio) constituted itself as a new focus for family life at a time when major changes in the structure of society were also creating a more privatized and individualized way of life" (Johnson;1981,p.12).

Following the rise of industrial capitalism and the re-organization of the productive and domestic spheres, came a new social phenomenon that Williams (1974) has labelled 'mobile privatisation' wherein there developed a greater degree of mobility (and distances) in relation to the social organization, along with a new accent on the family

home as a consumptive and reproductive unit. This largely contradictory phenomenon, in turn, created new kinds of contact that were increasingly necessary for the maintenance (from external sources) of these 'self-sufficient' units (p.26-27). According to Williams;

"(t)here were immediate improvements of the condition and efficiency of the privatised home; there were new facilities, in private transport, for expeditions from the home; and then, in radio, there was a facility for a new kind of social input - news and entertainment brought into the home...(radio) was especially welcomed by all those who had least social opportunities of other kinds; who lacked independent mobility or access to the previously diverse places of entertainment and information. Broadcasting could also come to serve, or seem to serve, as a form of unified social intake, at the most general levels. What had been intensively promoted by the radio manufacturing companies thus interlocked with this kind of social need..." (p.27-28).

It was in this context that capital was able to innovate upon already existing technology to establish listening audiences in a newly emerging social order. Taking advantage of the technological developments made for military purposes in the First World War, business moved into broadcasting as a means of promoting sales of radio equipment to households following the collapse of lucrative military markets (Babe;1988,p.69). "By the end of the 1920s the radio industry had become a major sector of industrial production, within a rapid general expansion of the new kinds of machines which were eventually to be called 'consumer durables'" (Williams;1974,p.26). And there was no doubt that this new technology was attractive to many Canadians. Veteran broadcaster Harry Swabey recalls that "(r)adios were expensive when you consider how low wages were. The average set was around \$100, but if you wanted a more elaborate cabinet that made a difference...Radio was the centrepiece of the home in those days. So people got the best one they could afford....People took more pride

in their radios in those days than they did in their cars" (McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.75).

At this early stage, however, Canadian broadcasting was little more than a means of transmission and reception. The hardware and the profit motive had preceded any notion of the broadcasting of entertaining or enlightening content. According to Meige (1989), although radio technology had been in existence since 1896, the "radio-as-medium only took off when the U.S. company Westinghouse came up with a two-fold idea: 1) financing the production of popular music programs by selling air time to advertisers and; 2) mass producing and selling radio receivers to the general public at low cost" (p.135).¹ With an eye across the border, Canadian entrepreneurs caught on to the idea. "Pioneer broadcasters started stations so those to whom they were selling radios would have something to listen to" (McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.17). Broadcasters such as Roy Thompson in Northern Ontario, Ted Rogers (Sr.) in Toronto and Harold Carson in Lethbridge, all used the radio airwaves for purposes of communicating a particular sales message. "(T)he major investment was in the means of distribution, and was devoted to production only so far as to make the distribution technically possible and then attractive" (Williams;1974,p.25).

By 1923 there were thirty-six permanent broadcast stations in Canada, thirty-four of which were commercially licensed "for purposes of gain or for publicity in connection with the licensees' business" (Bird;1988,p.38). At first, operating these stations was not an exceedingly profitable business. The fact that air-time could be used in the further expansion of capital had not been recognized. The concept of commercial advertising over the airwaves had yet to transpire. Station owners drew revenues mainly from the

sales and servicing of receivers, tubes and later batteries, which frequently needed reparation or replacement. However, it was not long before the idea of paying for air-time was to become centred within private broadcasting. On the small scale, an owner of an early Sydney, Nova Scotia station recalls that..."our first sale came from a milliner who agreed to pay five dollars for a week's announcements....The next Monday morning the lady came in to tell us that she would take five dollar's more. That was the start of advertising for us" (McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.48). This trend was to grow as the idea of bigger-scale and national advertising caught on. Although radio in this country began more modestly than in the United States (with more small independent station owners), big business soon began to realize the power of a message carried over the air and straight into the home. Gradually, the larger organizations (ie., Thompson, Sifton) began to take hold, although for years, broadcasting in this country was to remain much more entrepreneurially-based than its American counterpart.

Advertising, a rapidly expanding and necessary condition of capitalism in the 1920s, became one of the primary ways to link mass production with mass consumption and radio broadcasting (along with the print media) proved to be an effective means to bring advertising into the home. While the emergent distribution of stations at the time - of which the bulk were located in Toronto and Montreal - was an indication of the significance of larger advertising markets for broadcasters,² the impact on disperse and isolated communities across the country was not to be underestimated. In bridging distances and drawing people in through common cultural experience The Radio Bug, in 1924, claimed that "radio had done more to change the conditions of farm life than the

automobile, railroads, elevators, general stores, or the growth of small towns" (Fortner;1988-89,p.94).

As advertising in broadcasting became entrenched, stations developed new organizational styles and strategies. For the larger and higher-powered stations, operators, announcers and on-air talent were joined by large sales staffs. The process of selling air-time to advertisers became the heart of the private radio business. "The people that made money were the salesmen. The station depended on what they brought in locally. But all the stations across the country also had national 'reps'. They'd go to advertising agencies and sing the praises of various local stations and the benefits that could be derived for Lever Brothers, etc., in using these stations to advertise" (McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.93). The scattered practices of individual stations were converging in a semi-industrially organized system based on offering broadcast programming to draw in the attention of listeners for the benefit of advertisers who either supported the programming (in-direct advertising) or ran commercial messages throughout the broadcast.³

When the initial thrill of simply establishing communication diminished by the mid-1920s, the actual material being broadcast became increasingly important. "The novelty wore off, and as it did people began to search the dial not just for sound but for entertainment" (Raymond;1966,p.100). The challenge to these early broadcasters was to provide, in the most cost-efficient way, programming that could not just draw in listener attention, but maintain it as well. Programming, which became a station expense, also became the key to a station's success. Rather than pay the costs of original

productions, Canadian station owners were able to maximize profits by purchasing and airing mainly recorded music and American programming and, in some cases (CFRB/Toronto, CFCF and CKAC/Montreal), affiliating with the American networks. While Canada was later to provide a few offerings such as the Happy Gang and the Wayne & Schuster Show, imported programming proved to be very popular with Canadians.

As radio broadcasting evolved into a regular and dependable process of providing programmes, individual stations soon discovered the economic value of establishing set starting and ending times to help ensure reliable listener attention. While broadcasters tuned into the nature of work and leisure patterns - developing programming (and advertising) to fit in with these rhythms - time became essential to broadcasting. "Radio gave people a greater consciousness of time and promoted the concept of time as being broken up into precise intervals" (Johnson;1981,p.170). The effect of the economics of commercial broadcasting, it appears, were to help solidify and normalize the processes of capitalist life, both inside and outside of the workplace. Through this process, radio began to assume a fixed place in the domestic lives of Canadians. "In the guise of a new focus for family life...(radio) promoted images of the family as the context of all leisure activities and the source of all emotional satisfactions" (Johnson;1981,p.12). Radio sets looked like living-room furniture and "radio represented itself as a comforter in hard times, an escape from daily worries, a way of keeping the family together, and a source of news and up-to-date information on what was happening out there, in the world beyond our control" (Ibid,p.168-169).

Post-war Radio and the Coming of A New Medium

From the 1930s to the end of the war, "private radio, particularly the big stations in the big cities, proved to be a lucrative affair" (Bird;1988,p.196). The war itself had helped to establish a new and more credible role for the medium. "People stayed glued to their sets for the latest news from the front and they developed habits of listening that stayed with them when the war was over" (McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.155). In addition to its popularity, the economic promise of commercial radio broadcasting was to grow dramatically following the Second World War as radio equipment and techniques became refined, and as general consumption and commercial optimism increased. This context provided fertile ground for the expansion of commercial broadcasting capital through new and enhanced transmission and reception technologies. "The implications of all these developments for advertising, and for the broadcasting industry founded on advertising, were clear. Here, obviously, was a rapidly expanding sector of the economy, still at an early stage of its development" (Peers;1969,p.366).

In responding to the post-war proliferation of domestic appliances, the upward growth of urban centres and a great rise in the number of private stations (Jamieson;1966,p.184) - all of which were increasingly interfering with radio broadcast signals - the broadcasting industry became focussed on making transmitters more powerful and reliable in order to overcome the increased static and interference over the airwaves. "Soon broadcast signals faded less, volume became more constant (and) static at close range was overcome" (Raymond;1966,p.100-101). With this grew the immense popularity of clock radios, which quickly became fixed in the nation's bedrooms, automatically connecting listeners

and stations upon waking. These developments, along with steady decreases in receiver costs due to consumer demand (Sterling;1984,p.221), helped to further cement commercial radio in Canadian life.

It was not long after this period of relative success, however, that the first major challenge to radio broadcasting materialized. Television was the exciting and powerful new medium that threatened to displace the predominance of sound in the 1950s. Just as radio had emerged at the end of the First World War, television too was to grow out of war-time industrial development and post-war consumerism. According to Weir (1965), "the end of the Second World War saw a great effort in Canada to bring about a conversion of industry from a war-time to a peace-time basis. Technical and organizational changes were spurred by discoveries and adaptations growing out of the war. Canada was on the threshold of a new era" (p.256). Dallas Smythe elaborates, citing the connection with American corporate activity; "(t)he initiative to innovate television in Canada came from the electronics industry, mostly United States branch plants, eager to develop a market for receivers and station equipment" (1981,p.177).⁴ Again, broadcasting was to follow the pattern of hardware preceding a market and a reason for existence.

Despite the lack of content, the promise of a new visual medium was an exciting prospect for many Canadians. However, for many private broadcasters, especially those in smaller stations and markets, the promise of television was a threatening prospect. Would television displace the role of radio in family life? Just as the print media had felt the pressure of a new medium, the radio business was also being forced to deal with

a new competitor for audience attention and advertising revenue. Despite concerns over the fate of radio, some broadcasters eagerly anticipated the coming of television and were anxious to be a part of the new wave. The larger private broadcasters were generally frustrated with the government regulatory process that they felt was holding them back from moving towards the new medium and the financial possibilities it held (Raboy;1990,p.80: Allard;1979,p.203-207). Looking south of the border at the prospects for television, these more aggressive and wealthier private broadcasters saw that radio entrepreneurs there ... "were multiplying their rates of profit by parleying their expertise and their markets into television" (Raboy;1990,p.89). In the end, "(t)he venture capital required for financing the new television broadcasting industry was largely provided from accumulated profits from radio broadcasting networks and stations, newspapers and magazines, and to a lesser degree, from motion picture producers anxious to join their own industry's destructive rival" (Smythe;1981,p.82). Thus, in economic terms, many of the larger commercial operators were relatively optimistic about the new developments in electronic media. Few of them, however, foresaw the changes that the new medium was to precipitate in the nature of commercial radio broadcasting.

While the revenue of many private broadcasters was to be ensured, in large part, through the cross-ownership of both forms of electronic media, television presented, no doubt, a very real threat to the popularity of radio broadcasting. "The arrival of television after 1952 altered the whole pattern of radio broadcasting. A large portion of radio's audience switched to television, particularly during the evening hours and as television expanded, advertising dollars also defected from radio. Listening habits

changed as radio ceased to be family activity" (Crean;1976,p.24). It was to this challenge that radio broadcasters were forced to respond, for the sake of economic survival. What emerged over the next three decades was a new form of radio broadcasting, one which could effectively co-exist with, and survive the attraction of television.

Radio In the Era of Television: Creating New Spaces

It took several years and numerous unsuccessful attempts for commercial radio broadcasters to evolve a new style of broadcasting that could survive the impact of television. The industry did, however, ultimately maintain its economic appeal to advertisers. By 1957, commercial radio was the third most profitable enterprise in Canada (Spry;1961,p.216). Radio revenue increased from just over \$10 million in 1947 to almost \$26 million in 1960 (Raymond;1966;pp.101-102) (an increase favouring mainly larger owners). Interestingly, this gain was largely tied to the new role that radio had been forced to assume in the television age (Ibid.,p.102). Because television had so successfully appropriated command of family attention, the radio industry was compelled to create a new place for itself, one that television could not reach. Rather than waiting for the audience to gather around the set, radio itself had to begin to track down its listeners (Fornatale & Mills;1980,p.20).

Two social phenomena helped to demarcate this new space for commercial radio. First, the development of the small transistor (which replaced radio vacuum tubes) during

the war enabled radio listeners to transport their listening both inside and outside their homes. The portable radio allowed listeners to take their music with them. Television was, on the other hand, limited to a fixed point. Second, it was during this period that the massive growth of suburban development in North America helped lead to the success of the car radio. The automobile was an increasingly common place to spend time. By the mid-1960s, there were over two million car radios in use in Canada (Raymond;1966,p.102). The automobile was also a place which had no access to television. The radio business was very effective in capitalizing on these developments and co-ordinating them with programming innovations intended to maximize the distinct characteristics of aural broadcasting. The nature of radio broadcasting then, grew to be qualitatively different from television, which steadily positioned itself in the centre of Canadian living-rooms.

With this re-positioning came a decline in the network radio shows that had characterized commercial radio for years. "In 1948 there had been more than four hundred hours a week of varied network radio in the United States, of which Canadian radio imported more than fifty hours. In 1962 there (were) only two hundred U.S. hours a week, composed mainly of news and sports. Canadian radio import(ed) barely three of these hours" (Ibid.). Because television was more suitable for presenting entertainment programmes, it was not worthwhile for radio to try to compete. The costs for television broadcasters were enormous and the economical (and popular) solution for radio was to rely more heavily on recorded music rather than try to compete in programme production.⁵ "Television, with visuals that could convey drama and comedy...more

vividly, paved the way for the first radio revolution. Recorded music, which does not require the attention spoken-word entertainment demands, became radio's key programming element" (Barnes;1988,p.10). At the same time, recorded music began to surge in popularity with the advent of 'rock and roll' and radio was ripe for tapping into this source in searching out its new identity. A new programming technique known as 'Top 40' took hold of an increasingly large and economically powerful segment of the population - youth. "When rock 'n' roll developed...it had the perfect medium for exposure already in place. At the same time, Top 40 radio had a style all its own, along with a new, largely untapped audience for it - teenagers...As the teenage population and influence rose in the early sixties, Top 40 increased its dominance" (Ibid.,p.11). Teenagers were moving more and more out of the home for their leisure activities and portable radios proved to be highly adaptable to their transient environments.

Television prevailed over evening leisure time and radio was left to capture and capitalize on the attention of audiences during the day. Because daytime audiences were only substantial in size during early morning and early evening hours, when people were starting or finishing their days, these periods became radio's prime time - "not prime for entertainment but prime for the relaying of news, weather and other items of information" (Raymond;1966,p.102). Advertisers interested in radio wanted to purchase air-time during these key hours. So, emphasis was placed on peak daytime periods and recorded music was used throughout the remainder of the day.

With the new focus on specific peak hours, the individual (rather than the family unit), recorded music and non-network programming, radio broadcasters were shaping

what was to become modern commercial radio's unique configuration. Integral to this evolution, was the increasing focus on the radio station's place within the local community. The gap that radio began to fill, especially during prime-time listening periods, was largely one of community service. It became a regular part of radio programming to continually provide and up-date the weather, time, driving information, etc. And, because radio was not as rigid as television in its programming, it could be much more flexible in giving immediate information (ie., school closings, weather warnings, news happenings). For television, it would take a very important event to warrant interrupting a programme. "A network could bring the world into your home but it couldn't tell you which roads had flooded on your way to work. Local radio could provide more local news, public service announcements...hometown sports results and, through advertisements, news about local merchants. It sounds so simple and obvious, its's hard to imagine that anyone ever thought that radio could die. But operators had to learn to provide this new material, and the public needed to learn that it would be there" (Fornatale & Mills;1980,p.14). Commercial radio operators were also serving the needs of local/retail advertisers that could not be met as effectively by television. With lower production costs, radio stations were able to offer lower advertising rates, tapping into the advertisers that could not afford or did not cater to national markets. This local emphasis was to become one of the most critical elements in commercial radio's historic success.

With this new focus on the local level, came a sense of mutual interdependence between stations and their communities. Jamieson cites a columnist for Radio-Television

Daily who, in 1965, wrote that "(p)eople appear to identify with a particular radio station more than they do with a particular television station. In interviewing listeners around the country (the U.S.) on this question, I was struck by a phrase that one of them used. She said, 'This station is not me. I listen to another station instead'" (1966,p.80). Until this point radio stations had appealed to a wide and general audience (Raymond; 1966,p.104), but over time, the notion of specific types of programming defining specific stations slowly began to emerge. This style of broadcasting was to come to dominate commercial radio in the 1970s and 1980s.

With this new pattern of station-identification also came the enhanced role of the announcer or disc jockey (DJ). With one's favourite station came regular DJs that represented, and were the voices of, a station. Realizing the advantage local radio held over television, radio stations actively began to foster their own high profile within local communities, especially through the personalities of the DJs. Unlike network personalities, DJs worked effectively on local radio because they were generally familiar with, and integrated into, the community. Participation in, and sponsorship of, local charities through fund-raising activities became an increasingly popular method by which the station's presence in the community could be enhanced. Radio personalities regularly attended local entertainment and sporting events in hopes of raising station awareness, and the notion of community service became entrenched in the ethos of Canadian commercial broadcasting. "Public service" wrote T.J. Allard, one of Canada's most notable private broadcasters, "was more than anything else the element which assured the continued existence of private broadcasters" (Allard;1979,p.52).⁶

Despite the fact that most of the records played over the airwaves were still American, the reality of the new local emphasis and more personalized style, was that radio in this country was becoming more and more "Canadian". That is, because listeners were most interested in information specific to their surroundings and, because the music played on their local stations was not unlike that played on American stations, there was much greater interest in listening to Canadian stations - in contrast to television-tuning habits. Writing about the new tendencies in commercial radio in 1966, private broadcasting enthusiast and representative Don Jamieson stated that "(o)ne effect of (these new changes) is that Canadian radio has won back the very substantial audience that was lost for years to American stations....Today, even in border cities, Canadian listeners show an overwhelming preference for Canadian stations" (p.76). This trend was to persist into the 1980s, where radio remained a more "Canadian" medium than television. As the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement reported in 1986, "Canadian viewing of US television signals is significant (62% of Canadians watch a US station during an average week; US television stations have a 23% share of the market in Canada). However, with certain exceptions (such as Windsor and St. Catharines), this is not the case for radio. In the major metropolitan areas of Toronto and Vancouver, where US signals are certainly there for the picking, the total US share of audience is 4% and 6% respectively" (p.8).

Some of the major developments in commercial radio broadcasting could be interpreted, then, as having been the result of finding a new and profitable space in the era of television. As a response to the visual medium, they were the necessary means

of economic survival. In this sense, the history of radio has been closely interconnected with television. It should also be noted that, while the structure and formats of the two assumed very different characters, radio and television have not only flourished in a symbiotic co-existence in terms of the sharing of advertiser and audience time, but there has been (over the last twenty years), an ever-higher degree of co-operative interaction between the two media in terms of cross-ownership and cross-advertising. In many cases the interests of radio broadcasters have been the same interests as television operators.

In the end, the threat of the new medium did not befall radio broadcasting. The phenomenal growth of television did not destroy the fortitude of aural transmission. "Television had given radio a chill and a bad case of the shakes - but there never was any stoppage of vital signs" (Fornatale & Mills; 1980, p.11). Instead, it helped to create a new character for Canadian commercial radio broadcasting, one which integrated both media (relatively) successfully and prosperously. Through a combination of circumstances, perceptive strategic changes and protective regulation, radio managed to maintain a key place in the broadcasting system.

II. Two Sides of a "Single System"

Just as the study of radio has often been neglected in favour of the visual media, in those few instances where radio broadcasting in this country has been addressed, focus - more often than not - has been placed on the public side, the CBC (Canadian

Broadcasting Corporation). The Canadian radio broadcasting system has long been officially deemed a "single system" composed of both public and private elements. For academics, cultural analysts, government officials and nationalists of varying colours and intentions, however, the CBC has dominated research (and political) agendas. The corresponding opinion of commercial radio which appears to have emerged is that, with its crass and mass appeal, and with its reliance on advertising and a good deal of American music, it has been largely irrelevant to issues of Canadian nationalism, culture and development. This corresponds with the widely held view that the "public system (has) developed into the greatest single agency for national unity, understanding and enlightenment" (Bird;1988,p.213).

This debatable conclusion belies the significant impact that the private side has had on Canadian listening practices. There is one undeniable fact where commercial radio in Canada is concerned. It has always been more popular with Canadians. Despite the widespread national geographic coverage of the CBC, commercial radio has historically commanded roughly a 90% share of the Canadian listening audience (Task Force;1986,p.120). The remaining 10% of listeners (with slight regional, age, education and gender variations) have been divided between the CBC and community and education broadcasters (Ibid.).⁷ Further, this 10% does not constitute an exclusive audience. CBC listeners tend also to listen to private radio stations (Bureau of Broadcast Measurement;1986,p.13). This suggests that commercial broadcasting has played a significant role within Canadian cultural life. Yet, even with daily programming broadcast from approximately six hundred licensed private operating stations

(Stratavision;1986,p.50), this highly popular medium has generated very little analytic interest. Even if a case based on numbers and popularity is not enough to direct interest to the private side of the "single system", what should not be overlooked is the historic impact that private radio broadcasting had on the birth and growth of the Canadian broadcasting system and the CBC itself. Commercial radio has been very relevant to issues of nationalism and cultural development in this country. The struggles of private broadcasters have impacted upon broadcasting policy and, consequently upon the CBC. Thus, to understand the commercial side of radio broadcasting means to understand also how it has been historically interrelated with public national radio.

The Public Side Emerges In a Climate of Social Change

Commercial radio broadcasting operated in a largely unfettered manner throughout most of the 1920s. Government involvement had been minimal during this period. But, as the number of private stations grew, the number of small issues requiring authoritative attention also began to increase. The accumulation of complaints over freedom of speech, too much direct advertising, American signal interference and the concentration of broadcast power within urban centres, led to greater intervention. However, it was largely in reaction to the excesses and inadequacies (real or perceived) of early private broadcaster/businessmen^a that the first Royal Commission and ensuing legislation were instated from which the original public broadcasting body (the CRBC) was created. Since that time, the private and public sectors have been connected in a partially interdependent,

sometimes harmonious, but mainly antagonistic, contradictory and generally confusing whole known as the Canadian radio broadcasting system. While the historic conflict and chaos surrounding the two sectors may suggest two solitudes, it is important to recognize the ways in which they have been tied, both competitively and co-operatively, in their mutual drive for economic and political survival.

In order to save the burgeoning medium from what was assumed to be the worst of continental commercial forces, the struggle for a national public service crystallized around the Canadian Radio League (CRL) in the 1930s. Graham Spry, the founder of the League, wrote in 1931, "radio broadcasting..is a great entertaining, educational, artistic and political power; too great, too valuable, too dangerous to be left in irresponsible hands and devoted to narrow purposes" (Spry;1931,p.246-249). Spry's co-founder, Alan Plaunt, was equally passionate in his dedication to the new medium which he believed held enormous capacity to both educate and unify Canadians (Nolan;1983). And, Brooke Claxton, an executive on the CRL board at the time, argued that radio was "the greatest instrument of education, propaganda and entertainment that (had yet) been provided" and that "the future of Canada (depended) on what use she (made) of it" (Fortner;1988-89,p.88).

Broadcasting in this context, then, came to represent for some an opportunity to mesh education, the 'public' and nationhood. With this new focus on an educational and nationalist role for radio, government intervention took on a much more grand tone. No longer was radio regulation merely a series of technical and licensing decisions made by the Department of Marines and Fisheries. As part of the first truly symbolic Canadian

nationalist agenda, radio broadcasting became a critical and powerful cause, and the principles adopted in the broadcasting mandate of the 1930s became the vision articulating the medium with the message.

The social climate of the nation during these early years provided the unique context in which the radio system was to unfold. As Canada began to break from its British ties, in the years following the First World War, it entered into a new-found period of relative independence. In socio-economic terms, it was the premier era of 'the public' for the industrializing nations (Raboy;1990: Ewen;1992). This transformation was closely bound with the Fordist social order that characterized the productive and circulation spheres during this time. The slowly evolving sense of national independence coincided with the concept of universal suffrage, the liberal democratic principle of 'the citizenry' and the dominance of psychology - particularly in advertising (Ewen;1992) - which became pervasive throughout the society. Along with the democratic concept of 'the public' came the notion of public opinion based on reasoned information largely distributed, until this point, through newspapers (Ibid.). Canadian citizens - of all classes, regions and ethnicities - were to have the right to information upon which to base their political and economic/consumer decisions.

The intellectual elite, most of whom supported the new nationalist movement, "felt that more rapid change than they had ever known before was enveloping them and other Canadians, and believed it to be their duty both to form responses to the new situation and to develop institutions which could cope with it" (Vipond;1980,p.34). With respect to the future of radio at that time, Graham Spry, a member of the intelligentsia, said

"(m)y feeling was that broadcasting must not be treated as a business...It had to be treated as a public service, like the school system. Everyone in society required an education. Similarly everyone needed information" (McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.197).

The movement to unite and organize the new, more independent 'public' then, merged with a shifting economic and political order, converging on the issues of Canadian national unity and identity. 'Canadian nationalism' became the rallying point for an alliance of subordinate groups (ie., women, labour, farmers) under the leadership and organization of an intellectual elite. Emerging from a progressive middle-class movement in English Canada, this alliance (connected through a number of organizations), comprised of a range of well-established and respected members from intellectuals to business people (largely sharing the same class and background), "tended to share a common perception of their role, seeking "to 'mould public opinion' in the direction of a national consciousness...to formulate social goals, to give direction to the national will, and thus to give cohesion to Canadian society" (Raboy; '990,p.18), particularly in the difficult years of the Depression.'

The dominance of this network touched the broadcasting field, where national unity and particularly the movement towards strengthening the "Dominion authority against provincial encroachment" (Ibid.,p.34) became the calling card of the CRL (a part of the movement) in its representation of 'the public'. On this platform, the League was to become the country's "most successful interest group" (Faris;1975,p.12) in a context where conservative forces moved largely in consensus with social democrats to usher in a publicly owned and operated system of broadcasting. "The ideas of 'public' and

'nationhood' thus became fused in the broadcasting policy" and the CRBC (the CBC as of 1936), for all its purposes, largely became a public relations medium for the diverse forces behind the new 'Canadian nationalism' (in the face of Quebec nationalists, who played very little part in the associations that dominated at that time) (Raboy;1990,p.7). Public broadcasting has, since its inception then, been characterized by the rhetorical incorporation of 'the public' - conceived as a citizenry of shareholders in the state - into its mandate and structure (Bennett;1992,p.29).

There was a deep complexity to the motivations surrounding the creation of the public national broadcasting system. While the English-Canadian movement was overtly centred on the sentiments and symbolic appeal of national unity and identity, there was also an implicit aim of cultural enlightenment behind the agenda of intellectual and political and business leaders. It was not simply the hope that public national radio would make Canadians nationalistic and responsible citizens. It was the belief that it would also provide intellectual, moral and educational guidance - an end that most felt could never be achieved through the crass commercialism of private broadcasting. This elitist sense of the "rhetorical enlistment of 'the people' in support of programs of moral, cultural and intellectual leadership" (Ibid.,p.30) was rooted in the ideals of a liberal democracy still connected to a colonial and aristocratic past. The activities of liberal democratic states have historically included those which serve to socialize the public through moralized education (Bennett;1992). That is, the moralizing function of enlightenment helped to safeguard against the unchecked expansion of democracy and maintain control through the high standards of bourgeois education. The development of Canadian culture was a

matter of intense interest to the English-Canadian elite of the 1920s who were motivated by goals of not only fostering Canadian patriotism, but stimulating this "intelligent citizenship" (Vipond;1980,p.38).

This cultural and intellectual bias remained entrenched in Canadian political discourse for decades. The 1951 Massey Commission (headed up mainly by academicians) reflected this tendency towards 'bourgeois culturalism' that has long pervaded broadcasting discourse. The Commission suggested that commercial broadcasting could produce programmes which were 'trivial, commonplace and debased public taste' and that radio broadcasting should "open to all Canadians new sources of delight in arts, letters, music and the drama. Through a fuller understanding and a heightened enjoyment of these things Canadians become better Canadians because their interests are broadened; they achieve greater unity because they enjoy in common more things, and **worthier things**" (my emphasis) (Bird;1988,p.214). This division between what was considered to be more or less 'worthy' broadcasting was evident to the early private broadcasters who felt that their style of broadcasting was being eclipsed by a larger vision of cultural and educational goals. In recalling the marked rise in support for nationalized radio, commercial broadcaster, T. J. Allard, argued that in broadcasting entertainment, "humour, 'popular' music, story-telling - indeed anything designed for pure enjoyment - was regarded by the rich and powerful as just a slight cut above being indecent, if not outright criminal activity. Even motion pictures had not attained the status of 'legitimacy'. To embark upon a broadcasting career, therefore, was to risk not only the scorn of the business community, which regarded this new development as a frivolous toy

destined for quick oblivion, but to gamble one's social acceptance" (1979,p.15). Despite its melodrama, Allard's polemic highlights the emergence, during this period, of the rhetorical separation of respectable and lasting culture from dispensable amusement.

This ideology was to permeate the interconnections (both in terms of personal ties and organizational overlap and influence) between the powerful individuals behind the pro-public broadcasting movement and the government. There was a strong elitist thrust to the public radio movement leadership. Both Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt, Rhodes scholars and Oxford graduates, were highly educated men of reputable social standing and establishment backgrounds. Both were exceedingly impressed by the British public model of broadcasting, an opinion which may have been somewhat coloured by a British heritage.¹⁰ Coming from a wealthy family background, Plaunt had never needed to engage in full-time paid employment, leaving him with ample time to pursue the cultural interests, for which he had become so passionate following his attendance at "various exclusive educational institutions" (Nolan;1984,p.45). As well, his financial contributions to the League were fundamental to its continued existence and policy success, along with his representations before Parliamentary Committees and his "unremitting backstage lobbying of parliamentarians and political leaders" (Ibid.). According to Allard (1979), Alan Plaunt possessed "brilliant public relations and organizational talent, had ferocious energy and a powerful circle of friends" (p.67).

Beyond his formal educational experience, Graham Spry retained a strong British connection where he served as agent-general for Saskatchewan in Britain and Europe, and as a director on the boards of Standard Oil Co. and the British Ethyl Corp., both of

London, England (Broadcaster;February,1984,p.38). Spry's initial foray into broadcasting and the idea of national service, was the result of his role in the Association of Canadian Clubs in the 1920s.¹¹ This "educational and opinion-moulding organization" (Vipond;1980,p.38), had been largely disembodied from the 'public' it represented. "In general, the organizations trying to mould public opinion to nationalist ends did so on the basis of a conception of public opinion "derived from class and leadership assumptions which gave ordinary Canadians little role to play except as the consumers of nationalist propaganda" (Raboy;1990,p.18).¹² This decoupling also seemed to characterize the national public radio movement - as piloted by the CRL - which was being tendered as a movement of the mass. The support of unions, women's groups and farm associations, in reality, played a rather minor part in the League's success. They were drawn in through the work of the League to tie a wide range of varying interests around the core issue of 'Canadian nationalism'. However, it was mainly through paternalistic practices that Graham Spry used his multitudinous connections with prominent citizens, bankers, business leaders, industrialists, government officials and bureaucrats (Weir;1965,p.122) to help usher in a new conception and direction in broadcasting.¹³

Over time, the diverse radical and alternative interests concerned with the broadcasting issue coincided with "the traditional urban elite" (Raboy;1990,p.18) in a mutual rejection of American interests and influence, and with varying definitions of "certain value-laden terms, such as 'education'" (Ibid.) and the common desire to pursue some form of a national(ist) agenda. Ultimately, it was the power of an elite leadership which helped to win the favour of the government. It was not, fundamentally, a 'public'

movement for control of a national broadcasting system. It was a movement supported by particular sectors and groups of the Canadian 'public' based on the visions of certain powerful men who led politicians to the creation of national public radio. And, it was a movement that worked largely because of the socio-political climate of the time and the heightened emphasis on Canadian nationalism. In the beginning it was the reaction to commercial broadcasting that launched the campaign for nationalized radio. However, it was a combination of circumstances, connections, positioning and ideology which facilitated its metamorphosis. In the end, through countless battles carried on largely within the political realm, commercial broadcasting was to gain its own voice and position within this vision of a Canadian broadcasting system as the private and public sectors settled into what has become a functional but often uneasy co-existence, in which each has had to compete not only with one another, but with the evolution of other new media technologies.

By the modern period of broadcasting - after the 1960s - the private and public sectors had struck a tenuous partnership. Beyond the differences in funding structures (market-driven and government funded),¹⁴ the more direct influence of the political system - in terms of personnel and censorship - has distinguished the two, as has the national purpose of the CBC. This national purpose has largely been expressed through the broadcaster's cultural and informational programming. As the president of the CBC stated in the mid-1970s; "the central goal of the public service is to produce distinctive and distinguished programming", in contrast to "an enormous flood of spot announcements, news snippets, and popular music produced by a growing number of

private commercial AM and FM stations" (Smythe;1981,p.186). Here, however, we should note the operative word - 'popular' - which indeed commercial radio was and has been, despite the widespread availability of 'quality' programming on the CBC and its traditional appeal to national unity and identity. And, while it is true that much of the popular music played on commercial stations is American in origin, the CBC's historic reliance on the import of old European music can hardly be held up as an expression of any true Canadian heritage or identity.¹⁵ Commercial radio has proved to be a powerful and effective medium for attracting Canadian listeners, drawing them away, at different times and to varying degrees, from both television and public radio.

III. The Modern Era of Commercial Radio in Canada

With the coming of television, the unfolding of a public/private structure of broadcasting and a number of other economic, political and social factors - commercial radio entered into its modern era. Throughout this period, the pattern of sound which prevailed over the airwaves could be most broadly identified as 'format (or formula) radio'. While 'format radio' has recently begun to transform itself under the pressures of deregulation, new technologies and increased corporate concentration, it has, nonetheless, provided the dominant sound shaping our radio experience for more than a quarter of a century.

The Age of 'Format Radio'

In finding a niche for the aural medium, broadcasters in the late 1950s gradually abandoned what was known as 'block' programming (a series of unconnected segments or programmes). Television was proving more effectual at using the block technique. It was the medium that could more successfully be all things to all people. Radio stations, on the other hand, were establishing a new, more consistent style of programming which, while varying in local flavour, essentially consisted of a number of basic ingredients interconnected in roughly the same configuration. These ingredients were situated within the context of a specific style of music. This shift represented the move towards modern or 'format radio'.

Most fundamentally, 'format radio' is a particular approach to programming. It is a way of sequentially arranging the elements broadcast such that they will draw in and hold the attention of a specific audience over time. As outlined above, the first clearly defined format - whose emergence coincided with the genesis of 'rock and roll', was labelled Top 40. Top 40, created by an American broadcaster in the early 1950s, was a system based on playing the "hits of the day in rotations designed to give listeners a very good chance of hearing their favorite song" (Barnes;1988,p.11). (The evolution of this format was further facilitated by the simultaneous emergence of the 45 rpm record, which was not only less costly to make and purchase than 78 rpms, but was much easier for disc jockies to handle.) This programming approach was picked up in Canada by Alan Waters, president of CHUM Radio in Toronto, in 1957 and, while it did not represent a mature or comprehensive format, such as those that were to develop in the

1970s and 1980s, it did signal the advent of the systematized techniques in programming that were to characterize modern commercial radio.

Over the years, as the number of formats grew to include MOR (Middle of the Road), Beautiful Music, AC (Adult Contemporary), Country Music and Golden Oldies, amongst others, so too grew the complexity of formats. With this increase in format numbers and refinement, two phenomena surfaced which were to further define the modern style of commercial radio. First, there was the emergence of specific stations playing one style of music exclusively (specialization). 'Format radio' came to guarantee that listeners interested in a certain kind of music could tune into a station at any point in the schedule and find satisfactory content (Task Force;1986,p.87). Second, these musically diverse outlets began programming this music within roughly the same daily and weekly scheduling frameworks. That is, music aside, and with some variation in announcer personalities, the basic elements that made up a format were very similar in content and presentation (standardization).¹⁶ Along with assumed listener wants, it was concern over cost-efficiency and the obligation to government regulations that dictated, in large part, the presence of these particular elements in broadcast programming and the homogeneity across stations.

While the role of federal regulation in standardizing the commercial radio system through mandatory programming elements has been considerable, the impetus behind the growth of 'format radio' has, most fundamentally been economic. Formula radio has dominated the commercial airwaves for the simple reason that it has consistently proven that it could deliver the greatest degree of profitability to station owners. The formats

chosen by station owners and managers were not part of some creative vision, but were based instead on demographics, demographic change and market voids.

At this point, it would be helpful to highlight the connection between audience targeting, demographic research and the creation of radio formats. Formats arose, in part, in response to the more sophisticated ratings research techniques of the 1960s. As radio broadcasters realized that their success was to be found in gaining the listenership of very specific groups of people (based on factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, lifestyle, etc.) rather than the entire family unit (television's newly acquired territory), it came to be in their best interest to adopt and/or develop measures and techniques¹⁷ that could more easily define and monitor particular demographic groups. The term used to refer to addressing the attention of this specific listenership was "targeting". The aim was to create station identification on the part of a dedicated and regular listenership in the hope of making a particular station (and most importantly, its advertising) an integral part of a listener's lifestyle. In order to accomplish this, radio broadcasters believed that they had to create programming that would appeal to a specific segment of the population such that those listeners would come to tune in habitually and for extended periods of time. Formats were instrumental to the process, and marketing research was intended to gauge how well a station was accomplishing this task through a ratings system. Formats made it easier for broadcasters to identify a type of audience, as well as for an audience to identify a type of station. Agencies representing advertisers grew to rely almost entirely on ratings to make their air-time purchases, and radio stations to use them to sell that time. Based on this system of ratings, advertisers made their decisions regarding

where best to invest within a specific market. The challenge to each station within a listening market, then, was to certify that it was the best at generating the reliable attention of a specific group of listeners, at least for particular parts of the day.

Beyond the interests of advertisers, advertising agencies and radio broadcasters, there were other economic forces behind the refinement of 'format radio', and here we begin to touch on the long and deep connection between the record industry and the commercial music radio business. In an insightful article on the modern radio industry, radio broadcaster and author Ken Barnes describes the relationship between radio formats, radio stations and the record industry most succinctly. "In music radio, formats exist in large part because the record industry finds them convenient. Radio and records co-exist in an uneasy symbiosis, with each partner chasing different goals. Labels want to sell records. Radio stations want to sell commercial time. Ideally, labels get free exposure for their records on radio stations, who score good ratings by playing the hits and are thus able to sell more advertising. It's a neat, synchromesh..." (1988;p.39). He elaborates upon this relationship in terms of trade publications creating format charts to help out the record labels, as well as to serve as guides for radio station programmers - providing them with ideas of what records work best for a certain audience (Ibid.,p.40-43). The ability of a particular style of music to draw in similar types of listeners became like gold to the industry as "(b)roadcasters realized they could reach target audiences for their advertisers more effectively if they programmed according to a specific musical format" (Task Force;1986,p.87).¹⁸

By the 1980s, the nature of radio formats, especially in the larger and more

competitive markets, became much more systematized such that there was less freedom within the broadcast schedule for variation from highly researched and programmed formats. The modern era of commercial radio, became one in which every element of every broadcast day was carefully planned and subject to endless critique by program directors and consultants as a regular part of an increasingly specialized and controlled industry.¹⁹ Canadian firms such as Masscom Research Ltd. have systematized broadcast research through sophisticated computer systems such as PASS (portable audience statistics system), SONAR (synthesis of newspaper and radio) or TARGET (target audience needs and goal evaluation techniques) - which indicates how listeners of different radio formats use specific products (Roberts; 1979, p.20). Consulting firms have also refined and packaged new and improved formats that move far beyond simply MOR or Country or Urban Dance to numerous new, highly specialized formulae sold to stations with names such as 'Formula 41' and 'Evergreen' (Media Magazine; October, 1985, p.6).

The ultimate goal of all of this investment and labour into elaborate methods for the strategic selection of music and talk features has been to keep an audience tuned during commercials. Not surprisingly, the effective means of programming commercials has also become a central preoccupation in the modern broadcasting business. Radio broadcasters and advertisers have generally believed that the most successful approach to the presentation of advertising messages was to nestle commercials amongst the flow of songs or talk such that a listener was not offended by them, or at the least, so that she or he would not bother going to the radio to re-tune the dial. The issue of commercials in radio has always been a difficult one from the point of view of the broadcaster. On

the one hand, the more advertising air-time a station sold, the more money it made. On the other hand, the more advertising a station put out over the air, the higher the risk that the audience would start to tune out. If a station were to play too many commercials, it was less likely that a listener would tune in regularly. It would soon become apparent that radio was, in actual fact, a vehicle for advertising. Any legitimacy as a 'personal', entertaining and informative friend would diminish. The heart of commercial programming has always rested on this issue of legitimacy, especially in the 1980s as debates amongst broadcasters were heightened over questions of how many minutes per hour should be devoted to commercials and the relative value of 'commercial-free' half-hours, hours or even days. There has always been a fine balance to be struck in determining when and where commercials would be placed, and, like the programming of music, the situating of commercials has also become something of a "science" in the commercial industry.²⁰

The 'format radio' package that is programmed and transmitted to listeners, is not explicitly acknowledged as such. To the contrary, the key to the success of 'format radio' lies largely in the concealment of this fact. Broadcast programming is intended to sound like a naturally unfolding, musical and verbal experience (see Appendix 1). It is presented as a continuous process, rather than a series of carefully packaged and discrete elements.²¹ In this respect, there is a fine balance to be achieved in what commercial broadcasters would claim to be successful commercial radio. It lies somewhere between securing listener identification, such that a listener habitually and happily tunes into a particular station and, being a background aural presence, such that

a listener is unaware of the particular elements that constitute a station's programming. If people become too aware of the radio, it then becomes a higher demand medium, thus undermining the particular "niche" it has come to occupy in a society filled with a variety of other media and technological options for information and entertainment.

This is a brief history of the evolution of format or modern radio. It illustrates the ways in which radio has been interrelated with, and distinguished from, both television and public radio broadcasting and how the socio-economic context has been a mediating factor in shaping the modern sound. Yet, in more specific terms, how do we conceptualize where modern radio has been located in relation to Canadian society as a whole? Has radio been little more than a profit-making activity comparable to any other industry? Or, as a cultural industry, has it somehow been elevated from the realm of purely economic undertakings? Is there a degree of cultural autonomy where creative or artistic expression operates at some remove from the economic organization of the business? The federal government has always regulated the medium as a part of Canada's cultural fabric, yet, there are undoubtedly vast differences between commercial radio broadcasting and the National Ballet, or even between commercial radio broadcasting and its public counterpart. Therefore, how do we situate this business in our understanding of the evolution of Canadian cultural life? It should be underscored that what is most interesting about the study of culture in general, and radio in particular, is not studying the institution for the sake of itself. Rather, understanding comes from demonstrating the interconnectedness between it and the larger social system in terms of how the always fragile balance of power is played out in the field of culture.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER ONE

1. Westinghouse owned 4 of the first 9 on-air broadcast stations in the United States in the early 1920s. RCA was also a major player in the development of broadcast radio (Inglis;1990,p.63). Bird (1988) argues that Westinghouse had a counterpart in this country - the Canadian Marconi Co. in Montreal - in the manufacturing and promotion of radio at that time (p.30).
2. It should be noted that private broadcasting historian, Michael Nolan, has suggested that this concentration was perhaps not as extreme as government records and other historians have made it out to be. According to Nolan, most of the provinces did have some stations operating in smaller centres (Nolan;1978,p.10).
3. The success of the new electronic medium in generating interest and advertising dollars was especially evident in the threat it appeared to be making to Canadian newspapers over competition for advertisers. In response, newspapers such as the London Free Press allied with private broadcasting in the 1920s, themselves buying into a good percentage of stations in this country in hopes of eliminating potential competition (McNeil & Wolfe;1982,p.45). In Toronto, all three major newspapers set up radio stations in the early 1920s (Weiner;1979,p.11). According to Smythe (1981), this response was similar to that in the United States where "(n)ewspaper publishers, scenting a rival for audience production to sell to advertisers, built more stations than any other industrial class of station owners and shortly formed an association to prevent the flow of news to radio stations" (p.161).
4. Smythe adds that... "(t)o a substantial degree, general taxpayers subsidized the new investments in television through the written-off plants which the electronics industry 'converted' to war production (of shells, small arms and ammunition, etc.), had operated on a cost-plus during the war. These plants were donated or sold at token prices by the government to the industry at war's end for instant conversion to assembly lines to produce television and radio receivers" (Smythe;1981,p.82-83).
5. The exceptions were newscasts and sports events (Raymond;1966,p.103).
6. For example, in the Toronto market, CFRB-AM introduced programs such as the 'pro-driver' campaign involving driving courses for teenagers and run in co-operation with the Ontario Safety League and the police force (Byers;1976,p.14). CFTR-AM has long been involved in Variety Club

Bikeathons, Miles for Millions and Big Brothers and, the CHUM Christmas Wish campaign (providing toys to needy children) has been in existence since 1968 (Ibid.,p.16). In addition, CHUM established in the 1970s a Charitable Foundation under the Ontario Corporations Act "to provide financial assistance to needy persons, charitable institutions, hospitals and community organizations. Funds are raised through various appeals to CHUM listeners and the station pays all administrative costs and other expenses incurred in the day-to-day operation of the foundation" (Broadcaster;January, 1977, p.21).

7. It should be noted that the numbers are slightly higher with respect to the CBC's French service (Smythe;1982, p.187).
8. "Businessmen" would be the correct term as there were few or no women in ownership positions.
9. This consciousness of English-Canadian nationalists stemmed from an awareness of...
 "the litany of Canada's problems: the ebbing of population growth, the increasing cultural and economic penetration of the United States, the rupturing of the East-West unity of the old National Policy, still-simmering ethnic antagonisms, the acceleration of urbanization and industrialization, the breakdown of traditional morality - and with it all, the lingering colonial mentality, now referred to in psychological terms as Canada's 'inferiority complex'" (Vipond;1980,p.43-44).
10. Despite the movement away from British ties, America represented to many, especially in the middle-classes, what Canada did not want. Thus, there remained a sense of turning to what was familiar and orderly in the British culture.
11. According to Vipond (1980) Spry was able to shape the Association to the purpose to which he felt "it should be put, namely, to acquaint a large group of influential Canadians with one another and with their evolving world, and so to cultivate in Canada "an informed, tolerant, national public opinion" (p.39).
12. Vipond also makes a convincing argument for the fact that the membership in these organizations and the pursuit of educational and national ideals may have served to fill personal and psychological needs for intellectuals at that time - to provide them with a revived sense of comradeship and status, at least amongst themselves (see Vipond;1980,p.46-48).

13. Characteristic of this form of pressure politics, "Spry also took advantage of the friendship which his family had had in Calgary with Mr. Bennett to draw the activities of the League to the prime minister's attention" (Peers;1969,p.68). Similarly, Alan Plaunt enlisted the help of a former minister in the federal government and head of a trust company in communicating with others in the financial community (Ibid.,p.66). Other records suggest that he also had considerable influence with Mackenzie King (Allard;1979,p.67). "Part of Plaunt's success was his ability to align himself with individuals and groups on both sides of the political spectrum. On the one hand, he encountered wealthy Canadians and prominent 'establishment' politicians such as C.D. Howe and Vincent Massey who ultimately endorsed Plaunt's scheme for broadcasting. At the same time he counted among his closest friends several members of the academic community and left wing advocates..." (Nolan;1984,p.45) As Vipond (1980) has suggested, the CRL (and other voluntary national associations) "devoted more time to the Masseys than to the masses" (p.46). In fact, Vincent Massey himself has been described as "having all the attributes of a nineteenth-century British aristocrat, a paternalist who thought Canadians were 'not too bright peasants'" (Fortner;1988-89,p.89). In a similar vein, the voices of 'the public' heard by the 1929 Aird Commission also came mainly from "the organized intellectual, social, or financial elite. Many not heard from by the Commission were at home, happily listening to music and comedy shows on the US stations whose signals reached them, or on Canadian stations linked by land lines or recording to the US source" (Bird;1988,p.57).
14. Private and public radio can be distinguished from one another by a number of factors including regulations regarding content, technical dimensions and advertising. The fundamental difference between the two forms of radio broadcasting lies, of course, with the economic imperative. While the CBC has always been in competition with the private sector in the battle for audiences and increased financial support, this public institution has been primarily motivated by a host of political, cultural and bureaucratic factors. Commercial radio, in contrast, operates solely to produce ratings that will attract advertisers for profitable gain. Since 1976, CBC Radio has been commercial-free. It has, however, remained competitive with commercial broadcasting. This competition has continued through the last two decades where, even in 1987, commercial broadcasters took CBC Radio to task for impinging upon their domain. Private radio owners complained that by providing local news, weather, sports results and traffic, CBC Radio - with its greater resources - was moving in on local commercial radio's listenership and ultimately, advertising dollars (although private broadcasters presented the threat in terms of duplication of services and the reduction of diversity)

(McElgunn;1987,p.3). The CBC, they argued, "should be discouraged from providing local service in favour of concentrating its efforts on meeting national and regional objectives as per its mandate" (Ibid.). In addition, many commercial broadcasters have argued that CBC Radio does, in actual fact, advertise in a way which threatens the privates. The CBC has been accused of undercutting the private broadcasters' advertising rate levels in television, to attract greater numbers of advertisers away from radio spots to the generally more desirable (and normally more expensive) television advertising air-time (Davis;1990). Some have complained further that the practice of CBC radio stations advertising themselves on CBC television at discount rates is unfair and a case of the broadcaster using government support and taking money from one pocket to put it in another" (Ibid.).

15. Radio-Canada has been much more effective as a tool of 'Quebec nationalism' than the English CBC has been of 'Canadian nationalism'. As Raboy (1990) argues, "(R)adio -Canada emerged as a pole of resistance to cultural domination, just as the alternative national construct "Quebec" emerged in resistance to political domination. It was precisely those aspects of the French network that were absent from the English one that gave Radio-Canada a subversive edge: the failure to express Canadian identity in English undermined national unity by increasing the centripetal pull of the United States; successfully expressing it in French, which meant centring on Quebec, undermined national unity by tending to fragment the Canadian nation" (p.257).
16. The fixed or standard format ingredients included promotions, contests, jingles, repetition of station call letters, commercials, news, weather, traffic (for larger stations), original and syndicated programming, public service announcements and, most importantly - music, some of which was live, but most of which was pre-recorded. Thus, the modern era of radio bred stations which, while appearing diverse in their wide-ranging representation of musical styles, were in actual fact very similar in their form and non-musical content.
17. Canada's first radio research agency, the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement was formed, at the urging of advertisers and advertising agencies, in the 1940s (Allard;1976,p.20). It expanded significantly in the 1960s when it began to interact more with private broadcasters.
18. This dissertation focusses heavily on music-based radio, primarily because music has represented the bulk of modern programming. Commercial talk-radio stations have not been as common in Canada as in the United States largely because of the American network systems. Talk shows are

more expensive to produce than pre-recorded music programming. The use of networks allows broadcasters to recoup expenses across stations throughout the country. While there are some Canadian radio stations with an all-talk or sports format, the largest percentage of commercial stations are based on musical formats. "(Gary) Slaight of Standard Radio reports the cost of operating 65-year-old CFRB (a talk format) - with a staff of 100, including reporters, writers and newscasters - is twice the operating budget of Standard's Toronto FM outlet, MIX 99 (music format), with just 30 on its payroll" (Sutton;1993b,p.8).

19. Along with the growth in marketing research, there has been a marked rise in the use of radio consultants and consulting firms (especially in the larger and more competitive markets) since the late 1960s. This trend has considerably reduced the number of people who decide what goes on-the-air. The consultant (in conjunction with the program director) has become, in large part, the gatekeeper of modern commercial radio (Fornatale & Mills;1980,p.142). In addition to 'radio rep' companies and program syndicators, consultants have been used to help boost ratings in markets where "even two poor ratings periods could mean financial ruin for a station" (Keith;1987,p.2). Whether it is through the external consultant or the station program director him or herself (mainly him), the goal of 'format radio' has become to monitor competitors, the record industry and music research and to tune into the demographics, psychographics (measuring consumer habits under varying conditions and stimuli) and population trend charts to better be able to "super-serve" a target audience.

Since the beginning of modern commercial radio, research has moved from pursuing knowledge of simply the location, gender and age of a target audience, to being able to determine education levels, marital statuses, occupations, spending practices and leisure-time pursuits as predictors of listening habits (Radio Bureau of Canada;1987,p.38). As Berland (1992) has written; "the profitable dissemination of entertainment commodities has relied on the ability of producers to make reception - requiring more refined knowledge of audiences' situation and location as well as their taste and interpretive response - part of the productive apparatus" (p.40).

20. As early as the 1960s, American programmer and creator of the original Top 40 format, Bill Drake, devised a system of 'positioning' commercials that was to become a canon within the radio industry. In this system, "the longest, least-produced spot should come early in a commercial cluster, whereas the shortest, most highly produced commercial should come last. The idea behind this system is to give the listener the sense of progressively shorter "talk" elements before returning to music, and

heightened listener rewards achieved through the enhanced production" (MacFarland;1990,p.91). Further to this notion of 'positioning', there has been much debate as to where to situate commercials within the overall programming schedule. Most programmers have opted for grouping them together after a series of songs, but are still plagued by the criticism from advertisers that under those conditions, no one commercial would then stand out from the rest. In addition to where commercials should be placed, there has been much discussion within the industry regarding the volume at which commercials should be transmitted. Some believe that the commercial should in some way stand out. In that case, a station that has been formatted around softer, more easy listening type music may have tended to increase the volume slightly when commercials came on, such that they were (subtly) distinguished from the flow of music. Others have argued, however, that this technique might offend some listeners who were tuned in precisely because of the soft nature of the station. Regardless of the finer debatable points, what is of note is the amount of research and calculation that lies behind the commercial radio output presented to the listener.

21. Of the few existing critical studies on radio broadcasting (often discussed in terms of 'effects'), most do not concern themselves with the broadcast as a continuous process, day in and day out, week in and week out. Instead, particular programming elements are abstracted, and focus is placed on their construction, presentation and perceived impact. While it is undoubtedly of value to consider the production and possible implications of specific programming segments such as news, call-in talk-shows, advertising, etc., it is equally important to contextualize them within the overall programming package. The work of Raymond Williams has been an exception to this pattern of neglect. As he wrote in 1974, "(i)n all developed broadcasting systems the characteristic organisation, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence or flow. This phenomenon, of planned flow, is then perhaps the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural form" (p.86). In light of the fact that people tend to tune in to the radio primarily as a longer-term, background experience, rather than for specific shows, fruitful analysis of the medium, it seems, should embrace continuous programming. People working within the radio industry are greatly concerned with the on-going flow of elements, and therefore so too should those who are looking critically at the commercial medium.

CHAPTER TWO
THE ECONOMIC NATURE OF COMMERCIAL RADIO BROADCASTING

Defining the Nature of the Medium

The critical perspective which defines the cultural form as that which produces and disseminates symbolic communication, would clearly seem to include commercial radio broadcasting. The economic history of the enterprise, however, has created, in the eyes of some, a dubious acceptance of private radio as culture. Many believe that the medium represents little more than a transmitting apparatus for the purposes of profit-making - a distributional vehicle. This tension between the economic and cultural qualities of commercial radio has been reflected in various broadcasting interests, struggles and policies over time. I would argue, however, that the medium simultaneously embodies economic, cultural and political dimensions. In order to more clearly understand this cultural form and its place in Canadian life, there are two fundamental questions to be asked. First, if commercial broadcasting is a cultural form, or a part of Canadian cultural life, how is it different from other commercial enterprises which are not considered to be cultural? Second, as a cultural form and practice, what is unique about commercial radio broadcasting with respect to other forms of culture in our society? To best address these questions, I will further explore the nature of the medium by attempting to collapse it analytically into its economic, cultural and political dimensions - in full recognition of the inherent interrelation between these dimensions.

I. Capitalism and the Economic Tendencies of the 'Industry'

Commercial radio broadcasting has long been treated as a largely benign phenomenon - little more than some background music, some potentially useful information and some (usually annoying) advertising that essentially represents the price to be paid for the pleasure of these other offerings. This assumption has been reinforced by the lack of analytical and academic attention that has been paid to the medium. However, the complex relations and techniques of production that underlie 'the product', point to anything but a negligible medium. The business of commercial radio, like many other corporate businesses, has typically pursued capital and labour strategies which have rationalized the medium in a process that is unique, yet not dissimilar from other businesses.

It has only been in recent years that the term "industry" has been commonly used to describe commercial radio broadcasting in this country. Even after three decades of commercial broadcasting, the 1951 Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Commission) concluded in its report that the grievances of private broadcasters were based "on a false assumption that broadcasting in Canada is an industry" (p.283). With the conservative political-economic shift in the 1980s towards the predominance of pro-market forces and ideology, however, the use of this term came increasingly into acceptance within both the state and the business itself. In the 1983 Department of Communications report Towards a New National Broadcasting Policy, the term "industry" was used liberally in the context of

cultural, national and especially economic development. In the 1986 Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, the authors overtly declared that "private radio is an industry whose purpose is profit" (p.405). And by 1990, Keith Spicer, chair of the CRTC, ventured to convince broadcasters that "he too (was) a believer in the bottom line" (Davis;1990a,p.14).¹

There has no doubt been an evolution in discourse such that commercial radio can now assuredly be called an "industry". This stems, in part, from the fact that the radio business has, in actual fact, increasingly become part of the world of corporate control and organization. The production and distributional processes of commercial radio broadcasting have taken on the characteristics of other enterprise activities. Corporate radio, with its short-term vision of the bottom-line for the corporation or conglomerate, has come to dominate the system. This stands in contrast to a smaller business or entrepreneurial approach based on slowly building up a franchise and loyal customers - an approach more common in the United States, and in Canada in the earlier years of broadcasting. As the economic interests of commercial radio have become more meaningful within the broadcasting environment (especially in relation to issues of national purpose and public service), all involved appear more willing to openly focus on the profit-oriented properties of the business. Over the course of the modern years, the economic benefits, it appears, have become more desirable to the state and its objectives than the symbolic cultural significance of Canadian programming and production.

Having established the widespread acceptance of the term "industry" in relation to commercial radio broadcasting, what remains to be asked is; first, if it is an industry,

what is actually produced and sold and second, in what ways is commercial radio broadcasting an industry or a capitalist enterprise like any other, or, how does it differ? To begin, what commercial radio has been selling is, in the abstract, two-fold. Lebowitz (1986) put it most succinctly when he argued that the commercial media provide "two use-values - a product (to the consumer) and the 'right' to accompany that product (to the advertiser)" (p.170-171). In this sense, commercial broadcasting is related to advertisers (commodity-producers) as a specific point in their circulation of capital, in which it is hoped that the circulation time of their product (or service) will be reduced through advertising (Ibid., p.168-171). That is, other commodity-producers determine that purchasing radio air-time for advertising purposes is economically worthwhile in helping to realize profit more quickly.

I would argue, then, that there are two different relations. First, the product offered to the consumer (the listener) is offered on a barter system of exchange. A listener listens to commercials and ... return is given entertainment and information, and whatever else commercial radio may offer him or her. Barter is not qualitatively different than exchange, except that no monetary price is directly attached. It is a case of each party wanting something that the other has to offer. Second, 'air-time' becomes a commodity when a price is placed on it for advertisers. In this case, that air-time is integrated into the 'product' (in the flow of programming). The monetary value is determined by the cost of both the labour and equipment necessary to produce the programming, and by the market in which the station competitively operates (here the ratings system comes into play).

With this understanding of the 'product' produced, the second question asks, in what ways is commercial radio broadcasting an industry like any other, or, how does it differ? The most useful way to answer this question is comparatively. Commercial radio follows the same principles as most profit-making businesses. It is affected by the same forces (ie., labour issues, recessions, market saturation, competition, etc.) that most other capitalist undertakings are affected by. And, as with all profit-driven enterprises, private broadcasting operates under conditions of capital accumulation which dictate a variety of strategies aimed at valorizing capital (the goal of profit-oriented operations or organizations). This valorization occurs at both the point of production and in the marketplace. That is, through employing mainly salaried labour, a product is produced which takes a commodity form for circulation in the marketplace. It is at these two points - productive and circulation spheres - that various methods and techniques are employed to increase surplus value, not simply for the private coffers of owners, but for the continuous process of capital accumulation.

Players in the Relations of Production

Like all other industries, the roots of production rest on the relations of production - those people and roles, and their interrelations, which define the nature of production. The most central players in private radio can be divided into two basic groups - station owners/managers and station employees. In conceptual terms, these two broad categories represent the highly abstracted owning/capitalist and labouring classes, respectively. These classes are understood in relation to each other where the "capitalist class controls

property rights and commands the labour power of others. The working class is excluded from control over property and is obliged to sell its labour power" (Clement;1988,p.21). In reality, of course, the relations of production, and their attendant structures of power, are much more complex in terms of the cleavages and overlap within and between these classes. In less abstracted terms, these two principal classes can be expressed in the more refined and grounded definitional categories as the capitalist/executive, new middle, old middle and working classes (Clement;1990,p.467).²

In order to provide an industry-specific account of how class lies across the occupational structure of commercial broadcasting, I will trace the distribution of positions within the broadcasting process through the "forces of production including money capital, the means of production and labour" (Black & Myles;1986,p.159). While this is only a cursory and generalized portrayal of the class nature of the industry - an analysis which does not follow a rigorous operational agenda - it will, nonetheless, help to outline the structures of power within which commercial radio broadcasting operates.

To begin, the capitalist/executive class is that which both owns the radio broadcasting stations (holding government approved licenses to operate them) and controls and manages labour and capital. This class is fractured at the sectoral level in terms of 'group' or 'independent' ownership. Group (or chain) ownership refers to "a multi-plant firm in which more than one plant in the same medium but not necessarily the same market is controlled", in contrast with independents, for whom "no more than one plant of the same medium is controlled" (Hoskins, McFadyen & Gillen;1980,p.20).³ Ownership of more than one broadcasting outlet in a market can result in substantial

economies in terms of shared function and shared broadcast plant and personnel. Ownership of stations across markets can result in significant economies of scale in terms of syndicated programming, the placement of advertising and the amortization of shared corporated management costs.

Group ownership can be further classified as either group ownership in the same medium, or group cross-ownership of more than one medium, not necessarily in the same market (media conglomerates) (Ibid.). There is also conglomerate ownership (a type of group ownership), an example being the Power Corporation, in which several companies in a variety of fields are owned, with radio broadcasting representing only one interest. This, in fact, is becoming one of the most common corporate strategies in terms of risk management, leaving very few companies (such as Radiomutuel) to specialize solely in the area of radio (Stratavision;1986,p.56). Steadily on the rise since the 1960s, group ownership has dominated the modern commercial radio business in Canada. Independent or single station ownership has become more and more scarce (Ibid.).⁴ Concentration in the private radio sector has been both profound and characteristic of the larger Canadian economy.⁵ In 1985, the five largest groups, as defined by a share of stations across the country were: CHUM, Telemedia, Selkirk, Maclean Hunter and the CUC Group (Task Force;1986,p.620). All of these groups were cross-media owners with holdings ranging from television and cable to magazine publishing. Groups, however, can vary in size. Companies like Rawlco Communications Ltd. in the west,⁶ Radiomutuel in Quebec and Eastern Broadcasting in the Atlantic provinces (Ibid.), represent medium-sized 'groups' (in terms of station numbers), whereas groups such as Agra Industries Limited, Pelmorex

Communications Inc. in Ontario and the conglomerate, Newfoundland Capital Corporation Ltd., which has steadily, although on a small-scale, moved into radio broadcasting (Broadcaster; March, 1989, p.30), are all examples of small 'group' owners. Regardless of the size, radio 'groups' in modern commercial broadcasting are largely corporate operations where, even smaller market stations are a part of the larger corporate office structure and organization. The point of characterizing the concentration of power amongst group holdings here is to illustrate the nature of ownership. That is, capital - as represented in the modern radio industry - cannot be suitably understood in terms of a single station owner (entrepreneur) who hires a staff to operate his/her station. The production of most commercial radio broadcasting operates, instead, under the more abstracted corporate control of professional managers and executives (Byers; 1981, p.33).'

Following those in the owning and executive positions, radio stations are operated by salaried workers or subordinates who hold varying degrees of authority and control. Those who are either supervisors or managers represent what Clement (1990) identifies as the new middle class. There is a downward task overlap between managers and supervisors. Managers can be considered those who, while they possess no legal ownership of the means of production (physical plant, technical and administrative equipment, licenses), do "participate directly in functions of capital, that is in control over capital, labour and the means of production" (Myles & Black; 1986, p.160). Many managers also supervise in the sense that they are responsible for either promotions or the prevention of promotions, can fire or give warning to staff and they make managerial policy concerning the means of production (Clement; 1990, p.485). Under these criteria

for the new middle class we find - accounting for variations in market and operation size - business managers or comptrollers, sales managers, program managers and directors, production managers, music directors, news directors, sports director, copy director, chief engineer, promotion and public relations manager, traffic managers, and financial directors.⁸

The old middle class, or the traditional *petite-bourgeoisie* intersects the radio industry only peripherally. This class, characterized as small capital - wherein the owner both owns the means of production and labours upon them, and, may employ a small number of employees - generally remains external to the immediate production process within the station operating environment. Small consulting companies, syndicated programmers, technical advisors, program distributors, free-lance broadcasters and writers, are examples of those who contribute to the production of commercial radio, but do not participate regularly with on-site operations. The participation of this class in the radio business, has increased with the intensification of competition and format specialization. Hand in hand with this more pronounced involvement, however, has come an increase in the size and nature of many of these operations (ie., Joint Communications), which ultimately realigns their class location.

Finally, the working class, defined by its lack of power over capital and the means of production, would include those in the personnel structure such as sales reps, technicians, those working in album libraries, secretaries, receptionists, copy writers, production assistants and editors.⁹ While some of these positions entail supervisory power and a degree of control over the personal and immediate equipment (ie., an editor

or librarian over a word processor, or a technician over the audio soundboard), the larger part of these jobs does not include supervising others working on such equipment. There is a wide range in salaries and the nature of the work across this class. It should also be noted that this is where most women are traditionally found (see Appendix 2). This, then, is a thumbnail sketch of how classes are spread out across the occupational structures of the commercial radio industry.

The Operation of Capital Within the Radio Business

At the point of production, owners and representatives of broadcasting capital conduct production in a fashion similar to other service or goods operations. They have both fixed costs (physical plant, advertising costs, fees to artists, etc.) and variable costs (salaries and contract labour). The difference between these costs and the price received (in advertiser's dollars) is the surplus that is generated for broadcasting capital.¹⁰ While it is generally not feasible to significantly alter fixed costs, variable costs are more flexible, and herein lies one of the critical points of managerial control and co-ordination. In the productive processes of radio broadcasting, as with most other commodity production, the function of management is to lower variable costs. It attempts to do this primarily by controlling (and lowering) the wages of employed labour, and by increasing productive output without increasing wages of that same labour source.

There are a number of strategies that management (and supervisory staff) may use to increase and direct output such as lower wages, and tighter direct and bureaucratic

control. (This, of course, does not negate the processes of worker consent in terms of self-control over labour activities (Thompson;1983,p.153).) It is here that the source of most conflict between the station's representatives of capital and the technical/operational and support staff lies. And, as with any other industrial organization, the contradictions and tensions between these two interests often clash. Such conflicts usually take the form of issues of pay, benefits and working conditions. For the bulk of station employees - especially those working in less powerful and creative capacities - relations with management have historically taken on the character of more traditionally organized industries and, while the radio business is not as highly organized as certain other industries, there has been some history of union and strike activity.¹¹

Beyond the point of production, private radio further accumulates capital in the exchange relations of the marketplace. Here the 'product' broadcast over the airwaves assumes commodity form as it packages desired programming around air-time available for advertising. The strategies of capital revolve around the management and the continuous adaptability of production and the 'product' to the ever-changing demands of the market. These strategies reflect the decisions of management over what is produced and, to a certain extent, how it is produced, how the product will be promoted or advertised to that market and, in large part, the price to be fetched from advertisers for the product (ie., in relation to the value of advertising time or space in television, print and other radio operations in that same market). It is this process of capital accumulation, assuming its social form in exchange relations, which mediates all economic activity (Sayer;1991,p.25).

The environment in which capitalist industry operates is a (relatively) competitive one. Competition is the foundation of business, yet the tendency towards economic concentration and the regulation by the state also creates conditions of oligopoly (competition between the few). Oligopoly primarily reflects differences in advertising and quality where essentially a few producers with little or some differentiation of 'product' rival one another (Samuelson & Scott;1980,p.539). As far as private radio broadcasting is concerned, it could be argued that the industry is oligopolistic at the industry or firm level, but has more competitive tendencies at the level of the station, where "differing competing media-capitalists (compete) for the expenditures of competing industrial capitalists" (Lebowitz;1986,p.169).

Beyond the struggle with television, direct mail and print media (newspapers, magazines and the Yellow Pages) over advertising dollars, commercial radio stations compete with each other for a slice of a heavily fragmented advertising pie. This competition between radio stations for advertising revenue does not manifest itself at the national level. It is limited to specific markets where stations vie for specific demographic groups. The relative success of a station depends on a variety of factors including the format chosen (and its execution) and where on the dial the station frequency is located (ie., the middle of the dial is more likely to attract listeners 'turning the dial'). At the station level it should also be noted that - whether a group owning a station is large (CHUM Ltd.) or relatively small (Redmond Communications) - the characteristics of the particular market have a governing impact on its success. A group may be small with respect to the national-level market, but hold a great deal of economic

power in the specific market within which it operates.

Competition, then, must be situated in the context of different levels. At the station level there is a great deal of competition for specific demographic groups between stations and formats. At the firm-level (and in terms of diverse media sources for Canadians), concentration shadows competition. The degree of cross-ownership between media and within radio (in terms of AM and FM) means that while a radio station may be running behind in the ratings (and profits) within a particular market, it is highly likely that the owning company is either drawing in capital from another radio station in that or another market, or from other media operations that it owns. The competition is, in many cases, the same interest. In fact, various media outlets are often used to promote each other. For instance, upcoming television programs may be publicized on a radio station, just as a certain radio station may be advertised on commercial television or in newspapers and magazines under common ownership.

As with other non-cultural enterprises, diversification of broadcasting interests (which tends to remain largely within the media industries) is a traditionally effective means of picking up lost revenue in one sector by cushioning the negative effects through success in another. It is also a favoured way in which to move into new, potentially profitable areas, such as cable (ie., Moffat Communications, Rogers Communications and Shaw Cablesystems), with the back-up security of other more solid enterprises. "In 1986, seven of the top eighteen firms in the broadcasting industry (were) pursuing diversified corporate strategies" (Stratavision;1986,p.59). For example, Standard Broadcasting - which owns 11 radio stations and is a subsidiary of Slaight Communications, Toronto -

has in recent years diversified by purchasing a radio newswire (Standard Broadcast News), a syndication service (Sound Source), a home-video cassette duplication and distribution company, a cable TV system and an out-of-home advertising company (Macklin;1993,p.19). "The firm has benefitted from joint economies and has used its position in the radio market to develop program production subsidiaries" (Stratavision;1986,p.60). The CHUM group has covered much of the music market with purchases of MUZAK and the country's only television music video station, MuchMusic/MusiquePlus. In addition to its broadcasting, cable and cellular phone interests, Rogers Communications Inc. also owns a videotape retail company called Video Movies Ventures.

Many of the mechanisms behind media concentration are unique to the business. Unlike highly integrated manufacturing industries, media ownership is not necessarily geographically concentrated. While head offices and corporate management operations may be centralized (largely on a regional basis - ie., Irving in New Brunswick, Telemedia in Quebec and particularly heavy group concentration in Ontario), radio stations are mainly locally autonomous and are generally removed - in physical and managerial terms - from direct corporate control. According to a Telemedia representative, "(o)ur stations are managed in quite a decentralized fashion. Toronto is managed as a separate unit and the small and medium market stations are also each managed as a separate and distinct unit...We keep our administration and our stations as decentralized as we can" (Stone;1987,p.30). Herein lies an interesting industry dynamic between the centralizing tendencies of capital and the unique character of commercial radio which dictates that

'localness' is integral to survival. When considering the economic dimension of the industry, it is helpful to keep in mind what this contradiction implies in terms of consolidation, operational, production and distribution efficiency.

In the modern era of commercial radio broadcasting, the Canadian industry has steadily moved from small to large-scale ownership. This shift is characterized, in great part, by certain economies of scale distinctive to the medium itself. Although stations are integrated into specific communities and run relatively autonomously from corporate head office, they do, nonetheless, benefit from a certain degree of centralized production, distribution and management practices. Horizontal integration - which has allowed shared resources between stations - has grown to represent the predominant pattern of organizational structure in the modern broadcasting environment. As early as the mid-1970s, Rogers Radio Broadcasting Ltd. senior management "formed one of the first total group marketing departments for their (at the time) five radio stations...to provide research upon which to make rational decisions" (Hume;1976,p.10). Also, in addition to the increase in bureaucratic control over labour within the industry, which has risen concomitantly with the increase in large-group ownership, the same personnel and managerial structures (ie., corporate accounting and marketing departments,) have been frequently used across stations within the same group or company. Peter Viner, president of Telemedia, argues that groups such as his hold advantages with respect to personnel. "We are able to attract and keep better people because we have a system that gives them the opportunity to move ahead. They benefit from our training systems...And we have places for them to go. Somebody doing a swing shift in Sudbury could well be ready for

a mid-day slot in Sault Ste. Marie, and I think that enables us to attract and keep better people" (Stone;1987,p.31). This corporate work structure, with its systems of mobility and rewards, operates to stimulate company loyalty within the internal labour markets of the corporate structure - a type of integrated and consensual control (Thompson;1983,p.147).

In terms of production and distribution, radio groups benefit from the ability to produce broadcast programming elements - such as musical station identifications and jingles - which have higher production values when produced within the centre of the organization with its more substantial resources, than if left to the budgets and staff of the smaller broadcast outlets. Many 'sister' or 'twin' AM/FM stations co-owned by the same group in large and medium-sized markets (ie., CFLG-FM/CJSS-AM in Cornwall, CHFI-FM/CFTR-AM in Toronto), share production facilities and equipment. News and news features also fall into this line of economic advantage as parent companies subscribe to (or, in some cases, own) news broadcast services. In many cases, large broadcasters can lease or develop computer programs and news computers (with multiple terminals) to share amongst the group. An example of news-related economies of scale would be CFPL and CKNX in London, both owned by London Free Press Holdings Limited which also owns the London Free Press newspaper. These three media outlets have all benefitted from the shared use of the same news staff, equipment and substantial cost savings. Similarly, "Radiomutuel exploits horizontal programming economies by providing networked news and other programming services to the stations it owns and runs" (Stratavision;1986,p.56).

Within the last several years, syndicated programming for select elements and features to be broadcast (either through tape distribution or via satellite), have proved to be economical, especially when purchased by the group for re-broadcast by specific stations. Syndicated programming companies such as Telemedia Broadcasting Systems and BN (Broadcast News), have been contributing to what is rapidly becoming a data bank of programs to be subscribed to or purchased by stations across the country. "Horizontal structures are designed to amortize the cost of this programming across as many markets and (listeners) as possible" (Ibid.,p.37). This modern approach to radio broadcasting stands in contrast to the 'golden years' when radio stations used a much wider and more diverse variety of sources for their broadcast content and broadcasting decisions. Between 1979 and 1984 alone, there was an average annual growth rate of over 33% for syndicated programming in the Canadian radio business (Ibid.,p.47). In the early 1980s, an industry expert cautioned broadcasters that by the end of the decade, they could end up relying very heavily on centralized information banks and "(i)nformation attained in this manner, whether it be music, news items or listener preferences and trends, (could) threaten to destroy those traditional links between radio and its listeners..." (Melymuk;1982,p.36).

Concentrated ownership of radio broadcast stations has also engendered what is essentially format re-use or format syndication within the same group across markets. The considerable research, labour and financial resources put into determining targeted music and programmes, and the most effective sequencing of these elements, are in part recovered through the transfer of broadcast formats between stations within groups.

Standard Broadcasting, for instance, recently instituted its successful 'Mix' FM format from Toronto (Mix 99.9) at its contemporary AM station CFCN in Calgary, which became Mix 1060. The more refined and 'formula-like' formats become, the easier they are to transfer between regions and stations (and the more standardized the industry becomes). Similarly, Telemedia which oversees 15 radio stations in Ontario (mostly small-market stations) was able to raise the profitability of most of these radio properties in the late 1980s "by applying the company's successful formulas for radio formatting and program sharing within small, company-owned radio networks" (Davis;1990b,p.13). Again, however, there is a fine balance between the appeal of the larger-scale and generally better produced generic or national/international feature programs, and the less 'slickly' produced and more local content that has been the hallmark of commercial radio.¹²

Cost-efficiency has also been established within the modern radio industry through structures and processes of vertical integration, wherein companies acquire other productive enterprises representing different levels of the chain of aural production and diffusion. "Vertical integration occurs when a company with interests in one stage of the production process extends its operations to other stages such as the supply of raw materials, the provision of capital equipment, and the organization of distribution and retailing. This considerably reduces the company's vulnerability to fluctuations in the supply and cost of essential materials and services and enables it to regulate and rationalize production more precisely and to increase its control over the market" (Murdock & Golding;1973,p.214). Although the radio industry is not as heavily

integrated vertically as certain other industries, there is, nonetheless, a degree of integration within some media groups, especially the larger groups. The CHUM group, in addition to its radio and television stations also owns a production company. Selkirk Communications of Toronto (sold in 1988) had been involved in record and tape marketing just as Radio-Canada, the second largest radio station owner in Quebec, is also involved in music publishing (Task Force;1986,p.636). In the mid-1970s, the creative arm of Standard Broadcasting started up St. Clair Productions Ltd., built a recording studio and moved into the business of programme syndication. More recently, Power Broadcasting (a division of Power Corporation) was so impressed with the new automated radio programming system known as "Systemation" used by its Collingwood, Ontario station CKCB, that it bought the company and began installing it in its Kingston, Guelph and Barrie stations (Careless & Liska;1989,p.20).

In commercial radio, as in other segments of the private sector, both horizontal and vertical integration "are accomplished by the familiar mechanisms of mergers and takeovers" (Murdock & Golding;1973,p.213). Unlike other industries, however, buyouts and acquisitions tend not to be conducted by financial-type buyers putting money together for deals. Instead, media buyers tend to be in the industry and have a long-term view of broadcast property (Davis;1990b,p.13). Thus, it has been many of the same players over the years moving holdings around, in some cases simply to 'flip' them for re-sale (a practice which is very common in the American radio market) and in other cases, for purposes of acquiring the property in hopes of eventually increasing its profitability.

Finally, the tightening hold over formats, which was to accelerate rapidly in the

1980s, can largely be understood as a part of a process of economic rationalization, one which is common to most capitalist enterprises. In the Weberian tradition, Sayer (1991) has referred to the "systematizing process" - a principle on which organizations are structured - as a process of consistency and method which implies the exclusion of arbitrariness (p.114). The parallel with modern commercial radio exists in the process of creating and broadcasting 'format radio'. The predictability and reliability is essential for audience commitment and the repetitious nature of the format (and its constituent elements) makes programming easier to produce and re-produce day in and day out, as well as across similarly formatted stations in different markets under the same ownership. This economic rationalization has become even more profound in recent years.

II. The Commercial Broadcasting Economy and Technology

One of the central tendencies of capitalist processes is continual technological change and innovation in the pursuit of economic rationalization and in response to competition. In this respect, the consideration of technology is the contextualization of its developments in terms of social powers and the relations of production, marketing, consumption and regulation. "Technology is the product of a set of relations, themselves subject to change (as are all power relations). Technology is not a 'thing' but the combination of equipment and labour, both of which are the product of other processes such as research and development, training and the organization of work"

(Clement;1988,p.38). Further, in this context of technological change, the ideology of innovation and its relation to continual obsolescence predominates. Technology and technological change have been central to modern commercial broadcasting in much the same way as they have been in other non-cultural industries.

Technology (encompassing accompanying technique) is used first, as both a means of control over and a potential eliminator of labour. We can understand technical control as that which "involves designing machinery and planning the work flow to minimise the problem of transforming labour power into labour as well as to maximise the purely physically based possibilities for achieving efficiencies" (Edwards;1979,p.112). Second, in addition to the division and control of labour processes, technology is integral in the extension of the commodity form in the pursuit of new means of capital accumulation. Thus, as with the valorization process in general, technological change is effectual in both the productive and circulation spheres. In the world of commercial radio broadcasting, the productive and circulation spheres translate approximately to the station workplace and the consumer market (advertisers, listeners and potential commodity purchasers).

Control Over Labour

New technologies - computers in particular - have impacted upon the commercial broadcasting industry at the level of the workplace in much the same fashion that they have in other productive sectors. According to Thompson (1983), "(n)ew technologies and work organizations have always provided the opportunities to impose greater control

over the workforce and to lower costs through dividing and reducing skills. Current developments, centred upon computer technology, radically increase those possibilities" (p.109). In the radio station, technical innovation has been most evident in the introduction of computers for purposes of administrative and clerical work and in the broadcast studio (control rooms), where 'automation' has replaced the human factor in co-ordinating station 'traffic' and putting broadcast programming over the airwaves.

By the early 1980s, computers were becoming increasingly common in radio station offices. As with most other business offices, the introduction of computers was motivated by the need to lower costs, while at the same time exert greater control over labour. Computers have been put to the greatest use in the administrative capacity for purposes of streamlining traffic (program scheduling), accounting and billing functions (Byrne;1985,p.60). The intent behind increasing efficiency in these tasks has been to increase productivity through better use of staff and to "get more value for payroll dollars" (Byrne;1984,p.25). As with most modern businesses, computers have also become highly popular for general office use.

"Productivity gain through office automation was first made by splitting executive secretaries who possessed both typing and administrative skills into their constituent parts. The secretaries became either word processor operators or strictly administrative assistants. However, those who chose the word processing route were encouraged to produce the maximum number of lines daily. They had become production line computer operators. More significantly, under such a high division of applied skills, it became possible to hire individuals who never had any administrative experience, but who could operate a word processor. This further perpetuated the job division process, forcing many employees to abandon job flexibility for more limiting employment" (Melymuk;1982,p.35).

This division and reduction of skills went hand in hand with the increasingly corporate and industrially-organized nature of the radio industry. The traditional work structure at the station level had been one based, in large part, upon the work flexibility of employees, wherein a particular worker would work a number of different jobs within the station over a given period of time. While there has always been a bottom-line gendered division of labour over certain secretarial and reception clerk positions, at many small and medium sized stations, on-air personalities and various other personnel in more creative positions would often develop a variety of skills from announcing, technical assisting and budgets to copy-writing, coffee-making and filing. This tradition, by which new entrants into the business generally learned the varying and necessary skills to be an integral part of an operating station, has been substantially altered by the new management techniques and technologies introduced to re-structure the work environment. "As computers enter(ed) a variety of new radio departments and (began) to assume (more tasks)...the chain of job advancement (was) broken. Individuals hired to execute the limited task of running the computer system (possessed) skills to perform only that function" (Ibid.).

Although computers took hold in the radio station in the 1980s, they were in actual fact used within the industry as early as the 1970s, when companies such as the radio research and consulting firm - Canadian Programming Services (CPS) - began to use computer programs as delivery tools in putting together comprehensive music format services to be purchased by stations. Because consistency in music programming was so essential to the success of a format/station, and because small or medium markets tended

to have high staff turnover, "(t)he computer accomplished much of the consistency by enabling CPS to organize the music pattern by tempo - for example, bright drive times, low-key evenings - by diversity of musical element in every hour, and by mix of current and standard selections in an hour or a day...The computer accomplishes electronically many tedious and otherwise time-consuming clerical functions. It allows client stations to use their personnel more efficiently" (Leinala;1975,p.17). For stations that did not choose to rely on external sources, more personalized computer programming - designed to keep track of song-types and rotations - have come into use throughout the 1980s for purposes of music scheduling (Byrne;1985,p.60).¹³

Perhaps one of the greatest technological impositions into the radio station has been the automated and computerized programming systems intended to eliminate the difficulties of human management and technical imperfections. Emerging from years of generally flawed automated programming systems, the newer computerized systems of the 1980s have become popular with not only large, but medium and small-sized market stations as well. Packaged and sold under a variety of brand names, the new computerized technology sequentially runs programming elements - songs, commercials, news, weather, station IDs, satellite feeds, etc. - is fully automated, and can be manipulated through a single personal computer that is programmed specifically to time, order and execute programming, leaving appropriate gaps for announcer talk. CFRN-AM/CKRE-FM of Calgary use Mediatouch, "the computer audio board that allows the whole radio station to be run from a computer monitor touch screen" (Careless;1990,p.14). The goal of this programming technology is first, to minimize the

need for operator intervention in engaging the various elements and second, to eliminate the potential human error in such intervention - error which can break the flow of programming output and the consistency of sound. It has also served to reduce the need for on-air staff in many stations where pre-packaged or satellite delivered programming can be used to replace live announcers at a lower cost.

As with the tension between central corporate ownership and the value of locally-focussed radio, there is also a tension in commercial radio between the desire to economize and standardize through computers and automation, and the inestimable value of the human element. The quest for technological perfection can lead to an artificial and sterilized broadcast which can nullify the communicative nature of human aural contact. It also counters the immediacy that the medium demands to successfully differentiate itself from other media. Again, there is a fine balance between what is desirable to a listening audience and the demands of corporate rationalization and efficiency. Further, with respect to the limitations of technology, Sayer (1991) points out that "(t)echnological innovation allows individual firms to derive a temporary market advantage because it enables them to produce in less than the prevailing socially necessary labour-time. However, this advantage is bound to be transitory: competitors must either follow suit, or go under. Either way, the socially necessary labour-time for the production of the commodities in question, and therefore their value, will eventually fall...it also restores the *status quo ante* among capitalists, and thus the need for the whole cycle to begin again" (p.44).

Extension of the Commodity Form

The second way in which technological change has been integrated into the radio industry has been in the extension of the commodity form at the market level. This has occurred through the related, yet more marginal, development of new and innovative consumer products and services purchased for purposes of both radio and recorded music listening. This process - which revolves in large part around the principle of obsolescence, and which is characteristic of capital enterprises in general - is centred upon the continual need to create market demand for the extension of capital relations. Consumer technologies such as LPs, FM radios, cassette tapes, personal stereos (Walkman's), compact discs and players and satellite dishes, have all served to generate profit for manufacturers, as well as boost (or at least maintain) consumer interest amongst increasingly fragmented audiences. As Berland (1992) argues (with reference to Lefebvre (1979)), "technical innovations continuously produce a space to be filled by new capital relations" (p.43).

One development pattern unique to the radio industry is related to the fact that most of the changes and technological advances that have ultimately benefitted radio, have not been generated from within, or designed for, the industry itself. Instead, commercial broadcasters have been most successful in adapting the products of other related industries for their own use. High-fidelity stereos created primarily for the record industry and satellite technology originating in military research, are two instances of technological innovations designed for other purposes, which have benefitted radio. Even radio itself emerged from a military technology in the context of an explosive market for

consumer production and consumption. In fact, the few instances in which new concepts and products have been initiated from within the radio broadcasting industry, have resulted largely in failure (Careless;1990b,p.16). The most striking example would be the development of AM stereo in the 1980s. This innovation was an attempt to help save AM radio which was being eclipsed by the increasing popularity of FM, and the newer leisure technologies. In keeping with the pervasive ideology of technological innovation, "it was believed to be one of the technologies that would rescue AM" (Ibid..p.26). As one private broadcaster stated; "I'm gung-ho on this technology because I really think AM has no choice" (Wilson;1987,p.10). However, for a variety of reasons - including American court battles between manufacturers over AM stereo standardization, the effect of Canadian government apathy and the lack of viable consumer awareness of, and interest in, purchasing AM stereo receivers - the movement towards AM stereo largely died by the end of the 1980s. The technological alternative, in the end, did not prove to be the only viable alternative as AM broadcasters turned, instead, to programming innovation (ie., talk radio, sports radio, etc.) as a new way to help revive the floundering sector of this medium.¹⁴

A less publicized technological failure, generated by the burgeoning FM movement in the 1970s was 'Quadrasonic' radio - a four-channel operation that many broadcasters felt would enhance the listening experience amongst the, at that time, more alternative/progressive radio audiences. Here again, however, Canadians showed little interest in purchasing quadrasonic receivers, demonstrating a pattern which has since repeated itself and one that indicates that listeners expect the radio experience to be

relatively inexpensive (or free). Audiences have proven largely unwilling to put much effort or money into technically enhancing that experience. Ultimately, to this point, the radio industry, while benefitting to a certain extent from developments in other technologically-related industries, has largely been forced to survive through innovative and reliable programming.

In contrast to the failures generated from within the business to help extend capital into new consumptive arenas, the advent of the compact disc (CD) and CD player (innovations originating from the recording business) have enhanced, and been enhanced by the radio industry. Through this new digital approach to recorded sound, not only have radio stations benefitted from the convenience, novelty and slightly improved sound quality (true CD sound quality from radio requires digital receivers), but the record industry - which was in a profound decline in the late 1970s - has also been rejuvenated, due largely to consumer purchases of the higher priced compact discs.

Stimulated by the recession and slide in record sales - an 18% decline from 1978 to 1981 (Chesebro, et. al;1985,p.132) - the co-development of CD technology by Sony and Philips helped to jump-start the recording industry through a new approach to recorded music - one which would provide listeners with "unprecedented audio clarity, disc durability, and storage capacity" (Plasketes;1992,p.111). Emerging from these economically advantaged multinational research and development companies, the first CD pressing facilities were opened in 1982 in Japan by CBS/Sony. The compact disc was heralded as the new revolution in music listening when it was introduced commercially in 1983. And, while the unfolding of this new technology has been characterized by

confusion, conflict and a number of marketing failures (Ibid.), it has, nonetheless, been relatively successful in displacing vinyl record purchasing. By 1988, compact disc sales surpassed vinyl sales revenues (Ibid.,p.110). "In June 1987, the Financial Times suggested that the compact disc 'saved' the U.S. music industry in two ways: it revived consumer interest in music, and it allowed companies to push the price of their product through the \$10 barrier" (Frith;1988,p.102).

Of course, the sense of inevitability in this digital revolution and the industry's corresponding rationale for the higher priced product (based on what was deemed to be the insistence of consumer demand) is to be questioned. In light of the extra incentives used to generate consumer interest such as CD 'bonus tracks' (extra cuts on CD recordings not offered on records or tapes), the subtle shift of vinyl to "being listed third in the fine print on music ads - 'available on Compact Discs, cassettes and records wherever music is sold'" - and the practice of record companies holding back vinyl record inventories so that buyers are "gently manipulated into buying compact discs" (Ibid.,p.113) - the authenticity of consumer demand is debatable. As Berland (1992) has argued, audience demand is not a given, it is created through the dictates of technology and developments which "frame choices" for consumers.

The success of CD recording and manufacturing industries was further fuelled by many of the nation's radio stations. As a result of pressure from these multinational industries, the need for continual supplies of promotional music traditionally provided by record companies and the endless search for innovation and novelty, radio stations (many quite reluctantly) jumped from analog onto the digital bandwagon. Within months of the

initial commercial onslaught of compact discs (distributed by CBS Records), came the conversion of over forty Canadian commercial radio stations to compact disc systems on one of just a few players designed by the major manufacturers for professional broadcast use. Through programming strategies such as announcers introducing sample songs 'on compact disc' over the air, and the devotion of select programmes or hours to all 'CD' cuts - stations not only helped to initiate listeners into the new mode of recording, but also launched their own movement towards what many believed to be a superior sound system for broadcasting.

While radio broadcasters put a great deal of energy into selling the CD sound as superior for listeners (again, without digital receivers such superiority was questionable), it was the benefit provided to broadcast operations that is of greatest interest. In contrast to records (or tapes), CDs allowed more accurate cueing of musical selections, eliminated the pops, scratches and skips that were problematic with records (and that broke the illusion and magic of radio's sound), and were easier and less costly to maintain. Requiring no tracking adjustment or needle replacement, this laser driven equipment had a much longer life expectancy than turntables or tape decks.¹⁵ Compact disc recordings and equipment, which were developed primarily for consumer market purposes, have both served, and been served by, the radio industry. And, as with satellite transmission - which originated from outside the radio business and which offers radio broadcasters improved quality and distribution of programming - CD technology has been appropriated from outside the radio industry by those within it.

We find then, that technological innovation within the radio and recording

industries is analogous to many other businesses in which continual change, fuelled by industry-dictated obsolescence (ie., from 78s to 45s to 33s to eight-track tapes to coloured vinyl to cassette tapes to CDs), characterizes the continued accumulation of capital. This follows a pattern in which "the hardware is initially promoted through software appealing to a targeted market on the basis of already-established tastes (ie., classical music or 1960s re-releases on CD)...(and) as the hardware becomes more widely available, new software (ie., pop/rock/folk/jazz music on CD) emerges for a larger, more fragmented market. By the time that market is exhausted, there is a new invention on the horizon" (Berland;1992,p.44).¹⁶ In the case of commercial radio, the premier innovation of the contemporary era appears to be "digital audio broadcasting" (DAB). This will be considered at length in Chapter Nine.

In summary, while it possesses certain economic characteristics or tendencies that are unique to the medium, the process of modern commercial radio has operated in largely the same fashion as most capitalist enterprises. In this respect, it is integrated within the larger socio-economic structures of Canadian society as its practices both reflect and reaffirm the dominant patterns of capital production, circulation and relations in this country.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER TWO

1. In response to a speech made by Spicer at a private broadcaster's luncheon in 1989, the president of CFCF Inc. concluded the address to the broadcast executives by saying that "(i)t is encouraging that the chairman understands it is not had to make a profit" (Davis;1990a,p.14). Until recently, even private broadcasters themselves had been reserved in their use of the term "industry". This may have been tied into the long history of having to cautiously protect their assigned role of serving 'public/community' good, in part to justify their rights to the public airwaves.
2. In this four-fold scheme, the old middle class (or the traditional petite-bourgeoisie) holds control over the means of production but not over the labour power of others, in contrast to the new middle class, which exercises control over the labour power of others on behalf of capital, but holds no power in terms of the economic ownership of the means of production (Clement;1990,p.467). The capitalist/executive category or class, which includes senior managers, commands, "besides the labour power of others, the means of capital accumulation, the products of labour and, through the new middle class, the use of labour and direction of the labour process" (Ibid.). The remainder of people who hold power over neither the means of production nor the labour of others constitute the working class.
3. An 'independent' may however, have one, two or more media units within one community, but only one of these will be a radio outlet.
4. Writing in 1966, Jamieson stated "(i)n recent years there has been a growing trend towards multiple ownership of stations...This development will accelerate for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that death is claiming an ever increasing number of original station owners. There is also the inevitable North American tendency towards consolidation, and the increased profitability of many stations, which makes them attractive investments" (p.210). While group or corporate ownership has come to dominate the industry over the course of the modern era, there remain a few examples of smaller, more entrepreneurial-style ownership. CHWO-AM in Oakville, Ontario and CJMR-AM in Mississauga, Ontario have been in the hands of the Caine family for decades. They represent an exception to modern Canadian ownership patterns, wherein Michael Caine, son of the original owners, acts as president, general manager, program director and promotion manager of both stations. The company is also exceptional in that it has

managed to survive in a market inundated by at least 60 radio signals from North American stations. Caine attributes this success to "niche" programming, where CHWO has been targeted to a 50+ audience (one of the few older audience stations in the country) and CJMR broadcasts in 15 languages as a full-time ethnic station. While these format decisions came about less as the result of professional corporate strategy than by chance, they have nonetheless, been the key to small-scale survival in a larger scale market (Sutton;1993b,p.9).

5. The "degree of corporate concentration is more than twice the level found in the economies of Canada's largest trading partners - the United States, Germany and Japan" (Richardson;1992,p.310). In 1989, it was shown that the "100 largest non-financial entrepreneurs (were) estimated to control more than 50% of the total non-financial assets, compared to 25% to 30% in Japan, West Germany and the United States" (Foster;1989,p.56).
6. Rawlco did break into the central Canada market in the late 1980s.
7. In more concrete terms, the Canadian capitalist/executive class, as it crosses the commercial radio industry, has included certain more visible members such as Ted Rogers, CEO of Rogers Communications, Alan Waters of the CHUM group and Ron Osborne, president and CEO of Maclean Hunter Ltd. Behind these public personalities are the board members and top executives that constitute the remainder of the dominant class in broadcasting. Many of these capitalist/executives are heavily involved in the other economic activities of the company as well. General managers should also be included in this group as they, together with the owners, shareholders and top executives, generally make binding decisions either alone or as members of a voting group (Clement;1990,p.485). General managers share basically the same interests as owners both in terms of their large incomes and perks, their participation in professional associations and their complete commitment to maximizing profits and capital accumulation. As Tony Viner, executive vice-president, radio, of Rogers Broadcasting in Toronto said in 1989..."I am paid to produce profits" (Ashley;1989,p.41).

8. Those who do not participate in policy decisions, but exercise authority over others would be found largely in administration. On-air personalities used to fall more into the supervisory category when radio stations were less rationalized in terms of operations. In recent years however, most DJs have had much less impact and control over decision-making. This is a general characterization of positions. Some stations will have these, some will not, and they can imply different tasks across stations and across markets.
9. it is assumed that there might be a degree of control over the labour power of others (ie., a secretary may supervise and set the tasks of a receptionist, to a degree). However, they do not have sanctioning authority.
10. "The process of production must combine the labour process with the creation of value. Hence the labour process becomes inextricably linked to the struggle for profitable production. In purchasing its components, the capitalist must not only provide the right materials, but seek to exert control over the conditions under which the speed, skill and dexterity of the worker operates" (Thompson;1983,p.40-41).
11. Unions such as the Association of Commercial and Technical employees and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have represented workers through strikes such as at CJAT in Trail, B.C. and CKBI in Regina, Saskatchewan in the mid-1970s. Similarly, the National Communications Federation (affiliated with the National Trades Unions) represented 80 striking announcers, reporters, technicians, office workers and maintenance staff at CKVL AM/FM in Montreal in their struggle for higher wages, job seniority and improved working conditions (Broadcaster;April,1976,p.12). Some broadcasting employees (such as those at CHOV in Pembroke, Ontario) have even found representation through the Canadian Union of Public Employees which has been certified for private representation in addition to representing several thousand CBC employees across the country.
12. Like syndication, network broadcasting is a means to establish economic effectiveness for amortizing costs for broadcasting companies. Unlike the United States, English Canada has not had a history of network radio, much to the dismay of corporate owners. However, lobbying efforts ultimately paid off in 1989, when a CRTC policy eliminating approval barriers for broadcasters seeking to air syndicated or network programmes, as well as seeking affiliation with networks, was introduced.
13. Similarly, with respect to news and information production and programming, the move in the 1980s towards the multi-terminal computer

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systems and software (ie., Dynatech, NewStar, BASYS) or satellite news delivery systems such as FM² (BN and CP system) - used across stations by the large broadcasting groups (ie., Telemedia's use of R-NEWS) - have down-sized the costs of operating newsrooms and staffs. Although, within smaller-market stations and news rooms, computers have been used mainly for their word processing functions (Byrne;1985,p.60). Computers have also played a pivotal role in the evolution and sophistication of ratings research and services both in terms of labour savings and the amount and type of information to be gathered and analyzed.

14. Even though 47 of 325 private AM stations (mainly in urban markets) were broadcasting in stereo by 1987, most admitted that; a) they purchased the 'switchers' to try and maintain a leading edge for the sake of the audience and b) audiences did not really catch on to the new technology to the point where they would go out to purchase AM receivers. To date, most of these receivers are in cars, installed by automobile manufacturers such as GM, Ford and Chrysler (Wilson;1987,p.10-11).
15. A CFRB-AM (Toronto) program director argued that the appeal of the CD system lies with its ease of "operation and dependability...the announcer never touches the CD...Even people who don't know how to work it can work it" (Careless;1990b,p.14).
16. The bracketed examples inserted within the text are mine.

CHAPTER THREE
THE CULTURAL NATURE OF COMMERCIAL RADIO

I. Theorizing 'Culture'

The wage relation and the varying strategies characterizing the productive and circulative processes - capital accumulation, economic competition, concentration and integration and technological innovation - all discern commercial radio as an economic enterprise like any other capitalist business. Yet, the term "cultural industry" is synonymous with the medium. What is it about the practice of commercial radio broadcasting that gives it a cultural character different from other non-cultural industries? To what extent does its cultural nature differ from other cultural forms? And, to what degree is this practice autonomous from the economic principles that ground it in the movement of capital?

The term "culture" is at once a very powerful, yet somehow powerless tool for uncovering social processes. It has a breadth of meaning which encompasses so much of social life, while at the same time, seeming to explain so little. In a CBC submission to the CRTC, the authors stated that "(c)ulture is an amalgam of everything which makes us different from any other people on earth" (1978,p.5). "Culture" has been used to describe and explain everything from the behavioral practices of the BaMbuti Pygmies in the Congo to the consumption habits of the North American baby boomers. It can refer to the 'way of life' of an entire nation or of a particular social group defined by characteristics such as class, race, or sexual preference. To some, "culture" is something one possesses along with season's tickets to the opera and regular attendance at art gallery openings. For others, the popular world of spectator sports and the ritualistic social

gatherings and paraphernalia that accompany it represent the culture of modern capitalist societies. In its wealth of interpretations, analysis of Western culture has plagued academics, politicians, bureaucrats, social critics and artists in the struggle to understand, and ultimately take control of, our social development. And throughout, the malleability of this concept has conceded its exploitation by those working within differing frames of reference in pursuit of varying interests. "Culture" is clearly a problematic concept.

For most of its history, broadcasting has generally been accepted as a part of Canadian culture. In light of the variance within the study of culture, what then is the most fruitful way to come to a critical and comprehensive grasp of commercial radio broadcasting and its relation to the social, economic, political and cultural whole of this country? To begin, it should be specified that a critical understanding means one which can uncover the social relations behind the constantly changing socio-cultural system. This contextual approach suggests particular considerations with respect to both theorization and analysis. If culture is perpetually tied to the movement of social forces, then it must be theorized as such. Keeping this in mind, culture can first be defined at an abstract level and then translated to middle-level concepts where it is more amenable to empirical inquiry. In this respect, cultural process, as concretely situated within a particular historical social formation, is perhaps best presented at the level of social structure. Analysis of its organization and production in an institutional matrix can trace the continual re-structuring and re-defining of culture and cultural practice, as evidence is located in the historic artifacts and institutions of society.

In the abstract, culture traverses the social structure from individual consciousness

to the institutionalization of beliefs and rituals and is expressed through patterned human symbolic communication. In this sense, it is an entire 'way of life'. Culture is everywhere. It is the tools, techniques, values, beliefs, ideas, conventions and behaviours that are created and shared socially. Because the capacity for symbolic communication and language are inherent in humans (Cornforth;1971), and because humans can be nothing but social, all human groups have culture and cultural activity which is learned through observations, interactions and institutions. Whether they are created to consciously manipulate, or to consciously or unconsciously express and satisfy the needs and wants of specific groups in society, these symbolic forms serve to mediate between ideas and material life. They are a part of the forming of identities, and the understanding of normative structures - a map to the social world.

What is of greater interest, however, is the variation between cultures. While the persistence of cultural activity is fixed, the form and content are not. As a way of life, culture is unique to specific spatial and temporal zones. Within each, symbolic communication varies according to the historical nature of the organization of social relations of production and reproduction. The nature of these social relations will produce a dominant language and symbol system that flavours the culture. At the same time, the dominant system of cultural process is continually challenged by counter-cultural activity in which these symbols are reproduced, appropriated, struggled over and transformed. Despite variations between societies, however, culture is, in essence, "the signifying systems through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, expressed and explored" (Williams;1981,p.12).

At a more concrete level, a wide variety of specific cultural institutions can be categorized, if somewhat arbitrarily, in particular social formations. Within each of these institutions, as with other spheres of productive activity, the cultural process is characterized by an infrastructure of technology, techniques and labour practices unique both to the character of the social structure and the particular nature of the cultural activity. Each cultural form has its own technical and social division of labour and each has some relation to other cultural institutions, the state and the larger social order. Each is a part of the society's signifying channels, producing symbolic communication, whether it be through the physical movement of dance, the dialogue of a screenplay or the musical statement created by a jazz musician. These symbolic communications are to be understood as a part of an historic social process. Each has evolved as a result of particular systems of human labour with specific productive forces and social relations behind them. Orchestras require skilled musicians and state funding, films require large technical crews and creative writers and producers, and making popular music means vast amounts of capital to support the production, distribution and promotion of recording artists. All cultural activity is deeply rooted in the social organization of human labour and the economics and politics behind the labour process.

Antonio Gramsci and A Critical Approach to Culture

Antonio Gramsci provided a valuable organizing principle which effectively integrates culture in a larger framework of power and struggle and the relations of

domination and subordination. The concept of "hegemony" was appropriated and reworked by Gramsci in the 1920s as a part of his overall project of explaining the nature of capitalist rule in Western democracies. In this work, his study of culture was rooted, not in an interest in the particular cultural practices or institutions of society, but in his overriding concern with how dominance is reproduced under capitalism and why subordinate groups tend towards consent to this dominance. This approach to conceptualizing culture transcends those which focus more narrowly on cultural phenomena, as if abstracted from society. From the Gramscian perspective, the notion of "hegemony" introduces the idea of power into historically-grounded analyses of the dynamic social process as a totality (Hall;1981,p.37).

Although the concept, as it evolved in Gramsci's intellectual development, is complex in its envelopment of the notions of class, intellectual and moral leadership, coercion and consent and the role of the state, hegemony is - in its most broad sense - the process through which a dominant class, class fraction or social group actively works to secure the unity and consent of the populous, attempting to override the contradictions and conflicts of capitalism to create a particular social order. It is "thus the point where all social relationships culminate" (Salamini;1981,p.136). The very fragile nature of this social whole is crucial to the understanding of conflict, counter-hegemony and social change. The hegemonic process does not produce a dominance which can exist passively. It is a transient and generally unstable state. The contradictions within the social formation give rise to struggle and processes of resistant counter-hegemony which necessitate the continuous renewal, recreation, defence and modification of hegemony.

Power therefore does not represent simply a uni-directional force. Instead it is understood within hegemony as both compulsion and consensus, existing in both dominance and resistance.

It is, to a large extent, upon the terrain of culture that hegemony operates. Within historically specific cultural institutions, dominance, subordination and oppositional struggle compete to secure cultural symbols, ideas and ultimately control over the material order. The use of symbols in managing ideas is integral in this process. While ideas may embrace theories, myths, legends, folklore, conventional sense, knowledge (scientific or religious) - it is ideologies which serve most effectively in attaining a particular balance of power. Ideology works to provide the "cement" of the historic social formation, where it operates as it does not because "the dominant classes (and groups) can prescribe and proscribe in detail, the mental content of the lives of subordinate classes, but because they strive and to a degree succeed in framing all competing definitions of reality within their range, bringing all alternatives within their horizon of thought" (Hall;1977,p.337).¹

As there is hegemony and counter-hegemony, there is also dominant and counter-ideology. Both stem from the same social organization, yet one is established as the dominant world-view and the other as a critique of that (or parts of that) world-view. Such critique is concerned mainly with the uncovering of the concealed or mystified social relations that characterize the social organization. As an ideology itself, however, it goes beyond just critique and posits alternative visions for changing social relations. At a less abstract level, the dominant ideology in Canada (liberalism) contains within it

many different (yet related) sets of beliefs, or ideologies. While they vary in their manifestation across institutions and regions, they include patriarchy, individualism, technological-determinism and Canadian nationalism. Socialism, feminism and Quebec nationalism would traditionally be examples of counter-ideologies. While there may be overlap between dominant and counter-ideologies, the interests and views that lay at the heart of counter-ideologies ultimately represent a fundamental challenge to dominant ideologies and powers.

Concretizing Culture: Cultural Forms and Practices

As discussed above, the ecumenical nature of 'culture' makes it a problematic concept in the study of modern or popular cultural processes. At an institutional level, I would, however, argue that the less sweeping terms - "cultural form" and "cultural practice" - are better suited to analyses of specific cultural expressions. Understanding how the structures of power have been manifest in varying cultural forms and practices, helps to clarify culture and how, over time, it has been defined, re-defined and appropriated for political, economic and social purposes by diverse and unequal interests. In this critical approach, the concepts "cultural form" and "cultural practice" help to reveal the dynamic character of unique cultural sites.

The conceptual distinction between "cultural form" and "cultural practice" can be made through a dialectical interpretation of the notions of structure and agency.² In keeping with a Gramscian perspective, structure and agency are understood as being

articulated within a conjunctural historical bloc which is the starting point for empirical analysis. Here, the structural phase represents the moment to be transcended by the symbolic patterns and practices of hegemony and counter-hegemony in a continuous passage from structure through agency through structure.¹ Structure, which can be equated with cultural form, is the agency of the past inscribed within the institutionalization of social patterns and organization. Cultural forms, then, exert pressures and boundaries upon active cultural practices in the present. Cultural practices, on the other hand, represent the active experiential dimension of dialectical movement. Social agents exist in a social formation in which symbols have already been created, and in which they themselves are able to further re-construct the symbolic domain interactively within these structural confines. The use of "cultural form" and "cultural practice" in this sense, not only specifies more explicitly the object of study, but helps to reconcile the larger theoretical and methodological quandary of structure, agency and social change.

Less abstractedly, defining or delimiting particular cultural forms can be somewhat more challenging. While many activities embody the production and communication of meaningful symbols, cultural forms are more structured. They are characterized by relatively repeatable activity (the practice dimension of cultural forms) and they have certain unique organizational properties and patterned modes of production and presentation. These varying cultural forms, which often possess a degree of overlap, can be viewed as subsets of the larger "culture" and as contributing components to an overall 'way of life' within a particular social formation.

The 'industry' dimensions of commercial radio have been established above. We know that radio production and dissemination in Canadian society is largely industrially organized. We know also that radio broadcasting communicates through aural symbols - ideas, information and entertainment. But, how is this capital based process differentiated from other processes of symbolic production? Manufacturers of McDonald's (in)famous 'Golden Arches', for example, are arguably producers of symbolic information and confirmation of Western-style capitalism and mass production in the modern era. But, even though radio generates continuously changing messages, there is a much more definitive distinction to be made - one which involves an element of meaningful expression and creative practice, where the cultural form becomes an active site of communicative creativity. Of course, symbolic expression and creative production does not exist independent of the context within which it is produced and received. Social analysis must embody the nature of production and reception - for symbolic expression is a social relation. Having said this, however, it is reasonable to argue that there may be a degree of autonomy and freedom from external forces within the creative process.

II. Delineating 'Art Culture'

The most common perception of culture is perhaps one which is centred around the notion of "art". In both 'official culture' and in mainstream interpretations,

discussions or accounts of culture, art is generally implicit. This high-brow focus generates an 'art culture', which, while it encompasses only a fraction of what is cultural, nonetheless frames our dominant ideas and common sense understandings of culture. In state policy and discourse, and to many academics, critics, patrons and artists, certain activities (ballet, literature and theatre, for example) represent the creative expression assumed to be the essence of art and, in this sense, of culture. This 'essentialist' interpretation has been historically pervasive within the dominant ideologies and institutions of Canadian society.⁴ In light of the fact that cultural policy embraces this interpretation, both implicitly and explicitly, this leaves us asking where commercial radio fits into a scheme of culture centred around the concept of art?

While it is difficult to define what is meant by art in the conventional sense, it is necessary to try to clarify the term for purposes of relating it to the practice of commercial broadcasting. Beginning at the micro-level - at the point of production or creation - an individual (or individuals) employ(s) a series of skills, or talents to create, through symbols, an expression of human insight and/or passion, to be communicated to and shared with others. Carey (1989) suggests that the significance of the artist lies in the ability to take "ordinary phenomena out of the backdrop of existence and force them into the foreground of consideration" (p.24). (While Carey acknowledges that the social sciences, in this sense, could also be considered art, the contrast should be made here - in trying to pinpoint the nature of art - between art and science. The creative process in art is distinguished from the creativity and human passion which may be embodied in the scientific process, by its lack of rigorous rational logic and methodological rules.)

Further, art, or creative symbolic expression, only takes on meaning when there are people, other than the artist, partaking in the symbolism of the work. Only in theory can the 'essence' of art be isolated and this is where the notion of 'art culture' becomes salient. Art does not exist in a vacuum. Social descriptions and analyses then, are far more illuminating than psychological definitions. Regardless of where, when, how, why and what a creator produces, it only takes on meaning when situated within the particular environment in which it is produced, distributed and received. The world of 'art culture' represents an environment in which certain symbolic creations are embraced. While there are wide variations across cultural forms, there are certain principles or tendencies which characterize the patterned practices of 'art culture' and which highlight the distinction and opposition between 'art culture' and other cultural forms.

First, the mode of reception tends to be smaller and less technologically mediated in 'art culture'. Live performances in theatres or music halls, or displays in galleries and museums, represent the dominant means of communication between the creator and the audience. Discrete events are more typical of 'art culture' than is continuous communication which characterizes other cultural forms. Second, there is often an implicit and necessary degree of education or knowledge in the process of communicating in 'art culture'. "(S)pecific competences are required, that is to say a knowledge of the codes specific to a given art form, competences that are not innate but can only be acquired either through inculcation in the setting of the family, through experience of a range of artistic objects and practices and/or through formal inculcation in school" (Garnham & Williams;1980,p.217). In contrast, many popular cultural forms, which are

centred more on pleasure and physiological and emotional response than on the intellectualization of the creation, generally require little in the way of formal introduction, background information or contextualization to be appreciated. The symbolic meanings tend to be less abstract in their referencing and more grounded in the reality of daily living (Bourdieu;1986,p.176).

Finally, a distinction between 'art culture' and other cultural forms can be made with reference to the opposition between non-commercial and commercialized distribution and marketing. The basic lack of focus on industrial-type profit generation constitutes an ideological or illusory separation or distancing of 'art culture' from the crass world of commodification. For example, the CBC is identified more closely with 'art culture', not simply because it plays music primarily from the traditional art categories (classical), but because it is not perceived as existing purely to make a profit. This, despite the fact that it must still compete for audiences with commercial radio and is similarly organized along the same lines (ie., morning talk, traffic and news reports approximate listeners lifestyle patterns). This idealism creates a socially determined and distinct place for certain types of creative activity. "Works of art, Bourdieu argues, require for their appropriation...an internalized willingness to play the game of art, to see the world from a distance, to bracket off a range of objects and practices from the immediate urgency of the struggle for social reproduction (Garnham & Williams;1986,p.217). This 'game' helps to create and maintain the "aura" (Benjamin;1968) of the artist and the art, shrouding the separation of art as a product and art as a commodity. But, as Swingewood (1977) has illustrated, contradictions of idealism begin to appear when the

authenticity of art is questioned or challenged. For surely, "a Beethoven symphony remains a Beethoven symphony regardless of whether it is sold in a supermarket or a 'quality' music shop" (p.109).

The authenticity of 'art culture', then, lies partly in an apparent detachment from overtly commercial/industrial processes and markets in which the creation is offered, "which is in fact a collective disavowal of commercial interests and profits" (Ibid., p. 131). This ironic and complex process allows artists and those connected with their creative production and distribution to accumulate profit while simultaneously maintaining legitimacy in 'art culture' by culturally disavowing that connection to economic interest through disinterested and detached behaviours (Bourdieu;1986,p.131-133). Popular culture, on the other hand, seems to brazenly celebrate its connection to the economic. Profits are openly discussed. For example, throughout the popular media where statistics on box office sales for movies and home videos, the value of record contracts for select artists (ie., Madonna signs an \$85 million dollar deal with Sony/CBS) and the net worth and purchases of artistic celebrities (ie., Michael Jackson purchases the rights to all Beatles songs for \$60 million) - all reflect the connection between the creative and the economic.

With these principles of art and 'art culture' in mind then, we might ask, how far removed from art and the conventional world of 'art culture' is commercial radio broadcasting? While commercial radio is in great part a distributional vehicle for music (upon which its economic survival is largely dependent), it is, nonetheless, representative to some degree, of the creative production of communication in and of itself.' At the

micro-level of production, the creative process most closely related to meaningful human expression, passion and imagination, lies with the select programming of music - the mood-centred 'flow' that is created. Therefore, I would argue that radio programmers most closely approximate the creative 'artist' through putting together music and other programming elements in a way which is aesthetically pleasing and meaningful to an audience. Editing becomes a form of symbolic creation. However, this activity has no meaning unless situated within the technological and economic context in which it is produced and received. Programming is only one phase in a long process of communication - a phase which holds little artistic validity outside of this process.

Commercial Music as 'Art'?

"Within the music industry, songs are most frequently referred to by words depicting the stage in the decision process through which they are passing. Thus, a song is called 'a copyright,' 'a property,' 'a demo,' 'a tape,' 'a dub,' 'a transcription,' 'a cut,' 'a master,' 'a side,' 'a release,' 'an A side,' 'a pick,' 'a selection,' and finally 'a hit' or 'a dud'....At all points in the decision chain, songs are regularly referred to as 'product'. The point...is to make money, not art" (Frith;1988,p.104-105).

While there may be a degree of individual artistic expression in the production of radio programming, can the commercial medium be considered an artistic form through its extensive appropriation of recorded music? Does it harbour a degree of artistic autonomy through its musical content? Is it a part of 'art culture' through the distribution of this music?

In the most abstracted sense, music is creative expression and communication through rhythms, melodies, chord progressions and the timbre of the instruments or voice which act upon our physiology and our experiential psychology. "(T)he musical form necessarily involves and stimulates the body and its capacity for sensation" (Irvine & Kirkpatrick;1972,p.273). At this level too, the lyrics that often accompany music are verbal symbols which derive much of their artistic value from their ability to draw the ordinary from the background of life to the foreground of listening. The 'art' of music is the condensation and patterning of personal experiences which, in the musical form, a listener may relate to or connect with. "While other modes of communication are more precise when conveying information regarding physical phenomena, the musical form functions as one of the essential vehicles for sharing highly personal and esoteric experiences; by virtue of its use of melody, rhythm, chord structure and progression, instrumentation and so forth, it is designed to invoke the emotional state, state of consciousness, or mental state as it is experienced within the self and others" (Chesebro,et al;1985,p.118).

Music, however, does not exist at a pure abstracted level. Nor does it exist independently at a psychological level. Music is a social creation and experience. It is grounded in social production, distribution and reception. And, in the case of Western popular music, that grounding operates primarily around the process of commodification, which is heavily mediated by technology. In this context, it is not the singular expression of an 'artist' that is directly communicated to an audience. Technicians, engineers, marketing strategists and producers all play a key role in the conception, creation and

control of popular music that is manipulated and re-created in the continual search for the sound that will most likely please a target audience (Berland;1992,p.38).

Just as the programmer most closely resembles the 'artist' in the production of commercial radio, it could be argued that it is the record producer (and those connected with the producer), rather than the songwriter/musician, who becomes the creative visionary or at least the co-artist in the economic context within which popular music exists. "It is the producer...who must try to 'draw out' of the singer what the public wants and conversely to pave the way for the special emotional ties that bind the singer to his public, by himself embodying for the singer an audience that is as yet only potential" (Ibid.). This process is further enhanced through extensive market testing of music. Consulting to record companies (amongst a variety of media outlets), the hugely successful market research firm, Joint Communications, regularly conducts panel tests of music audiences. "Client tracks might be mixed in with songs that a radio listener normally would hear. The listener's input is then passed on, via Joint Communications, to the record company. 'We'll tally which songs test better than others and would be best bets for the first single. Re-sequencing or re-mixing might be recommended. We cover such aspects as drum sounds, guitar licks, hooks and lyrical weakspots'" (Levine;1987,p.25).

In contrast to the necessary indoctrination of audiences in the world of 'art culture' and the art game, it is the creator(s) who must pursue knowledge of the audience in the commercial process of pleasing listeners. As Frith (1988) has argued, popular music is not about representing the concerns of individuals or groups to whom

commercialization then happens. "This assumption is based on a belief that there is a distinction between music as human expression and music as commodity. The real point, however, is that what music means - what we hear as authentic - is already determined by the technological and economic conditions of its production; it does not exist in any sort of ideal or innocent state" (p.130). This is not to deny the talent or creativity of musicians, songwriters or even producers, but, rather to suggest that this artistic dimension is given life through the commercialization process. The extensive use of technical equipment in popular music recording techniques (electronic microphones, dubbing, editing, etc.) and the role of producers and engineers in controlling the evolution of the recorded creation - for purposes of pleasing specific audiences/consumers - suggest that the popular music used as content on commercial radio is distanced from the notion of the creative vision and passion of an artistic individual who communicates directly in an un-mediated environment. It reduces the degree of cultural autonomy from external constraints.

Recorded Music and the Radio Industry

In elaborating on the relationship between recorded music and the commercial radio industry, it is interesting to consider that each song played over-the-air, and the length of time it is to remain on radio playlists, has been the result of careful calculation through a vast industry network of radio experts, market experts, demographic experts, psychological experts and recording experts. The structure of air-play for music has been

a rigid one based on a highly controlled organization of record producers, representatives, retailers, scouts, trade journals and radio programmers, consultants and managers. In fact, the 1970s witnessed a significant increase in the number of companies which programmed music to sell to radio stations, with emphasis on the order in which songs could most effectively be played.⁶ The process by which the decisions were made to play particular records over the radio for any given format, have been complex ones involving record distributors and consultants determining which records were to be sent to radio programmers, which was to be the 'consensus cut' (hit) off an album (or today a CD) and when and where songs were to be advertised and promoted (MacFarland;1990,p.116-117).

The notion of an artist expressing him or herself through music to be shared with the public is a naive interpretation of musical entertainment in capitalism. The role of radio has become so integral to the recording of music (what and how), that radio formats have come largely to dictate what will be heard. Songwriter and musician, Neil Young, sums up creative life in the era of 'format radio'; "It's mostly the radio stations, cause they have these formats...it's not like it was before, when we started making music...(B)ut then you got all these consultants in the '70s telling (the radio stations) what to play, what songs fit a format to get a certain audience so that the advertising could be channelled toward that audience, so they'd be able to get more money for the advertising because they'd know those people are listening to the station. Whereas if you have more variety, there's no way to tell who's listening and you can't have dedicated advertising for a certain cut of the market. So the whole thing revolves around money,

and that's the reason that music has been channelled into these slots" (Dickie; 1993, p.9).

Throughout the years, as competition in the radio business became more fierce, broadcasters and consultants came to rely on more refined sociologically and psychologically-based research techniques to help in the music selection and programming processes. For example, David MacFarland, an American industry expert, built upon existing music and moods research to establish structural bases of a mood-generating music progression aimed at helping to guide radio programmers in modelling and refining their formats. In developing his theoretical and practical approach, MacFarland even used biological and physiological research to help determine which types of music would be most effective at particular times of the day. Based on mood rhythms and body clocks, he argued that programming should be a science, the program director a 'chronobiologist' and music should be manipulated with respect to daily rhythms to maximize certain characteristics of certain times of the day (1990;p.41,144). 'Listeners listen for mood functions, not just to hear music" (Ibid.,p.144). This type of calculation in music programming suggests not only that the radio air-play of recorded music is less than encouraging of artistic self-expression and originality, but that commercial radio is far from a benign purveyor of background sound. While a degree of originality and creativity may survive the commodification process, ultimately artists record for a market based on categorization and limitation.

To this point it can be concluded that commercial radio broadcasting, as a cultural form, is constituted by faint strains of artistic human expression and communication through the creative process of musical selection and programming and through the

appropriation of recorded music - with some degree of the artistic imprint of the originator (the artist). It is, however, not very useful to isolate these relatively autonomous instances from the continuous commercial radio process. They are simply an integrated part of a larger cultural practice, possessing its own unique integrity that is inextricably connected to the socio-economic context within which it is embedded.

III. Situating Commercial Radio in Popular Culture

Popular cultural forms, in general, represent the varying and particular ways in which capital and artistic or creative expression are combined in the process of cultural commodification. Commercial radio, then, as a popular cultural form, does not simply communicate reality, ideology or culture. It is itself reality, ideology and culture. It is part of a "societal tapestry in which 'social and cultural phenomena do not trail after the economic at some remote remove', but are constitutive of what 'the economic' is" (Sayer;1991,p.2).

Popular culture (cinema, television, magazine publishing, etc.), is fundamentally "cultural industry" in that it "produces its goods, tailoring them to particular markets and organizing their content so that they are packaged to be compatible with the dominant values and modes of discourse" (Gitlin;1982,p.204). In this, it is closely connected with 'the economic' and thus lacks the degree of autonomy or distance (real or imagined) that other non-popular cultural forms may appear to possess. Beyond the connectedness to

the economic, the practice of commercial broadcasting is based upon broad accessibility and the more extensive reach that technological innovation and capital has created for it. Whatever creative symbolic expression the medium generates or translates, it brings it to a wider audience than other cultural forms such as live theatre, chamber music, folk or ethnic music or Canadian literature could. More people simultaneously experience the same symbols, language and ideas (sounds). This is not to suggest that commercial radio either addresses or creates a 'mass audience'. Contrary to 'mass culture theory' (see Swingewood;1977), cultural industries do not necessarily indicate capital's dominance over a singular, undifferentiated and subordinated mass. In commercial radio, there are geographical limits to audiences - limits which correspond to local content and focus. Within these boundaries, audiences are further fragmented into various groups based on age, ethnicity, gender, income, etc. Even the music broadcast, which is largely the product of the monopolized major recording companies, is not simply a 'mass' product.*

Regardless of the degree to which artistic creativity is present, commercial radio broadcasting does not lie comfortably within the traditional 'official' perception of 'art culture'. It is a technologically-mediated popular cultural form - more closely associated with "industry" than "the arts". It is organized within the capitalist context - both as part of the dominant and counter-cultural - where management at both the point of production and in the circulation sphere has been, and still is, interrelated in terms of the strategies and organization of capital. "Corporate capitalist society presses popular culture into distinctive molds, and shapes it to particular uses" (Gitlin;1982,p.203). In turn, a popular cultural form - such as commercial radio - promotes consumption both through

the advertising it broadcasts and through the music that it plays. What follows from this particular promotion of consumptive activity is a potential and a tendency for popular cultural forms, such as commercial radio, to shape social behaviour patterns. This occurs through processes such as organizing and co-ordinating time and leisure and work activities, lifestyle confirmation and the framing of choices for consumer purchasing habits.

While culture embodies symbolic communications, modern popular culture represents highly commodified and technologically-mediated cultural activity. As a popular cultural form itself, commercial radio actively promotes consumption not only overtly through the advertising it broadcasts, but through the music that it plays. As the recording industry has long recognized, radio is one of the most effective means of selling recorded music. And radio formats have embraced this activity through their continual promotion of new 'artists' and 'hits'. Obsolescence is bred into programming software as well as hardware. The practice of generating social patterning through continual radio broadcasting becomes integrated then, to varying degrees, with the patterning of behaviours. In this sense, cultural forms are inextricable from society, and popular culture can be "regarded as the expressive dimension of popular sentiment that is organized in the demands and directions of everyday social life, and is framed by the social practices of consumerism in contemporary society" (Laba;1988,p.84).

IV. The Radio Audience

In discussing the cultural nature of modern commercial radio in terms of its social productive and consumptive relations, it is important to address what is perhaps one of the most crucial components of the broadcasting domain - the audience itself. Conceptually, audiences are intimately connected to the rationalization of programming and targeting techniques that lie behind the commercial radio process and product. As well, they figure in the nature and mandate of government regulation of the industry. How, then, do we theoretically understand the 'audience'?

According to Berland (1992), the mainstream or traditional approach to defining the audience has been one focussed on an "aggregate of individual moods, dispositions, intentions, and choices, spontaneous or otherwise" (p.43). In contrast, she argues in favour of situating "the production of audiences in the context of technological-administrative developments" (Ibid.). This contextualization provides a valuable theoretical bed on which to lay the "audience" in commercial media. It points to the role that technology plays in dictating or framing choices for consumptive and productive practices as media capital seeks out new sites for expansion. Here the audience becomes a part of the circuit of capital through which commodities are produced and consumed in a media/advertising-mediated process.

This approach to understanding the 'audience' certainly suggests a more fruitful direction than that provided by Smythe (1977: 1981) in which the audience is the commodity produced in the process of commercial broadcasting, to then be sold to the

advertiser. The exploited audience (in the Marxist sense), according to Smythe, works to produce surplus value for both media owners and capitalist advertisers (1981,p.263-264). A simple understanding of the nature of production, and the fact that an owner cannot not sell what he or she does not possess (ie., an audience) - along with a disregard for the contradictory nature of audiences - renders this approach invalid and can only lead to warped interpretations of what an audience is. This notion of an audience as the product that advertisers consume, inverts the entire productive process wherein, in fact, advertisers extract surplus value from productive labour and audiences help capital to realize that surplus through consumptive activities.'

In addition to the specific limitations of many of the explanations of the "audience" in relation to commercial broadcasting, there is an overarching and fundamental problem in that most conceptions are based on an exclusive definition. A more comprehensive conceptualization is one that denotes a multiplicity of definitions. The "audience" is a potential identity that is created and recreated over time for different purposes by different interests within the commercial broadcasting process. In the context of continually evolving technological and marketing research and developments - which play a large role in the consumptive practices of viewers and listeners - advertisers, broadcasters and the state (as represented in government bodies and legislation) all define the media audience in terms of their particular interests, projects and goals. These represent different moments in the process of commercial broadcasting and the social, political and economic relations it embodies. Through interaction with the medium, audiences are continuously re-created in a contradictory process of individualization/

reconstitutionalization which simultaneously addresses them as individuals and as members of a particular group. On the one hand, the radio experience isolates the listener. The practice of radio listening is usually undertaken in a private manner and listeners are addressed in a highly personal and intimate way. On the other hand, those same listeners are also being addressed through programming, advertising and those elements that are government regulated, as 'target groups', consumers, and the public/Canadians. For different interests, the audience is constructed and defined differently.¹⁰

For example, to commercial broadcasters, the audience is a 'target' group, an easily categorized and identified group of people with similar demographically-determined characteristics that are presumably congruous with both a particular radio format and the advertised commodities presented within that format. For advertisers and advertising agencies, the 'audience' is the potential consumer group who will purchase their products and services and valorize their capital. Through assumptions and market research, broadcasters and advertisers draw a shared image of what the audience is. The interests of both overlap at this point of identification, as broadcasters attempt to attract - for advertisers - a particular segment of the population (Fornatale & Mills;1980,p.66). In both cases, a time and space-specific group, bearing particular characteristics, represents the audience. Thus, both broadcasters and advertisers understand audiences as 'target groups' for varying but complimentary reasons. This market-based interpretation most closely resembles the mainstream aggregate understanding of what an audience is that Berland discussed.

In terms of the state and its regulation over the medium, the audience has traditionally been defined, not necessarily as a 'target' group and not explicitly as a consumer group (until the 1980s), but as "the public" or as "Canadians". Government regulation, as a part of a larger state agenda, has long embraced the principle that electronic mass communications can help provide the cohesion that is necessary in the interest of the nation-state. As a result, the mandate and specifics of the cultural or broadcasting policy has resolved that certain elements will be factored into commercial programming that will aid in addressing and hopefully further unifying individuals as a Canadian audience. In this sense, then, the audience identity created through government regulation is one of regionally-segregated but nationally-united individuals who make up the Canadian "public".¹¹

These varying conceptualizations of the audience have thus far not taken into account one other group - the audience itself. How do radio listeners define themselves in relation to the broadcasting process and the capital relations that characterize it? Do radio audiences perceive themselves as 'target' or consumer groups, or as "Canadians"? Or, instead, do they maintain certain class, ethnic, gender, age or lifestyle-based definitions of themselves that stem directly from their lived experiences and relations, regardless of the artificial identities imposed by various interests in the broadcasting field? Focussing particularly on class identities, Murdock and Golding (1977) have argued that in the consumptive sphere of commercial broadcasting, relations of production (and hence class identification) are obscured as consumer identities are created through advertising and its calculated location within broadcast programming. "... (W)here images of class

do appear, they tend to focus on the sphere of consumption rather than on the sphere of production and to stress the differences of consumer taste and leisure styles rather than structural inequalities in market and work situations in which these differences are rooted" (p.36). Broadcasters are interested mainly in market-based characteristics of class to the extent that they might dictate consumptive behaviour and programming preferences. Class identity, in terms of people's relations in the productive process, holds little value for commercial programming.

This, however, does not account for whether class identities of listeners overwhelm consumer identities in the listening process. While many would agree that class identification and awareness does not play a large role in commercial broadcasting practices, it is with less certainty that we can assume that other identities such as ethnic and gender ones are equally obscured or negated. Because it is often in the interest of the advertiser, and therefore of the broadcaster, to aim products and programming directly at specific gender or ethnic groups, these identities may be reinforced for the audience to the negation of perhaps a community or national identity. At that point, there is an overlapping between consumer and other identities, confusing our understanding of how audiences view themselves. In certain instances, audience self-definition is apparent through the activities of particular groups with common interests that are directed towards broadcasters and regulators. For example, groups organized around issues of racism or sexism in broadcasting, or those concerned with the interests of the handicapped in relation to the media, all constitute self-defined audiences. Without adequate research techniques, though, it is exceedingly difficult to determine the nature of audience self-

definition. In this respect, this study does not focus on the nature of reception in the commercial radio process. The point to be made, however, is that within the broadcasting environment, the "audience" will mean different things to different people or groups at different times. It will also hold different ramifications for various broadcasting and broadcast regulating practices over time and issues.

In conclusion, it is argued that the cultural dimension of commercial radio broadcasting lies in the process of symbolic communication which harbours creative symbolic expression in programming, content and in its role in the promotion of consumptive activity and the shaping of leisure and purchasing patterns. There is an additional consideration with respect to the cultural dimension of commercial radio in which symbolic communication is integrated with Canada's historic political structures. Here, symbolic communication in radio broadcasting draws in a political dimension in which, as will be shown, cultural regulation has historically linked broadcasting to issues of Canadian nationalism and the national interest.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER THREE

1. Ideologies, as particular understandings, explanations or justifications of the world, are most usefully exercised and separated from the world of ideas when conceptualized as processes through which the contradictions and inequalities inherent in the social formation are largely concealed. It is through this process that the interests of those in power are generally served, as the underlying social relations of domination and subordination are mystified through symbolic systems, and the existing order of things appears as natural and in the interest of all sections of society (Larrain; 1984,p.61).
2. "Agency" can be related to human experience based upon purposeful individual or group action. The key notion here is 'purposeful'. It implies that agency is concerned with some degree of consciousness as opposed to a stimulus/response pattern.
3. "Structure is seen by Gramsci already as expressive of superstructural values 'implicit' in it, and the passage to the superstructural signifies the progressive affirmation of freedom which has begun to operate in the forms of economic activity...Structure is the historical past and the superstructure the terminal phase of movement. Structure is all that cannot be wished away in nature and history, such as economy and historical past...The structure thus, conditions, coerces and disciplines human will...It is the superstructure, the conscious political praxis of a collectivity, which is able to ascertain the new progressive force of development within the structure (Salamini;1981,p.145-6)
4. The 1982 Applebaum-Hebert Report on cultural policy determined a distinction between what it called "serious" and popular music, where serious music was essentially classical music (p.177), suggesting somehow that country, rock, folk and other forms of more broadly popular music are trivial.
5. It could be argued that radio used to embody a more artistic and creative space in its early years when radio programming was centred less on the airing of pre-recorded music and more on the creation of original dramas, songs, etc..
6. It is true that songs that have garnered a lot of air-play were generally those that sold well in local record stores. Local sales were figured into the programming choices made and there was undoubtedly a reciprocal effect between air-play and increased purchases of particular records.

However, the real determinants of what music would be popular lay not so much with audience or station choice, but with the research and marketing strategies of the record industry. Local audiences and stations, in actual fact, have played a relatively small role in the 'concentration of control' centred around the major urban-based (primarily American) record companies.

7. MacFarland's scheme for music manipulation resulted in the development of techniques he variously labelled MOST (Mood-Oriented Selection Testing), MEMO (Mood-Evoking Music Order) and MERIT (Mood-Evoking Respondent-Interactive Tracking) (1990,p.164). While commercial music formats have played music which has almost always been based on some measure of popularity, the question that needs to be asked is; who has determined what is 'popular'? Was it really, as many in the broadcasting and recording industries have always contended, 'the people' - those listening to the radio and purchasing record albums?
8. Lopes (1992) has demonstrated that the industrial organization and high degree of economic concentration of the American music industry has not, as many had assumed, led to increasingly homogenized music. Instead, the "major record companies have continued to use an open system of development and production, even though they have had more than a decade of effective and unchallenged oligopolistic control, and that this open system has produced significant levels of innovation and diversity in contemporary popular music" (p.70). The industry has operated on the principle of appropriation of sub-cultural or alternative currents, integrating them into the dominant cultural system. "The commodification of local (or sub-) musical culture has characterized the entire history of popular music. For the most part, this commodification is marked by the appropriation (commercial reorganization, packaging and promotion) by major record companies, of musical forms, styles and products produced on the local level by small independent record labels" (Laba;1988,p.95). Here we can turn to the earliest examples of black 'roots' or blues music which became the basis of rock and roll, or the more recent appropriation of black street culture through rap music. In Canada, the immense popularity of Cape Breton folk singer, Rita MacNeil is a case of drawing the local into the dominant culture. Even the recent surge in Canadian talent signed to American labels can be seen as pulling the subordinate (Canadian) culture into the dominant American (multinational) culture.
9. For a more detailed critique of Smythe's position, see Lebowitz, 1986.
10. In relation to this it is interesting to consider Anderson's (1991) argument on "imagined communities" with particular reference to the differences

between small and large market radio broadcast stations. "In fact" he states, "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined (p.6). With this in mind, consider that, in smaller listening markets, radio which is more broadly targeted operates to bridge the lives of members of the community with music and information that relates relatively directly and concretely with most members. For the larger markets, however, that sense of community is an abstract one created by advertisers and programmers, based not so much on the actual relations between community members, but on demographics and lifestyle similarities it is assumed that some share. It is an abstracted sense of community between people, most of whom have never met.

11. Emke (1993) suggests that the term "public" is, in reality, much more complex and contradictory than has been historically suggested by policy, bringing into question how similar the public and the audience is, and the relation between listeners/viewers and all individuals in society. "(G)iven a fragmented audience, how does one operationalize a principle of public interest? ...(and), if the public consists of many competing audiences (or publics), then how do some become privileged over others? And, in certain situations, how is it that some even become the embodiments of the 'public interest'?" (p.3-4). These are fascinating questions, some of which will be addressed further below in discussions of state policy and commercial radio.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE POLITICAL NATURE OF COMMERCIAL RADIO BROADCASTING

I. Tying in the Political: Cultural Nationalism, Economic Interests and Commercial Radio

Thus far it can be summarized that modern Canadian commercial radio is an industrially-organized enterprise, encompassing the tendencies and qualities of most capitalist operations. It is also a cultural enterprise in that, not only does it bear elements of artistic creation (commodified in varying degrees), but it is itself an artifact of our modern culture through its symbolic confirmation of the patterns of social and economic life. In this respect, it is distinct from both non-cultural and cultural activities, possessing its own unique characteristics which constitute a particular popular "cultural form". In addition to these commercial and cultural properties, there is a third way through which the practice of commercial radio broadcasting in Canada can be further distinguished, and that is through its links with the political sphere, particularly in connection to 'official culture' and Canadian nationalism.

In considering the economics of commercial radio broadcasting in Chapter Two, the 'market' was discussed largely as if it operated independently upon the basis of free exchange. It was discussed as such to highlight the differences between this and other industries. In reality, the rights and terms of free enterprise and private property are determined and ensured by the state (Sayer;1991,p.28). While state regulation helps to guarantee rights to private broadcasters with respect to access to property (airwaves) and protection from unrestrained competition, one of the most notable means by which commercial radio has been tied to the political arena in Canada has been in terms of cultural regulation through which 'Canadian nationalism' has become in large part the

node connecting broadcasting to the larger historic structures of power. As Jackson & Neilson (1991) have argued, the 'cultural nationalism' of a "socially imagined" English-Canada lies at the heart of cultural industry in this country.¹

Behind this historic cultural regulation and nationalism has been the state-mediated pursuit of economic unity, wherein the circulation of capital and commodities has been secured within territorial boundaries. "Indeed, this is supposed to be the essence of (the state's) activity in forging national unity" (Poulantzas;1978,p.95). This implies the free movement of commodities, capital and capital relations within the national sphere, where the boundaries attained by the nation-state become the basis for the formation of the society itself. "The state does not have to unify a pre-existing 'internal' market, but installs a unified national market by marking out the frontiers of what thereby becomes the inside of an outside" (Ibid.,p.106). This process is facilitated by a conscious effort to create conformity from diversity through symbolic systems. It is "by means of both the process of socially constructing reality through the control of language and symbolization and the process of making a particular signification stick that the legitimacy of ideas or perspectives is created and maintained" (Fortner;1988-89,p.82-83).

As one of the country's oldest and most pervasive cultural sectors, radio broadcasting has played a role in this turbulent economic and symbolic evolution of the Canadian nation-state. Through a reciprocal relationship centred around Canadian nationalist discourse, the radio industry has both shaped, and been shaped by, government regulation in the pursuit of political, economic and social unity. Commercial radio has been considered a part of 'official culture' since the 1930s, not because it represented the

creative endeavours of Canadian artists, but largely because of its real or perceived value to the process of "cementing" Canadian society through communications. As a result of this fundamental assumption, radio has long been a part of our cultural policy and life. Beginning with the much celebrated first nation-wide broadcast of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation in 1927, the idea of radio as a unifying force has been re-created again and again in policy discourse and 'glorified' historic reference to early events such as national network broadcasts. As Chaney argues, "(a) nation is an abstract collectivity because it is too big a social entity to be experienced by any individual. Therefore the 'we-feeling' of the community has to be continually engendered by opportunities for identification as the nation is being manufactured" (1986,p.249).

Canadian cultural nationalism - as embedded within cultural regulation - is one of the forces that has made the radio industry in this country different, not only from other economic or cultural enterprises, but from commercial radio broadcasting in other countries. Private radio broadcasting in the United States, for example, has been largely unregulated (relative to Canada) since its first broadcast in 1919. Britain, on the other hand, has had a long history of public nationalized radio, only establishing commercial (local) radio in 1972. Canada, however, determined over a period of decades that both the public and private sectors would play distinct roles in the quest for nationhood. Through state broadcasting policy, then, the bridge was instituted between the economic base of the social order and the cultural nationalism which evolved in correspondence with the development of that social order.

The term "national interest" can be used to help make the relationship between

economic unity and 'cultural nationalism' more explicit. The national interest, tends to be the long-term interest of the fraction of the capitalist class which is dominant or hegemonic. It both changes, and is changed by, the nature of the state formation and the power alliance over time, but tends to be relatively constant in comparison with the shorter-term and more narrow interests of other fractions of capital. The way in which the national or general interest is interpreted by the state - through the notion of 'the economy' - makes more effective the unity of the state, as well as drawing in elements of civil society through a largely consensual process. It places a 'common' interest (the economy) above the narrow ones of social groups or class fractions. From the Gramscian perspective, "(a) successful hegemony is one which manages to create a 'collective national-popular will', and for this to happen the dominant class must have been capable of articulating to its hegemonic principle all the national-popular ideological elements, since it is only if this happens that it (the class) appears as the representative of the general interest" (Mouffe;1981,p.232). What is good for the Canadian economy, then, is translated as being good for the general interest of Canadians. Here the "development and expansion of the particular group is conceived of, and presented, as being the motor force of a universal expansion, of a development of all the 'national' energies" (Gramsci;1971,p.182).

The essence of the national interest and the pursuit of national unity have historically been manifested throughout state activity and structure. Going back to the birth of this nation-state, the National Policy of 1879 "laid the foundation for a continent-wide Canadian economy and expressed the politico-economic project of the central

Canadian merchant-financiers" (Jenson;1989,p.180). This fraction of indigenous capital which dominated the economic and political sphere "was the moving force behind the establishment of the Canadian state, and this class was quite united in its support for the goals of the National Policy" (Brodie & Jenson;1984,p.257), a policy which supplanted regional boundaries with a larger vision of an expanded national market. At the centre of this policy was the creation of the Canadian National Railway (CNR), necessary for linking the vast geography of the country to transport products in the process of industrialization. And, like the national railway, radio communications, it was soon realized, might also usefully serve to help bind the nation in its building. "At the moment of Confederation it was the transcontinental railway 'from sea to sea' that was seen as the guarantee of the new nation's political and economic future. In the 1920s broadcasting inherited the role; its task: to forge national unity" (Crean;1976,p.22). By 1932 Prime Minister Bennett stated that..."(b)roadcasting must become an agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened" (Pee:s;1965,p.255). The concrete interests and actions in the productive and circulative spheres then, were finding their ideological counterpart in both the policies and discourse of the state, with its emphasis on national unity.

Thus we see that the roots of 'cultural nationalism', which lie in the economic realm (as opposed to mass social movements), have been mediated by the state to effect a dominant discourse of 'Canadian nationalism'. The collective identity mobilized by the dominant powers as a national identity, was "one which stressed the commonality of all residents of a large and dispersed country" (Jenson;1989,p.81). It was the imposed

common language and culture within a common territory (cultural nationalism) which reaffirmed the economic dimension and helped to cement the political and bureaucratic dimensions which evolved around the history of the nation-state. "Nationalism joins together the linguistic, cultural and political aspirations of the ruling class in support of the national economic unit, the nation-state" (Drache;1975,p.7). This 'general' interest in drawing all regions, ethnicities and subordinate fractions of capital into the national fold has long been a part of the suppression of differences necessary for the development of the capitalist economy and a national citizenry. This tendency toward homogeneity has certainly been evident in broadcast regulation, where federal jurisdiction and national objectives have historically governed the medium. This national identity, however, has been neither monolithic nor uncontested, particularly in the last two decades when serious challenges to federal, centralized English dominance have been made - both in terms of broadcasting regulation and Canadian social institutions and movements as a whole.

While varying divisions and struggles have persisted across the country, they have been most prevalent in the relations between Quebec and English Canada. This bifurcation has been especially exacerbated within the cultural realm, where jurisdictional issues have plagued broadcasting policy since Quebec's first (unsuccessful) challenge to federal authority over the airwaves in 1931. What emerges from these struggles, however, is often not a challenge to the economic dominance of the central powers but, at the discursive level, the presentation of competing and varying definitions and interpretations of nationalism and national identities. Struggles are generally fought at this level, where terms and ideas are appropriated and re-invented by different players

and interests for different purposes. This includes various branches of the state apparatus as they have had to alter the form and content of 'Canadian nationalism' over time to accommodate changing socio-political and economic conditions in a process of national self-preservation. Ultimately, this state-directed process has revolved around continually attempting to give meaning to nationalism for individuals throughout the nation-state, while simultaneously serving the national interest(s).

'Cultural nationalism' is about symbolic communication and, while broadcasting policy has, in many cases, directly served national economic purposes, it has long been a bearer of the ideology of 'cultural nationalism'. In broadcasting act after broadcasting act, the "Canadian" label has been attached to the actions of broadcasters in attempts to continually reinforce the membership of the citizens of this country in Canadian society, continually strengthen the Canadian fabric and create a largely symbolic sense of cohesion and distinctiveness (Deutsch;1953,p.147). While the meaning and content of Canadian nationalism in broadcasting policy has changed over time, it has, nonetheless, remained a constant presence in its discourse.

In further determining the interconnections between broadcasting and the political sphere of Canadian society, it is necessary to uncover the social relations behind these structures. In this respect, it is impossible to separate the political and economic realms. This leads to a political economy of cultural industry as the medium is evidently tied to the larger patterns of power.

II. The Political Economy of Commercial Radio: A Conceptual Framework

Marchak (1985) has suggested that "political economy is the study of power derived from or contingent on a system of property rights; the historical development of power relationships; and the cultural and social embodiments of them" (p.160). In extending this definition, I would argue that the social and cultural embodiments of these power relationships are part of a larger dynamic of hegemony which also hinges upon that same system of property rights. In this sense, political, cultural and economic hegemony are the constantly evolving processes under study and political economy is the effective technique for understanding this process. It is the key concept of 'power' that takes the political economy of communications from the realm of administrative research to a critical analytical level (Mosco;1985).

A comprehensive political economy of an industry such as commercial radio, must embrace not only the economics of the business, but its fundamental interconnectedness with other economic and social forces and with the state. "Political economy allows us to analyze the 'context' of cultural practices, relating what is produced to how production takes place, how it is organized institutionally and economically and increasingly, how it is regulated by the state" (Magder;1989,p.279). In 1979, Nicholas Garnham issued a call for an elaboration of a political economy of mass communications which could tap into the unique political and economic structures of cultural production and reproduction in advanced capitalist countries (Garnham;1979). More recently, Magder (1989) reaffirmed the need to develop the study of communications in order that we can begin to "uncover the specific economic, political and social dynamics of the various forms of

culture" (p.292).² As Clement & Williams (1989) state, "political economy is based on a tradition that investigates the relationship between the economy and politics as they affect the social and cultural life of societies..." (p.6). Thus, a true political economy must be both political and economic. What are required are nation-specific studies of the interactions between these two dimensions. This is especially the case in the study of radio broadcasting in Canada, where state regulation has played such a powerful role in shaping the system.

In his study of the state and the Canadian film industry, Magder (1985) rightly states that throughout much of the literature on cultural policy, "what is all too often lacking is an in-depth and sophisticated analysis of the state's role within the social formation" (p.85). In the Gramscian tradition, the work of people such as Jenson (1989), Jessop (1982:1985:1990), Magder (1985:1989), Mahon (1977:1979:1984:1991), Poulantzas (1978) and Wolfe (1989) can be integrated to represent a balanced and critical approach which theoretically incorporates structure and agency in a way which can also accommodate empirical analysis. This approach is compatible with the conception of "culture" based on the notion of hegemony. It is also effective in outlining the nature of the social relations which lay behind state structures and activities - in this case, as they relate to broadcasting and cultural regulation.

Theorizing the Capitalist State

At a relatively high level of abstraction, the capitalist state can be conceptualized,

not solely as a subject possessing power, but as a social relation between antagonistic classes, class fractions and social groups. Although the state apparatus itself harbours a degree of autonomy through the interests of self-preservation of those working within (Brym;1985) - state power is fundamentally located as the "mediation of the relational struggles for power within the social formation as a whole" (Magder;1985,p.85). This mediation is conducted through an uneven historical institutional ensemble within which the balance of power between struggling forces is organized and most commonly expressed in favour of the dominant class and social forces. Those activities undertaken by the state, which appear to act in the maintenance of that balance of power, must be understood as the result of real struggles between classes and groups and of the contradictions within the social formation that have been concretized into the state organization. In turn, the characteristic state structure that emerges operates to mediate and institutionalize future conflicts and contradictions. "The structure of state power is not simply the result of the impact of the political balance of class forces, but also of the reciprocal effects of political institutions on class struggles, as well as the specific manner in which class contradictions are inscribed within the institutional ensemble of the state" (Wolfe;1989,p.97).

The 'authority' of the state, then, which tends to be representative of the hegemony of the leading fraction of the dominant class (Mahon; 1979,p.165), results from the continuous incorporation of these (and varying other) interests, into that structure. "State power is...selective in class terms by virtue both of its structural selectivity and of the class character of the balance of forces...The structural selectivity

of the state means that it is not a neutral instrument equally accessible to all social forces and equally adaptable to all ends. Instead, it has an in-built, *form-determined* bias that makes it more open to capitalist influences and more readily mobilized for capitalist policies" (Jessop;1990,p.93,147-148). In this scheme, balance of power concerns become the focus of attention, rather than notions of reproductive necessity. The state's powers (located in an ensemble of centres) are activated through the agencies (Mahon;1991,p.125) of definite political forces in specific conjunctures. "It is not the state which acts...but specific sets of politicians and state officials located in specific parts of the state system and confronting specific resistances from specific forces beyond the state. It is the interplay between them which both activates and limits specific powers and state capacities inscribed in particular institutions and agencies" (Jessop;1991,p.93).

Essential to this conceptualization of the power(s) of the state, is the understanding that these institutions and agencies are not equal in their capacities to effect changes in response to varying external pressures. This is because of the intrinsically conflictual nature of the fundamentally class-based power bloc. This conflict stems largely from the historically uneven development of capitalism which evolves a number of competing capitalist interests. While the dominant class as a whole may constitute the core of the hegemonic alliance of competing capitalist class fractions in society, the conflicts within this alliance must somehow be managed in order that class power can be unified and maintained in the long-term. In general, this management is undertaken through the leadership of a specific 'hegemonic fraction' (Jessop;1985,p.66). This fraction is represented within the state in a way in which its activities are co-ordinated to give unity

to the power bloc, thus fostering the reproduction of capitalist social relations. The conflictual tendencies of class organization and power leads then, to a specific state formation in which these struggles (as well as non-class struggles) and competing interests are internalized. Here a "contradictory unity" is created, such that, just as contradictions and conflicts are inherent within capitalism, so too is the capitalist state "through and through constituted-divided by class contradictions" (Poulantzas;1978,p.132).

Further, as Mahon (1979) has argued, this "contradictory unity" is based on an "unstable equilibrium of compromise", wherein the interests of the varying social forces involved are brought onto political terrain and organized around the long-term interests of the leading fraction (p.163) in the 'hegemonic project' (Mahon;1984:1991,p.136). This project is part of the larger 'hegemonic paradigm' (Jenson;1989,p.74) - the basis of organizing forces under the broad political, intellectual and moral leadership of a particular class (Jessop;1990,p.208). In this strategic process, material concessions are made to subordinate classes, class fractions and groups (Mahon;1979,p.166). These groups achieve varying degrees of representation within the state, although primarily in an expression through which their interests are combined with those of the hegemonic fraction (Ibid.). Through the "unequal structure of representation", the state structure transforms the political inputs of competing class forces into policy outputs that reflect the relative power of respective classes and class fractions" (Guenther;1988).

In this process of negotiation and co-ordination, the state does not become the 'instrument' of any one class or fraction, but maintains a degree of autonomy from the immediate interests and pressures of the dominant class (Mahon;1977,p.189). Autonomy,

in this sense, is understood as the disjuncture between the current activity of a balance of social forces and the activities of the past as they have been concretized in social institutions and policies. That is, the state is relatively autonomous from the balance of social forces to the extent that social relations and activities from the past, which have become inscribed structurally, impinge upon and constrain its activities at a conjunctural moment in which these other forces struggle in the process of transcendence and change (Guenther;1988,p.189). For Mahon (1979: 1984) then, "the state (is) not simply a set of institutions that exist() in capitalist society to mediate among classes; nor could state interventions be categorized as contributing to the functions of accumulation, legitimation, or coercion. Rather, state interventions (are) a set of compromises, reflecting the unequal representation of social forces within the state itself" (Albo & Jenson;1989,p.198).³

The state is constantly evolving with only historical moments of hegemonic realization and stability, the lack of which has been especially evident during the post-Fordist crisis of the last several years in Canada. "There is never a point when *the* state is finally built within a given territory and thereafter operates, so to speak, on automatic pilot according to its own definite, fixed and inevitable laws. Nor, to be somewhat less demanding, is there ever a moment when a single state project becomes so hegemonic that all state managers will simply follow universal rules to define their duties and interests as members of a distinct governing class. Whether, how and to what extent one can talk in definite terms about the state actually depends on the contingent and provisional outcome of struggles to realize more or less specific 'state projects'" (Jessop;1990,p.9). With this we have the sense of how difficult it is to theorize the state,

which can really be adequately assessed only in retrospect based upon evidence and analysis of concrete activities. Nonetheless, this theoretical framework - which approximates Jessop's "strategic-relational" approach - helps to focus enquiry on state power in a context of dialectical movement between structure and strategy (Ibid.p.367). It also serves as a theoretical guide to understanding the activities of state agencies and agents in relation to the cultural sector. Beyond this, what is necessary for a nation-specific analysis is an understanding of what groups have historically constituted the hegemonic powers in Canadian society.

Hegemony and Canadian Society

The composition of the power bloc and hegemonic fraction(s) in Canada has been a contentious issue within the political economy literature. However, a general consensus reached by Mahon (1979;p.180:1984,Ch.1), Clement (1977:1983), Atkinson & Coleman (1989) and Brodie & Jenson (1980,p.219-221), amongst others, is that a shifting alliance revolving around Canadian-owned finance capital has held a leadership position throughout most of this country's history. More specifically, during the first half of this century, especially the inter-war period, the hegemonic alliance was concentrated around the commercial-financial capitalists, for whom the National Policy was developed in the pursuit of industrialization and the export trade (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,Ch.2). "A coalition among the financial, industrial, and transportation sectors of business dominated the politics of industrial policy for sixty-five years after Confederation. The key to its

dominance was what has come to be called the National Policy...The business community maintained the policy (over successive elections)...successfully arguing that it was, in fact, for the interests of all...On no other issue did they so completely and successfully manage to identify their own interests with those of the Canadian nation" (Ibid.,p.40,42).

The Canadian bourgeoisie was to learn, however, that this "policy of 'national isolationism', prevalent during the early years of the Depression" was to have enormous negative economic repercussions which, in the view of its leadership, could be ameliorated only through integration into the new evolving international network (Brodie & Jenson;1980,p.219-220). Thus, following the Second World War, there came a shift in this alliance which was to incorporate American investment capital in the key resource and manufacturing sectors, leaving indigenous monopoly capital to control the various service sectors in an unequal, yet interdependent continentalist alliance. "The regime of accumulation which took shape in Canada after 1945 marked the transition from the inter-war dominance of agricultural exports to the new staples industries. Its shape was a consequence of deliberate state development strategies as well as trends in the international economy, which transformed Canadian capitalism's international connections" (Jenson;1989,p.79). Clement (1975:1977) provides further support for this shift through his analysis of elite formations in the post-war period. He presents a detailed portrayal of a "comfortable, if unequal partnership between Canada's indigenous elite, concentrated in finance, transportation and utilities, and an American-controlled comprador elite directing Canada's resource development and secondary manufacturing" (Bradford & Williams;1989,p.66).

During this Fordist period, capital grew into multinational capital, placing different demands on the national state for support of its economic interests. "(T)he particular form of the Canadian state's intervention encouraged even higher levels of foreign investment and in turn, a fundamental transformation of the bourgeoisie and its conception of the national interest" (Brodie & Jenson;1980,p.216), based on integration rather than isolation. The marked rise in foreign control of the Canadian manufacturing sector - from 35% in 1946 to 60% in 1963 - illustrates the magnitude of non-Canadian determinants in this strategy (Ibid.,p.218). "In contrast to earlier years, the postwar development strategy was founded on the 'internationalization' of the Canadian economy and bourgeoisie" (Ibid.,p.216). The lack of class-based ideology and struggle during this period meant that, despite the continentalism of the era, emphasis remained on issues of national unity. This structural and discursive lag was evident in Diefenbaker's populist and nationalist agenda in the 1950s which turned to exploiting the "northern frontier 'for the benefit of all'. It was yet another variant of federal politics in the 'national interest'" (Ibid.,p.244).

In the last two decades, the possibility of a third shift has been evident in the strong challenge an indigenous fraction of capital in the 'high-tech' sectors has made to the prevailing continentalist hegemonic alliance (Wolfe;1989: Mahon;1985: Atkinson & Coleman;1989). Arising from the deindustrialization and ensuing crisis period of the 1970s (post-Fordism) (Brodie & Jenson;1980,Ch.9), this fraction, opposed to a continental strategy, has threatened to further fragment the post-war alliance (Ibid.,p.270). Atkinson & Coleman (1989,p.48-52) argue that in this historical period -

which corresponds with what Jenson (1989) has called the era of the Third National Policy - the dominant alliance of the capitalist class has become organized into 'three somewhat distinct components. The first is the staples fraction, which is currently the strongest of these. This fraction includes the resource-staples sectors, the financial sector (chartered banks and major life insurance companies), manufacturing sectors connected to staples production and American-owned manufacturing/consumer goods sectors. The second component of the Canadian power bloc, which overlaps to a degree with the first, is branch-plant manufacturing, owned by American firms but oriented to domestic labour and goods markets. Finally, in opposition to these two components is the nationalist coalition - a set of industries which, according to Atkinson & Coleman (1989) "could eventually challenge the traditional dominance of the staples fraction" (Ibid.,p.49). These industries include state-procured firms geared to export markets as well as the cultural industries. It should be noted, however, that throughout the structural transformations (full or partial) in the three phases of Canada's political and economic history, Canadian commercial and financial capital has remained a central unifying force, maintaining its ruling "position through the core institutions of the economy" (Mahon;1979,p.181).

To return to the conceptual level - in the crystallization of hegemonic compromise, it is the long-term political interests of the hegemonic fraction which are strategically favoured within the state apparatus. "The hegemonic fraction exercises economic hegemony through elaborating and succeeding in realizing a specific 'accumulation strategy'" (Jessop;1990,p.199) (ie., economic protectionism versus continental integration and internationalization). The state pursues the accumulation strategy of hegemony

because of its hierarchic organization of legal and jurisdictional relations between various departments and agencies which represent, in a highly mediated form, different class fractions (and social groups) (Guenther;1988). The nature of this representation creates structural/bureaucratic inequalities as it reflects the power balance in society. "Embedded in the apparatus of the state is a structure that normally permits it to translate particular demands into policy compromises compatible with the maintenance of a particular pattern of hegemonic class domination" (Mahon;1984,p.38).

In generalized terms, the long-term hegemonic interests are "the reproduction of the value-form along with its various conditions of existence such as laws, money and the state" (Jessop;1990,p.202).⁴ The state in capitalist society, however, does not "intervene directly to promote the accumulation of capital; rather it facilitates accumulation through the elaboration of a formal body of property rights, a rational system of administration to enforce the law and the maintenance of a monetary system that guarantees the value of the currency. In addition, the state plays a specific role in substantively promoting economic expansion in the different stages of capitalist development" (Wolfe;1989,p.110).

Mahon (1979) has suggested that the hegemonic long-term political interests, which have found their concretization within the Canadian Department of Finance - the dominant department of policy determination⁵ - have revolved most generally around the 'health' of the Canadian economy in the maintenance of capitalist relations of production, centred around issues of national unity (p.181). More specifically, Atkinson & Coleman (1989) suggest that, in the post-war period, hegemonic capital has sought to maximize

its particular form of capital through a "vision of economic development based on the export of natural resources and the establishment of a liberalized trading environment (in opposition to an anticipatory industrial policy)" (p.188). The interests of subordinate groups, classes and class fractions of capital have been largely articulated to these dominant interests and incorporated into the state structure through particular accumulation strategies and state projects of economic and political hegemony - most of which have been couched in 'nationalist' ideologies. It is important to stress, however, that such articulation is never permanent, nor transmutable. The agencies of conflicting and competing interests continue to either reproduce, alter or, in some cases, radically change the structures and terms of hegemony. In a strong social formation, competing interests will have little impact. During crisis periods, contradictions become apparent and the reproduction of the social order is threatened by new social forces.

The Canadian State and National Identities

Jenson (1989:1990:1993) has argued that the Canadian state, in contrast to many other developed capitalist states, has been based on a federalist structure revolving around the politics of national, rather than class-based identities.⁶ This nation has been dominated by a complex and conflictual relationship between the provincial, (regional) and federal levels and interests, integrating class and social struggles into this governing relationship. Because of the strength and nature of the dominant class, Canadian politics, both in the state and civil realms, has been largely centred on a hegemonic project of

'Canadian nationalism' rather than class. "Despite the existence of social relations of capital since the late nineteenth century in most of Canada, there has never been a successful nation-wide organization of the working class into its own partisan formation...The language of politics in Canada, and thus the political identities with which Canadians approach politics, have been organized in ethnic terms - the ongoing crisis of Canadian unity" (Albo & Jenson;1989,p.203). It is this language and the language of bi-culturalism (French and English) that has been adopted and has dominated party politics.

In by-passing class conflict at the political level (in the parliamentary system), "the major parties have embraced the view that regional discontent is an obstacle to national development that a country like Canada, with its immense geography and its heterogenous demography, can ill afford...The formation of a national capitalist economy encourages the suppression of ethno-cultural differences and regional tastes and peculiarities" (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.46). Through the federal form, class power has been veiled in the discourse and activities translated to the nation-state in the pursuit of an agenda of accumulation in the interests of business. "(F)ederalism is the process par excellence by which the state can cause itself to be seen as separate from class power"(Legare;1982,p.25).

In embodying the dominant definition of the "national interest", the federal system provides the structural drag within which the executive and the power bloc manoeuvre. Addressing the issues of Quebec (and Quebec nationalism) has been central to this dynamic. These issues have provided perhaps one of the strongest challenges to Canadian

federalism, particularly since the 1960s. Federalism has been the structural mode through which the power bloc and the state have been tenuously unified as the increasingly powerful provincial and regional forces have threatened to de-stabilize, at different times and to varying degrees, the cohesiveness of the federal form, as well as the power bloc. In the hegemonic process of continual negotiation and compromise, these provincial and regional interests have, over time, grown to find greater representation within the state. The bi-national and bi-cultural measures taken by the Trudeau government in the 1970s and early 1980s are examples of this process of amelioration. Similarly, as the provincial states expanded following the war, these smaller sites of power found their representation in new, and increasingly powerful departments and programs such as the Federal-Provincial Relations Office and 'Regional Economic Instruments and Techniques'.

With reference, to Jenson's argument on the powerful ideological role of national identities, we can conclude that, while the state in Canada is a capitalist state, it has not, in its evolution, outwardly operated in terms of capital struggle between dominant and subordinate class forces. "The fordist paradigm (post-war hegemonic project) in Canada was not organized around class-based collective identities...No class compromise was organized *in the party system* between Left and Right parties; its crucial ideological and organizational underpinnings lay elsewhere" (Jenson;1989,p.78). The centrality of national identities and federal institutions to the state structure, then, have been key to its activities in relation to Canadian society. More precisely, the collective national identity that has been engaged by the hegemonic paradigm' has "stressed the commonality of all residents of a large and dispersed country...founded...on emphasizing the differences

between Canada and the U.S. and the role of the state in organizing the nation" (Ibid.,p.81). Into this dominant discourse of nation-building has been integrated the 'general interest' of the hegemonic alliance. With this theoretical understanding of state structures and projects, and with a general account of the nature of hegemony and the power bloc in Canadian society over time, we can turn to the policy-level in considering the ways in which the broadcasting sector has intersected with the state in its evolution.

Broadcasting Policy Environment

Atkinson & Coleman (1989) have suggested that 'policy environment' is dependent upon a) the state structure as it bears upon a sector and, b) the mobilization of producer interests in this sector. This approach is useful for a political economy of Canadian radio broadcasting. To illuminate the ways in which commercial broadcasting has been linked with the state, and how its constituents have mobilized themselves in representation, it is important to first establish the place this sector has held in relation to the power bloc and the hegemonic alliance over time. Although the configuration of broadcasting has been altered in recent years with the significant merger and acquisitions activity that has taken place (and consequently the larger corporate ownership structures), a general picture of the nature of broadcasting capital in the modern era can be presented.

As part of the indigenous corporate environment, modern broadcasting capital has been aligned primarily with the nationalist fraction of the power bloc, under the leadership and authority of finance and resource capital. In some instances, the interests of these

dominant and subordinate fractions have converged, and in some they have been divergent.

As a peripheral segment of capital within the hegemonic alliance, the radio industry has had a history of being relatively active in pressuring the structures of the state. Beginning with its relentless assault on the government regarding the formation of a mixed (public/private) system, private broadcasters have interacted with the state largely through royal commissions, task forces and special committees, and through governing bodies such as the CRBC (Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission) from the 1930s through the 1950s, followed by the BBG (Board of Broadcast Governors). Since 1968, formal interaction has occurred primarily through the regulatory body - the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) - under the authority of the more powerful Department of Communications (DOC) and under the authority of the Governor-in-Council (which oversees budgets, appoints members and occasionally issues directives). Relations with the CRTC have been largely facilitated through briefs submissions and industry/government meetings, as well as through public hearings where broadcasters solicit their interests by 'promoting, opposing or seeking to modify enabling legislation, providing specialized information to the CRTC, representing their specific interests as required by the agency and by liaising with the regulators' (Brown-John; 1981, p.63). Through these processes, policy has been formulated and executed and through these formal channels, broadcasting has been tied to the federal structure and jurisdiction.

To further develop a sense of the relationship between private broadcasters and

the state, we can turn to Coleman (1986) who has suggested that the corporate elite - of which 'group' broadcasters could be considered a part - rely heavily on trade associations in dealing with state officials (clientalism). "Like capitalists, these officials prefer, in some instances, to deal directly with their corporate counterparts; but in many instances, they shun speaking with capitalists individually in favour of doing it collectively" (p.137). In the private sector, broadcasters have a long history of being collectively addressed through the CAB (Canadian Association of Broadcasters). As a pressure group, the members of the CAB "act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest" (Pross,1984,p.287).⁸ In the last two decades, these encounters have occurred most frequently at occasional luncheons and annual association conventions where government members and broadcasters "dialogue". More intensive interactions between government officials and the larger and more powerful private broadcasters and/or their representatives have also been accommodated through closed sessions and interactions with individual broadcast capital representatives.

In order to contend as a powerful player or interest, a sector must hold more than just economic resources or political-elite connections. It must be well-organized to establish a connection between its immediate and narrow interests and the longer-term hegemonic/economic vision and the interest(s) that are key to this vision. To effectively accomplish this, the group must also be relatively cohesive. "Organizational capacity determines the ability of a given force not only to define but also advance its interests in conflict or alliance with other forces. Where competing definitions of what is at issue are possible, the relative organizational capacities of each of the potential forces

determine the face of the issue presented to the state" (Mahon;1984,p.34). While the CAB has a history of internal conflict, particularly between the interests of small and large capital, it has managed to establish itself,⁹ over the long term, as a relatively consistent organization, and has, at times, appropriated the principle of the hegemonic national identity in its representation. This has been translated largely as the public interest/service performed by commercial broadcasters. As Brown-John (1981) has argued, "(a)ll interest and pressure groups seek to create the impression that they represent the public interest" (p.62).

Beyond the collective power of the CAB and the structural nature of its representation, there is also an instrumental dimension to the linkage between the commercial broadcasting sector and the state. In addition to social background overlap between the corporate and state elite, it is not uncommon for industry members to move into government positions and vice versa.¹⁰ Clause 8(1) Pt. II of the 1968 Broadcasting Act states that the Governor-in-Council designates the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Commission (CRTC). These persons are often chosen from the private sector.¹¹ For example, Andre Bureau (a lawyer by profession) moved from president of Telemedia to the head of the CRTC in 1983. Senator Michael Pitfield, head of the powerful Privy Council became director and vice-chair of the Power Corporation following his tenure in politics. Jeanne Sauve moved from the private broadcasting sector to become Communications Minister in the 1970s. Dr. Pierre Camu, president of the CAB for four years (1973-1977), became chair of the CRTC in 1977 (much to the outrage of the NDP, a number of unions and other public groups). Harry Boyle similarly moved from the

private sector to chair the CRTC in the 1970s. In moving from the public to the private sector, Ernest Steele - having served senior positions in the Department of Finance and the Treasury board, and as a member of the Fowler Committee in the 1960s - became president of the CAB in 1977. Don Jamieson, station owner and past president of the CAB was Minister of Transport in the early 1970s and, in 1989, Michel Tremblay moved from director of television policies at the CRTC to directing radio membership at the CAB (Davis;1989b,p.11).

A suggestion made by the chair of the CRTC to a CAB annual convention in 1983 revealed the structural leaks within the "independent" regulatory agency, suggesting its susceptibility to the personal influence of certain broadcasters. According to the Dr. John Meisel, the "well-connected and prosperous applicants (broadcasters) enjoy more privileges and greater access to the CRTC" (Broadcaster;November,1983,p.11). This influence was further evidenced by Flora MacDonald three years later when, as Minister of Communications, she addressed a CAB meeting with this message; "I've already said to some of you personally how vital I consider your input...We cannot implement, nor would we even conceive of implementing, major broadcasting changes without your participation" (Lavers & Ashley;1986,p.7).

These examples indicate the ways in which broadcasters intervene or impact on the state and its representatives. However, what is equally significant is the means by which the state intervenes in the activities of radio broadcasters. In Canada, the primary mode of intervention into broadcasting has historically been regulation. Regulatory agencies such as the CRTC, bound by specific mandates embodied within broadcasting

policy, have emerged for purposes of negotiating the conflicts within the broadcasting environment where, in a process similar to that of the regular state administrative structure, they have operated to "simultaneously represent the interests of the regulated and to subordinate their interests to the long-term political interests of the hegemonic fraction" (Mahon;1979,p.174).

Theorizing Regulatory Agencies

In an analysis of the Canadian textile industry, Mahon (1979) suggested an interesting approach for examining regulatory agencies, one which is both consistent with the Gramscian understanding of the state and useful for the study of broadcasting. Under certain circumstances in the development of capitalism, Mahon argues, there are moments when the extension of the 'authority' of the state is necessary in order to regulate conflict which cannot be adequately resolved through the normal authoritative structures. When a compromise cannot be successfully negotiated in the face of a challenge by subordinate forces or of antagonism between different fractions of capital, conflict "can be more easily dealt with by establishing an 'independent' agency -- one apparently insulated from partisan politics and the regular administrative apparatus which reflects the existing structure of legal rights" (Ibid.,p.175). Independent bodies that are 'open' to competing private inputs are established. The authority of these agencies is specifically linked to their ability to make what are perceived to be 'politically neutral' technical judgements (Ibid.,p.174).

Just as the larger state apparatus is only relatively autonomous from the fundamental interests of the hegemonic fraction, so too are there structural limitations to the activities of regulatory agencies. Through a variety of mechanisms concretely established within the state structure - the particular procedural rules, terms of reference and mandate of regulatory bodies, the appointment of select commissioners and agency members¹² and the position of the agency within the state hierarchy (Ibid.,p.176) - the actions of the regulatory agency are subordinated to the general state 'bias' where they tend to correspond with the long-term interests of the capitalist economy and hegemony. For the regulatory body which is subordinated to the 'general' interest, the task is to regulate the industry of concern so that the agency represents the interests of a specific fraction of capital, such as commercial broadcasting, while simultaneously regulating it to the interests of the hegemonic fraction, a subordination which occurs in a complex way (Ibid.). "Essentially...the task is a management process - the management of interest reconciliation within a bureaucratic structure" (Brown-John;1981,p.198).

Regulation and Property Rights

To continue with Mahon's conception, regulatory agencies arise as an extension of the state 'authority' necessary to regulate exceptional conflicts which cannot be resolved through the normal state structures. What is distinctive about these conflicts is that they "involve the general rights of property which, in certain exceptional instances, conflict with the political interests of the hegemonic fraction" (Ibid.,p.175). With

reference to Marchak's (1989) organizing focus on 'property rights' in the study of political economy in general, the concept of property, then, can be centred in the political economy of private broadcasting with respect to issues of power and control of the medium. Clement (1983) states that "(p)roperty is a social creation (*jure humano*) that orders and maintains specific relations between people. It is not, as it is used in an everyday sense, what is owned (or an object) but the rights attached to ownership; specifically, it is the right to control the use or benefit to which ownership is put" (p.212). The capitalist state creates and grants rights to private interests, regulating access to property.

Since broadcasting began in Canada, the radio airwaves have been designated a 'limited natural resource' by the state. As a natural resource, like any other, they are a form of property. The struggles within broadcasting and the emergence of regulation have revolved around property issues of access and control. More specifically, the airwaves became an issue of property control in combination with technological development (radio transmission and reception capabilities) which required "access" and a system of control and management. In the 1920s, conflict arose over the confusion surrounding the rights to airwave access that the governing Department of Marine and Fisheries was not equipped to deal with. In conflict were the narrow competing interests of private capital, the challenge by subordinate and/or minority groups and the larger Canadian nationalist interests of unity as expressed by the economic, political and intellectual elite. It was this fundamental conflict over property access which led to the formation of broadcasting's initial regulatory body, the CRBC, in 1932. Since then,

issues related to 'property' have continued to resurface as radio broadcasting and broadcast technology have evolved and as society has changed. The result has been successive regulatory agencies and broadcasting acts which have been renegotiated and reinstated to deal with these pressures over the years (see Appendix 3). While the state has continued to officially define the airwaves as a 'natural resource' for Canadians, in reality it has created 'public' and private rights with different conditions of exchange attached, conditions that emerge from both the larger balance of power and from the historically 'biased' state structure. Property, then, lies as the nucleus of the broadcasting system. Its social definitions, rights and conditions represent the core of analysis.

Cultural regulation has historically been the connective point between the economic forces of private radio enterprises and the larger cultural, economic and political forces of Canadian society. The interaction between these dimensions has defined the economic, political and cultural nature of commercial radio broadcasting in the modern era. With this conceptual framework, the next part of this study involves moving towards a more detailed examination of the dynamic evolution of commercial radio over the modern period, beginning with an account of the forces and events that led to the creation of the 1968 Broadcasting Act and the formation of the CRTC.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR

1. Neilson & Jackson (1991) have also suggested that, "(m)uch to Quebec's incredulity...there has never been a homogeneous 'English-Canadian' culture. Rather, our (?) sense of culture has been and continues to be either abstractly and officially pan-canadian/cosmopolitan or concretely local; that is, regional" (p.281).
2. While insightful works by; Schiller (1969), Murdock & Golding (1973,1977), Connell (1976), Westergaard (1977), Smythe (1977), Gitlin (1982) and Berland (1992), have been useful for highlighting the dynamics of capitalism as it intersects with communications media - there is a need to move beyond the limitations of these studies which have searched for the answers to questions of power mainly through analyses of ownership and control.
3. However, as her more recent work (following Jessop) makes very clear, the strategic and structural 'selectivity' of the state is, in a sense, an "ideal type". That is, it cannot be pre-determined that the interests of dominant forces will be guaranteed in state activity and strategies. "While they do constitute a real, material barrier to the successful pursuit of projects that go against the grain, they are nonetheless vulnerable to strategies that are based on an accurate reading of the existing terrain and prepared to exploit the margin of manoeuvre thus entailed" (Mahon;1991,p.137).
4. Jessop does point to the tautological tendency here of stipulating long-term general interests and suggests it is problematic. They are not given and must be specifically determined for particular historical conjunctures (1990,p.203).
5. "Within the Canadian state, the Department of Finance occupied a central role from the outset. It evolved as a centre for co-ordinating government policy as a result of its minister's critical position in the financial committee of Cabinet concerned with the allocation of resources among government departments...Given the importance of public finance for the creation of a transportation infrastructure during the formative stages of Canadian economic development, it is not surprising to find the Department of Finance at the centre of the state bureaucracy" (Wolfe;1989,p.108-109).
6. According to Jenson (1989), the struggles over national identities in Canada have effectively eclipsed the formation of the class-based political parties and politics that have characterized much of Europe. Instead, the

ideological, discursive and organizational underpinnings of Canadian political and economic social order lay with the identity of the nation and the institutions of federalism (p.78).

7. Jenson defines a paradigm as a "set of interconnected premises which make sense of or give meaning to many social relations...If it is a paradigm which results from a social compromise, it can be termed 'hegemonic' in Gramsci's sense, because it constitutes a kind of explanation of the world at the level of common sense as well as in formal theory" (Jenson;1989,p.74).
8. The CAB was originally formed in 1926 for purposes of representing private radio broadcasters in negotiations over issues of music copywriting.
9. The CAB had a long history of divisiveness, much of it related to the differing interests between small, medium and large-market operations. In the last several years, however, the organization has become more unified as corporate capital has come to dominate radio broadcasting across markets.
10. Contrary to Brown-John's assertion that "unlike American regulators, there appears to be little career mobility from regulatory agencies to regulated industries in Canada" (1981,p.204).
11. "If regulatory agency members come from outside the public services, there are two basic channels to membership...One is through an interest group connection. The second is via political connections (Brown-John;1981,p.125).
12. Brown-John's investigation of regulatory agencies (including the CRTC) revealed that members are generally persons in mid-to-late career, often bringing with them experience in a profession (ie., business or law), and or the government and in an area within which they function as a regulator. They are predominantly male, well-educated and are well-connected business-wise, professionally and socially (1981,pp.111-116). "Ministers, ever responsible to the public through legislatures and the media, must be certain that their senior officials (regulators)...are reliable, stable, predictable and empathetic. They cannot afford the luxury of regulatory agency members who would disagree openly with government policy as set forth in agency enabling legislation or ministerial memos and directives (Ibid.,p.124).

CHAPTER FIVE
THE EMERGENCE OF REGULATION IN THE MODERN ERA

I. The Pre-Modern Years

In order to grasp the political economy of modern Canadian commercial radio broadcasting, it is necessary to understand not only the nature of the structures governing the medium (and the active role of various forces that have altered those structures over time), but to give an historical perspective as to how those particular structures came to be. The history of this cultural sector reveals fairly well delineated phases in the state-mediated evolution of commercial broadcasting. These phases were determined by a number of factors, the most significant of which included the relative power of various broadcasting interests and the state agenda in conjunction with the political, economic and social climate at a given time. The first phase coincides approximately with the inter-war years, while the second phase emerged during the post-war period. Each is broadly associated with particular periods of hegemonic domination.

The Birth of Commercial Radio in an Era of 'Independence'

The inter-war years were a period of relative independence for Canada as British ties were becoming increasingly severed and connections with the United States had yet to be fully established. As Canadian finance capital strengthened its position, the Canadian government was driven into conditions of economic protectionism (Brodie & Jenson;1980,p.157), as unprecedented state intervention was undertaken not only economically, but in social and cultural forms.¹ As a part of this intervention, the

government launched a strong anti-socialist ideological campaign to fight the crisis in the legitimacy of capitalism brought about by the massive social dislocation. 'Canadian nationalism' was to play a large part in this ideological push by the state. In order to unite a fragmented and fragile economy and political constituency, Canadian nationalism was used to bridge not only the classes and social strata, but the tenuous federal-provincial alliance. It was within this circumstance that broadcasting regulation was born, as the rapidly consolidating pro-nationalist and pro-public radio forces merged with the government to intervene in the world of broadcasting.

For the better part of its first decade, private radio in Canada underwent rapid and largely unchecked expansion. By the end of the 1920s, the progression of the system began to falter, exposing a wealth of problems and issues for both the radio business and the government which had, until that point, reacted to the growth of broadcasting on an ad-hoc basis. As confusion and conflict over access to, and control of the airwaves grew, awareness of not only the commerce, but of the political power of radio, added to the chaos within the broadcasting environment. The creation of the Aird Commission in 1928 signalled rising concern over the direction unregulated broadcasting was taking. The endless battles that were soon to be fought between a variety of social groups over the development and control of the medium were testament to the increase in its (real or perceived) significance. The central struggle between private and public sector supporters, which was to dominate broadcasting's agenda for the next several decades, first emerged at this time.

Despite the 1926 formation of a representative trade organization, the CAB,

private broadcasters in this country lacked the organization, resources and influence to hold much political or economic sway over broadcasting direction and policy. With their still only marginal economic and political clout, private broadcasters were both unprepared and unequalled to the powers of the public force (through the CRL), which proved to be more successful in effecting broadcasting policy. The outcome of their initial struggle - the formation of the CRBC (later to become the CBC) and the relegation of commercial radio to a secondary and supposedly temporary position within the broadcasting system² - was the result of not only strong organization and influential and well-connected members, but of the ability of the CRL to articulate its concerns with the longer-term interests of the political leadership through a Canadian nationalist argument. This strategy was especially effective during this time of heightened Canadian nationalism and nationalization.³

The powerful influence of the League was evident in the focus on national unity reaffirmed by the extraordinary, almost unanimous, support for public broadcasting by both Liberals and Conservatives. Despite the free enterprise determination of men such as R.B. Bennett (millionaire lawyer who became Prime Minister), there appeared to be, during that period, a fervent interest across a wide variety of political and social groups in developing radio as a mechanism for political unity under a common identity.

The appeal for the promotion and preservation of national identity and unity through public broadcasting was of great interest to the government and was congruent with the state agenda, which at that point was still connected to the initiatives of the National Policy. The powerful influence of Canada's political and economic leadership

on the development of the Canadian broadcasting system was evident throughout this initial phase of radio history. The 1928 appointment of Sir John Aird, President of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, as chairman of the country's first Royal Commission on radio broadcasting, laid bare the intimate ties between the state, the dominant powers and broadcasting interests. As Canadian financial capital dominated the power bloc, Aird's appointment reflected both the significance of the burgeoning medium to Canadian development, and the influence of hegemonic interests on that growth. With a broad mandate to consider the manner in which the available channels could be most effectively used in the interests of Canadian listeners and in the 'national interest' of Canada (Peers;1969,p.38), the Aird Commission concluded that broadcasting in Canada should be publicly owned and operated by a national company that covered the population geographically with a limited amount of advertising.

In the first pre-war phase, then, the balance of power in relation to broadcasting, as mediated by the 'biased' state, did not appear to favour commercial interests. It was unclear whether private radio, with its preponderance of American content and limited geographical coverage, could contribute in any significant way to national unity or identity which, at that time, was critical to the larger national(ist) project. Also, private broadcasters were not organized well enough to articulate their narrow interests to these larger interests. Similarly, they had yet to make the in-roads into the corporate and state elite that they would in future years. As a result, nationalist interests found stronger representation in terms of broadcast policies, and in the creation of the CBC. These events were significant during this gestation period of the broadcasting system, and were

to create the framework from within which the system was to be governed for years to come.

Despite all of this support for public broadcasting and the timely relevance of a nationalist position, the full subordination of privates to secondary and temporary status was not realized. Although the policy of the government of the day had given primacy to a public system, the contradictions within the state itself - and amongst those in the capitalist camp who supported the idea of nationalization in the long-term interests of national stability - eventually yielded the forceful re-emergence of the private sector. Although those that championed public radio had appeared to wholeheartedly endorse a fully nationalized system, in actual fact, the seeds of privatization had laid within their recommendations and ultimately, within the state policy that was to emerge in the Broadcasting Act of 1932. What is most clear in reconsidering this movement is that, while it may have appeared as a cohesive movement of 'Canadian nationalism' - supported by not only the political, intellectual and business elite, but by labour and various alternative social groups - it was not, in the end, a united or solid political movement. The gulf between its socialist and capitalist constituents and the biases of the state were evident in the contradictions that finally precluded a fully nationalized system. The capitalist tendencies of many of the public radio supporters eventually seeped into government policy.

For instance, one of Aird's chief reasons for supporting the idea of a nationalized broadcasting system was based on the fact that he simply did not believe that an adequate broadcasting service could be achieved solely through the revenue of broadcast stations

operating for profit (Peers;1969,p.80). Similarly, R.B. Bennett who, in 1932 had so passionately argued for public ownership of broadcasting, began to question his temporary departure from the private enterprise line when, in 1934, he realized that parts of Western Canada were being very poorly served by the national service. In a letter written to the Minister of Marine, "Bennett's solution to the problem came straight out of his entrepreneurial past. He claimed that 'the fear of what the Radio Commission may do prevents people with money from making any investment' (and he asked the Minister) if there was any way 'in which you can assure me some degree of security to the man who invests his capital?'" (Nolan;1978,p.11). Even the Canadian Radio League itself suggested that perhaps the proposed single national system might accommodate some privately owned short-range local broadcasting stations (Peers;1969,p.66). It also insisted that the national company not be simply a government department, but be "vested with powers of private enterprise and functions of the public utility" (Ibid.). In fact, in a revealing letter written by Spry to the CAB in 1932, what becomes apparent is that the public radio campaign was far from anti-private business. "There could be a national program building organization under private enterprise" he stated, "which would organize sustaining programs and make them available to the different stations. These programs could be offered to every station and would help to increase the amount of Canadian broadcasting. Or the total amount might be distributed to the different stations for their own purposes, being in effect a subsidy to those who have pioneered radio development in Canada" (Allard;1976,p.12).

This appeal to various privately based arrangements clearly indicates that, despite the

enormous struggle to create and execute an English-Canadian nationalist and nationalized vision, commercial forces were still viable in principle and in practice.⁴ That great consideration was still given to private broadcasting, in the face of a powerful surge of support for a public service, is testament also to the contradictory nature of the Canadian state at that time. Although the state project of national unity was foremost on the political agenda, it must not be forgotten that, underlying that project, was the particular economic system that required such unity - a capitalist enterprise system. In this sense, complete nationalization of an already established commercial sector would have run contrary to the essence of a capitalist state.

Along with these contradictions - which provided the window of vulnerability for private broadcasters to push ahead - a number of factors over the years served to increase the standing of the private sector within the broadcasting system. One of the reasons that private stations were never appropriated for public or national purposes was the inability of the public sector to adequately provide the service it was mandated to provide. In 1936 a new Broadcasting Act and the CBC were brought in following four years of deficient funding, confusion and general dissatisfaction with the original commission - the CRBC. Interestingly, a lack of funds had forced the CRBC, and later the CBC, to rely on the affiliated services of private radio stations in extending national coverage. This reliance, along with weak regulatory enforcement of the increasingly popular private sector, served to strengthen the position of private broadcasting within the system rather than gradually phase it out as had been intended in the scheme of nationalization.⁵

Throughout the 1940s, commercial broadcasters, through the CAB, geared up a

powerful lobby, not only for a stronger position within the broadcasting system, but for independent regulation of both sides of the system. The CBC, they claimed, was their competitor and it was therefore unfair that it could also be their regulator. Numerous Parliamentary broadcasting committees in the 1940s provided a continual forum for the privates to express their wishes (Crean;1976,p.37). Working from this position, the CAB, with the support of two major advertising associations, began to put forth their own interpretation of the Broadcasting Act and slowly tried to change the terms of the debate. At this point they had claimed to accept a single-system structure and "the principle of public broadcasting, but only for the purpose of correcting the deficiencies of commercial broadcasting by providing the programs and the nation-wide distribution that commercial broadcasters could not" (Ibid.,p.36). Of course, pro-public forces were still in dispute with the CAB over which sector was to prevail, but the terms of the old debate were slowly being re-cast by the elaborate efforts of private broadcasters. "For a long time the lobby for commercial broadcasting was totally eclipsed by strong public opinion favouring public radio. But by persistently chipping away at ambivalences in policies and attitudes it slowly gained ground" (Ibid.,p.38).

The Post-War Shift: Commercial Broadcasting Gains Ground

Following the Second World War, the balance of power within the broadcasting environment was to shift. This shift corresponded, to a great extent, with the restructuring of the Canadian economy and the power bloc during the post-war period. A

sizeable increase in the presence of American interests and influence led to the transformation of the hegemonic alliance as Canadian finance capital re-aligned itself with American investment capital.⁶ Multinational corporations located themselves primarily within the resource and manufacturing sectors, consolidating the existing branch-plant character of industrialization in this country, and modifying the existing east-west structure of Canada's economy to favour a new north-south network (Smythe;1982,p.101). Although foreign control grew rapidly during this period, the Canadian bourgeoisie was not eclipsed by these powers. The new continentalist class structure integrated monopolistic Canadian finance capital into the cross-national network where it was to maintain a larger degree of influence and dominance, especially in its traditional stronghold, the service sector (Ibid.,p.220).

As the dominant fraction of the hegemonic alliance pursued relations with its American counterparts, the development strategy of continentalism was embraced by the state, particularly continentalists such as C.D. Howe, who was to be influential in developing policy throughout this time. During this re-organization, "(t)he Canadian bourgeoisie understood this strategy of growth and involved the state in creating the necessary conditions for its unfolding and for dealing with political movements that might interfere with continental economic integration" (Ibid.,p.221). With this change in tone came a new conceptualization of the 'national interest'. In contrast to the pre-war period, post-war strategy turned from the necessity of achieving economic independence to the 'internationalization' of the Canadian economy. A new development strategy was adopted..."which was no longer based on a fear of integration with Americans" (Brodie

& Jenson;1980,p.220). As Poulantzas has argued, however, "internationalization of the market of capital does nothing to reduce the peculiar weight of the national" (1978;p.97). With this in mind, it is easier to comprehend the complexities of 'Canadian nationalism' and its implications for both dominant and subordinate forces as it assumed a new character in this era of continentalism.

In conjunction with the structural re-organization within the state and bourgeoisie, a social re-structuring was occurring within society. High employment, the rise of the middle class and a stimulated economy brought an increase in affluence to much of the country. With this came a corresponding growth in consumerism, advertising and an overall sense of the legitimization of capitalism. These conditions - along with technological improvements in radio receiver and broadcast equipment - led to the rapid expansion of private radio in terms of advertising potential and popularity. The interests of commercial broadcasters, it seemed, fit well with both consumerism and continentalism.

After the war there was an official decision to approve an increase in the number of private and unaffiliated stations, producing "an ever increasing number of small, local, community radio stations" (Jamieson;1966,p.184). The popularity of local broadcasting made the possibility of nationalization less likely. The struggle came to a head in the late 1940s when the CBC, reverting to the initial guidelines in the Broadcasting Act, attempted to recover three channels from the private stations that occupied them at the time (Ellis;1979,p.26). A major outcry from owners, the CAB and the conservative press - warning of the end of free speech and enterprise - lead instead to a mere

reallocation to different frequencies for these stations, as well as a license to increase power. With this new strength, the CAB launched an all-out publicity campaign to win the support of politicians, the press and the general public in calling for a complete re-evaluation of broadcasting policy and the withdrawal of regulatory powers from the CBC (Hindley, et al.;1977,p.60).

In the process of articulating their specific interests to those of the larger political agenda, which still retained much of the 'Canadian nationalism' rhetoric, private broadcasters managed to couch their desires in the liberal ideology of the time - one based upon freedom of speech in a capitalist democracy. Faced once again with conflict centring primarily around airwave access, the government in 1949 - responding to the prolonged attacks made by the CAB and growing divisions between political parties over the role of private broadcasters - sought the aid of a Royal Commission to inquire into broadcasting and culture in this country.

Much to the dismay of commercial broadcasters, the Massey Commission responded strongly against their claims and interests, re-affirming Aird's recommendations. This conclusion, however, was not simply a rejection of the notion of commercial domination of the airwaves in favour of nationalized ownership. It was tied into the nature of the study itself and those who had conducted it. The Massey Report, in responding to its mandate to focus upon culture in Canada was largely concerned with the idea of cultural 'taste'. So, although the Report seemed to have adopted the arguments for a national public system, its conclusions were based more on an elitist distrust of American entertainment and 'mass' culture rather than a simple

rejection of profit-oriented broadcasting. Not surprisingly, this inquiry was unable to resolve the major contradictions and conflicts within broadcasting which revolved around state-controlled property rights.

In order to address the increased pressure from the private sector, along with the rapid technological change that was colouring the broadcasting field, the Fowler Royal Commission was appointed by the government in 1955. The head of this Commission, Robert Fowler, was president of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, an association representing the interests of the resource sector, a fundamental component of the hegemonic alliance in this post-war stage. (Fowler had also worked for the C.D. Howe Institute.) Once again, the interconnectedness between broadcasting and the larger powers, via the state, were laid clear. Although the conclusions reached by the Commission reiterated the significance of a Canadian broadcasting system, new ideas were put forward which could be attributed to the power of the private sector throughout this period, as well as the influence of Fowler and the social conditions of the times. In addition to reaffirming the guaranteed continuation of private ownership within broadcasting in Canada, acknowledging for the first time that "private broadcasters (were) an integral part of a single system" (Babe;1979,p.17), the Commission made an adjustment in the dual functions of the CBC as operator and regulator and proposed that the regulatory role be dropped and that authority reassigned (to what was to be the Board of Broadcast Governors - BBG). In the end, though, the Fowler Committee had advised that, in the continuing struggle between the public and private sectors "the interests of the CBC were to prevail".

Fuelled by greater economic possibilities and a weakening pro-public support, private broadcasters once again pumped up their campaign and mobilized their alliances, appealing to a fragile regulatory agency with a confused mandate and a biased board. Raboy (1990) has argued that...the "most important influence on the changing balance of power in Canadian broadcasting during this period was the complicity of the BBG with the interests of private broadcasters" (p.151). They were further helped along by the Liberal election in the early 1960s which saw J.W. Pickersgill assigned as Secretary of State, a ministerial position responsible, at the time, for broadcasting. "A consummate politician, Pickersgill possessed the qualities to be described by some cabinet colleagues as 'the champion of private broadcasters' while appearing in public as a friend of public broadcasting" (Ibid.,p.157). Thus, while lip service continued to be paid to a single, publicly-owned national system, the reality was that commercial radio had become a permanent and influential fixture in Canada.

During the years between the establishment of the Fowler Committee and the passing of the new Broadcasting Act of 1968, private broadcasters found increasing representation through government structures. Pickersgill's influence had brought the sector fully into the policy realm where Don Jamieson, the aggressive head of the CAB, became an equal member of a 'tripartite' committee - along with a representative of the BBG and one from the CBC - to create a report indicating where consensus between the three interests (note the exclusion of the 'public') could be reached. Jamieson's impact was evident in the slightly altered wording of Fowler's recommendations that was ultimately to be embedded in legislation. No longer was the national service to "prevail"

in cases of conflict. Instead, the 1968 Broadcasting Act read: "in the event of conflict between the public and private elements **paramount consideration** shall be given to the objectives of the national service" (Broadcasting Act;1968,Pt 1,2(h)). The nationalist rhetoric remained intact, yet subtle structural mechanisms were slowly entrenching the rights of commercial broadcasters to the 'private' ownership of 'public' airwaves. Ultimately "the private broadcasters were able to make their system (symbolic universe) stick, and this allowed them to alter the very conception of broadcasting, and thus its role within Canada" (Fortner;1988-89,p.83). However, the heightened sense of nationalism during this time cannot be understated in terms of its effect on the formation of broadcasting policy.

In the early period of conflict between the public and private sectors over property 'rights', then, the well-organized public broadcasting representatives (mainly the Canadian Radio League) had been a more powerful force, having the economic resources and widespread support of not only a large membership, but of much of the corporate 'public' and of the political parties. In conjunction with this support, the CRL was able to articulate its concerns to those of the hegemonic leadership through its appeal for the promotion and preservation of national unity and identity through public broadcasting. The shifting balance of power after the war, however, found that while commercial broadcasting was still incapable of satisfactorily developing a Canadian identity or national cohesion, it was becoming remarkably profitable - playing a valuable role in the reproduction of capitalist relations in Canada in the new consumer society. As a result, commercial broadcasters were more effective in articulating their profit-oriented interests

to those of the post-war alliance than they had been in the first phase of broadcasting history. The 'national interest' could be more generally interpreted in economic, rather than purely political and cultural terms. And 'Canadian nationalism' could be more narrowly interpreted in symbolic terms. As a result, property rights were further secured for the privates.

After forty years of negotiation between the state, the narrow sectoral interests of private broadcasters and those supporting a public system, a compromise was established in the form of the 1968 Broadcasting Act and the creation of the CRTC, the regulatory agency which was empowered with the authority to implement and enforce this policy. This compromise embodied the contradictions of the original nationalist agenda as it was modified by the circumstances and influence of both the private and public forces. No longer were commercial broadcasters assumed to be only filling in the gaps left by the national public service. In fact, quite to the contrary, the public system, it had been argued, had come to be seen as largely compensating for the inadequacies in the service provided by private broadcasters (Salter; 1988, p.232). The public system that evolved by the 1960s had been greatly shaped by the private sector. Similarly, the public purpose placed on commercial broadcasting was the result of the goals of those within and without the state that favoured nationalization. Above the relative victories and defeats of both the public and private forces, was the larger question of political, economic and cultural control, wherein the issues of broadcasting development were effectively banished from the public's power. "They were issues to be solved by more organized and significant entities: the broadcasting industry and the government's own established broadcasting

entities" (Fortner; 1988-89, p.93-94).

II. Turning Into the Modern Era: The Framework of a Regulatory Structure

The Context of the 1968 Act

In the years just prior to the institution of the Broadcasting Act and the CRTC, the country was poised on the crest of the pending crisis which was to take hold in the 1970s as Canada began to emerge from post-war Fordism and the wealth, population growth and urban increase it had brought with it. The conditions that had helped the country to create this prosperity - an expanded state sector, growing domination of a handful of multinational corporations, higher wages and an increased reliance on American demand of resources and investment and employment (in manufacturing) (Brodie & Jenson; 1980, p.263-264) - were ultimately the conditions that were to lead to its decline. Yet, in the 1960s, few people could know what changes were waiting beyond the horizon

As Quebec began to break free from the church, embracing modernization in the larger context of growing unemployment and regional disparity, bicultural politics which the major parties had long used to their advantage rose to the fore in contestation of decades of federal and English domination. The Quiet Revolution and the national consciousness it had helped to create had served to draw broadcasting even further into the political maelstrom of Canadian life. The CBC - both French and English - became,

in many ways, the focus of turmoil over bi-culturalism, bi-nationalism and labour unrest. Through the explosive Radio-Canada strike of 1958-59, the corporate and seemingly self-interested nature of Canada's public broadcaster was brought into question, along with the concepts of "public" and "national" (Raboy;1990,Ch.4).

While the roots of the Quiet Revolution steadily grew in Quebec, a "pan-Canadian nationalism which rejected American dominance of the country's economic, political and cultural life also began to gather some force" (Brodie & Jenson;1984,p.217). Throughout this period, Canadian nationalism was appropriated by a variety of players for disparate purposes. Diefenbaker led the Conservatives in 1958 with a populist agenda revolving around strong rhetoric of 'national unity' and a confused notion of developing a nation of two nations. On the left, a new political alliance based on an analysis of capitalism which demanded 're-nationalization' took hold (Brodie & Jenson;1980,p.216). This 'new left' movement favoured an alliance between nationalists and socialists in the fight for survival against external threats (Ibid.,p.281). Between 1963 and 1967, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism attempted to create a sense of national unity through legislated bilingual and bicultural structures. Then, by 1968, Trudeau won the place of power for the Liberals through a campaign of uniting Quebec and Canada as one nation. "The 1968 campaign revolved around Trudeau, with few issues besides his leadership and his ability to defend federalism in the face of growing demands for greater autonomy in Quebec capturing the electorate's attention" (Ibid.,p.290). The threat of Quebec then, served to further strengthen the needs of the economic and political leadership to try to create national cohesion.

It was within this context of political culture that private radio broadcasters attained the place in the broadcasting system that they have held throughout the modern era. Riding in large part upon the opportunities provided by the Conservative government of the late 1950s (Raboy;1990,p.137), the problems of the regulatory BBG, and the boost given to the CAB through the popularity of television (which largely overlapped in its interests and representation within the organization), private broadcasters were able to secure themselves economically, as well as through increased government representation. Throughout the 1960s, the unrest characterizing the political life of the country was also being lived out in the debates over the direction that the broadcasting system appeared to be taking, one which, mainly due to the new televisual medium, was once again succumbing to corporate concentration and American influence (Ibid.,p.145). While prospects for television were in many respects exciting, concern over their social and political effects further enhanced the conflict over broadcasting regulation (Bird;1988,p.373).⁷

It was at this point that the contradictions between the longer-term political visions and the shorter-term economic interests of segments of the power bloc came into evidence through the activities of the state. Private broadcasters had grown much more powerful throughout the 1950s and 1960s, yet this growth was checked by the larger social order in which Quebec unrest (along with the rise of more general social unrest) was threatening to de-stabilize English Canadian dominance, bringing to the fore of state involvement a renewed need for national unity and a single Canadian 'public'. At this time the federal government instigated a federal cultural policy to shore up Canadian

nationalism in the fight against Quebec. According to Raboy (1990), the Liberals had adopted a strategy for apprehending the national crisis: "it would use cultural policy as an instrument for keeping the country together. Under this strategy, federal cultural policy would be built around broadcasting, and the key institution to implement that policy would be the CBC" (p.138). It was in this context that the CBC was to retain much of its power in the face of the expanding private sector, whether or not it would be capable of uniting an increasingly fragmented and discontented populous.

What was distinct about the nationalism(s) of this era was the emphasis on symbolism. The powerful pro-continentalist forces and their economic strategy made any substantive threat to this path of development untenable. As a result, the struggle over nationalism was fought more in cultural and symbolic, rather than economic terms. The struggle to define and pursue the concept of 'Canadian nationalism' intensified as changes in the social structure shook the foundations of the social order. In this respect, the broadcasting realm, which had traditionally embodied the discourse of 'Canadian nationalism', became a focal point for the dominant forces, subordinate groups and the state itself. It was in this atmosphere of continentalist/Canadian nationalist/Quebec nationalist tension that the eventual state compromise in the conflict between public and private broadcasting was established in 1968. The result was a qualitative change in the nature of regulation. What occurred was a regulatory shift in emphasis from technical and ownership issues to a concern with content. As the balance of power within broadcasting was transferred more and more to commercial radio, the regulation of private broadcasters acquired this new form. The formal acceptance of the private sector

in broadcasting implied more than just the dominance of commercialism. It also meant the acceptance of a preponderance of American content on Canadian airwaves. The economic necessity of private radio and television operations to both reduce programming costs and increase listenership compelled these enterprises to import a large amount of American programming. (And in terms of the recording of Canadian music, the market here was just too small to sustain the production costs.) With the entrenchment of commercialism, concern over foreign content grew, leading to a re-evaluation of the rights and privileges of private broadcasting.

The 1968 'Compromise' and the Emergence of Regulation for the Modern Era

The Broadcasting Act of 1968 was the document that governed commercial radio broadcasting throughout the modern era. It was the framework for regulation. Embodied in its text was the compromise established by the state following decades of struggle between competing forces in the broadcasting environment. This compromise also held the contradictions and conflicts of hegemony as they had been played out on the terrain of Canadian broadcasting. In it was contained the discourse traditions that carried over in broadcasting policy since the 1930s, including the ideology of Canadian nationalism. The (temporary) equilibrium of compromise embedded in the mechanisms of the regulatory agency have provided the structural drag on broadcasting throughout the dynamic evolution of information and leisure technologies and Canadian social, economic and political life in the modern era. 1968, then, represents an historical juncture at which

to set up analysis of the political economy of modern commercial radio broadcasting.

Although it was Canada's fourth, the 1968 Broadcasting Act was the most detailed, comprehensive and definitive piece of legislation introduced since broadcasting had begun. The most significant changes in the Act were: the first formal entrenchment of the rights of private broadcasters in a system of public and private elements, the shift to greater content regulation (rather than just technical control) and, the order that Canadian broadcasting "should be effectively owned and controlled by Canadians" (Broadcasting Act;1968,Pt.1,2(a)), which led to the 1969 directive from cabinet for foreign divestiture (to 20% foreign control). Brought in at the beginning of a tremendous wave of change in the broadcast landscape, it was the Act which was also to introduce what was to be broadcasting's most powerful and effective regulatory agency - the CRTC. The mandate of the CRTC was to create a more powerful federal regulatory agency that could not only effectively manage both the CBC and the private sector in the Canadian 'public' interest, but address the mammoth issue of technological change which was looming at that time.

In the end, the CRTC did emerge as an authoritative body, and was to become one of the larger and more complex of less than a dozen federal regulatory agencies in Canada (Brown-John;1981,p.88). Its functional processes were to include policy advice, administration and enforcement. Guided legally and philosophically by the Broadcasting Act, the agency was to interact with the government in furthering broadcasting issues. Advice from those who had more expertise in the area to the ministers responsible for broadcasting, became an integral part of the regulatory process and a connective point

between the agency and the larger state structure.⁴ Brown-John has summarized the relationship between a regulatory agency and Cabinet as two-way, wherein 'the agency receives policy directives upon which it bases its adjudicative and administrative operations and by which the agency members give advice to Cabinet by either their own initiative or by the request of Cabinet' (1981,p.72).

One rein on the relative independence of the CRTC from government and political influence has been the condition that, in some circumstances, the agency must respond to orders from the Governor-in-Council - a directive which has, especially in recent years, altered the structural nature of the regulation of the broadcasting system. "The multiple facts that ministers collectively approve policies creating and mandating regulatory agencies and regulatory policies; that ministers select the members of such agencies and arrange for their formal appointments by the Crown; that ministers are responsible, ultimately, for policies and budgets of regulatory agencies before parliamentary committees; and that ministers may be appealed to as a final resort by persons or groups aggrieved by an agency; all seriously challenge the mythology of regulatory agency independence in Canada" (Ibid.,p.195). Similarly, the fact that the CRTC is obliged to 'interpret' the Broadcasting Act suggests that it is more variable in its activities than the formal structures imply. For example, the way the agency chooses to interpret and define the 'public interest' has varied over time. Such variations have significant policy implications. The regulatory system should be seen then, more as a structural variable rather than a constant or a given where policies and rules may be, in a broad sense, in accordance with the Broadcasting Act, but also accommodate the

political, economic and technological climate of the time.

These structural mechanisms - the CRTC and the Broadcasting Act of 1968 - provide the framework for analysis of the modern era. They became the foundation upon which the activities of broadcasting and non-broadcasting forces moved to affect change - and ultimately re-structuration - by the end of the 1980s. As broadcasting entered this third phase framed by new regulatory legislation, how was it drawn into the larger social changes that characterized the next two decades? How did its position within the power bloc become re-situated as the composition of both broadcasting capital and hegemonic capital shifted and, to what extent did the medium itself influence change in the broadcasting world in terms of what it brought to Canadians and in terms of the way it was regulated?

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE

1. First, in response to the civil unrest stemming from widespread unemployment, repressive measures were implemented to maintain order. Second, largely at the urging of some fractions of the bourgeoisie (Brodie & Jenson; 1980, p. 175), social welfare concessions were made in an attempt to ameliorate the desperate conditions of the victims of the Depression.
2. In 1932, the legislation put forward deemed private stations as temporary, to be appropriated by the national company at some future time. They existed, according to the Broadcasting Act, solely to fill in the gaps missed by public broadcasting.
3. In a communication between founding members of the League, the strategy behind the intentional alignment of political support was revealed. "Our principal object is to see that the file Hon. R. B. (Prime Minister Bennett) will consult on his return is full of pro Canadian radio newspaper clippings. We will also see... that the various Ministers know that people throughout the Dominion 'are viewing with alarm' the American monopolies' invasion of the sacred Canadian air... The President (of the CRL) will probably be some public spirited General... who will be driven into frequent expressions of 'grave alarm' every palpitation of which will be properly embalmed in the newspapers" (Allard; 1979, p. 68).
4. Later, despite the fact that the CBC had garnered much more respect through its excellent national and international wartime coverage (Raboy; 1990, p. 66-77), the 'temporary' status of private broadcasting was also to become less and less temporary as the CBC continually relied on private stations for national distribution of many of their programmes (Peers; 1969, p. 156-163, 241-242).
5. At the same time, "private broadcasters had fashioned their association into an increasingly effective pressure group. It was also during this period that the CAB re-surfaced, merged with the newly formed and powerful Western Association of Broadcasters" (Ibid., p. 14). The organization encouraged its members to take an active part in local boards of trade and various charitable drives; not unnaturally, private stations gained the full support of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and its local or provincial counterparts. In many constituencies station owners had easy access to members of parliament of whatever party, since such an advantageous channel of communication with constituents as radio was not likely to go unappreciated by the parliamentarian" (Peers; 1969, p. 448). The effect of the CBC-assigned "secondary status" on private operations, it turned out,

proved to be in the best long-term interest of the commercial sector. In the evolution of the 'single system', the CBC increasingly defined the role of private stations in terms of 'community' service, leaving it to pursue 'national' service. Although it was to greatly refine this role in the television age, this was the very beginning of commercial radio's identity as a community or local service, its first real niche. Here it began to take on a semblance of local character - with information and a variety of 'mass appeal' entertainment programs - many of which were of American origin. At the same time, the CBC, which was intended to broadcast more educational and "cultural" type Canadian programs, faced the prospect of only minority audiences. The private sector tried to dominate the mass market and relegate public broadcasting to 'alternative' audiences..."(t)his became a source of perpetual tension within the organization, between market and sociocultural tendencies" (Raboy;1990,p.61-62).

6. "The industrialization stimulated by the demands of wartime production was consolidated in a prospering peacetime economy with the aid of American direct investment" (Brodie & Jenson;1984,p.215).
7. The Canadian Broadcasting League (formerly 'he Canadian Radio League) - which re-surfaced in 1958 with Graham Spry making pleas against a commercial, American-dominated system - favoured a mixed system centred on national broadcasting, wherein the 'public' dimension would be dominant (Raboy;1990,p.153). But, it was also during this time that the first real rustlings of discarding the public service were to surface amongst some conservative forces (Ibid.,p.159). The period was one of new technological and money-making possibilities. Cable was about to have a major impact on Canada's broadcasting scene. All of these currents, then, were colliding with the larger issues of national (in)security and a broadcasting bureaucracy long centred upon the discourse and tradition of Canadian nationalism and anti-Americanism.
8. "For both governments and agencies policy advice is an activity upon which both rely heavily...Cabinet ministers would turn almost universally (although not exclusively) to the agency for policy advice should major policy changes be contemplated in the policy area. For their part, agency members and especially chairmen, expect to be consulted. Perhaps more importantly, they expect to be listened to when rendering advice. It is in this area that the working inter-relationship of agency to minister is most intimate and vital...The role of the regulatory agency as a policy advisor is central to the entire regulatory policy process" (Brown-John;1981,p.94-95).

CHAPTER SIX

THE 1970s - THE YEARS OF CRISIS, COMMUNICATIONS AND CONSOLIDATION

In the late 1960s commercial radio broadcasting entered into its modern phase. This period could be delineated at the industry level by the new-found emphasis on formatted radio programming and increased economic concentration. Politically, it was determined by the creation of the 1968 Broadcasting Act and the formation of the CRTC. This third, or modern, phase of radio also coincided with a structural change in the Canadian political and economic landscape, as the balance of power began to shift within Canada's hegemonic order. With this transformation came a breakdown of old structures, projects and priorities, which were ultimately to re-establish themselves in a new configuration later in the 1980s. The 1970s, however, remained the decade of the emergence and realization of a post-Fordist crisis in both the Canadian economy and in the existing political authority. It was to become both a crisis of accumulation and a crisis of hegemony, tied to "the erosion of the particular socioeconomic structures sustaining the Fordist regime of accumulation" (Bradford & Williams; 1989, p. 72). In this context, broadcasting and communications issues and interests were drawn into the powerful process of structural re-organization in complex and often subtle ways over the next two decades.

1. Hegemony in Crisis

Following the relative prosperity and economic expansion of the post-war period, the political and economic structures of mass production and consumption - so effective

in the 1950s and early 1960s - began to reach their limits in the 1970s. Along with a weakening of the American monetary system (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.1), the multinational companies that had brought investment and employment into the country were becoming increasingly concentrated at the same time that the manufacturing sector began to wane. The decline in manufacturing (French;1984,p.95) was tied not only to American movement, but also to the high cost of Canadian wages (and cumbersome government regulations), in relation to a relatively small domestic market. This made foreign investment less attractive, especially for multinationals that could manufacture in countries with cheaper labour (Brodie & Jenson;1980,p.265). In addition, the high level of price increases that had been incurred through the post-war years, in combination with growing unemployment, led to a stagnant economy. "In the international division of labour the Canadian industrial sector was quickly becoming drained of both jobs and the technology necessary to create new employment opportunities" (Ibid.,p.266). At the same time, resources (despite persistent foreign interests) became unstable following the 1973 oil crisis when Canada dropped its oil exports to the United States to protect its domestic supply (Ibid.,p.267). Thus, with the decline in manufacturing and a decrease in resource exporting, the country was left not only with unemployment, but with a rising trade deficit and balance of payment problems, as well as poor research and development infrastructure.

Coincident with this economic upheaval was a growing discontent with Canada's post-war strategy of development that had been implicit in its trade and exchange policies and its branch-plant agenda. This dissonance was reflected both within the hegemonic

alliance and the state. As economic problems began to destabilize the post-war order, the hegemony of the staples fraction - and its particular expansion strategy - came under fire, not only from working Canadians who were becoming less well-served by its activities and objectives, but from a nascent liberal nationalist movement amongst Canadian capital and politicians. As Brodie & Jenson (1980) have suggested, the 1970s could be seen as the decade that the Canadian bourgeoisie divided into two largely regionally-based fractions or identities - the staples fraction, focused especially on energy and a conservative continental strategy in the west, and a liberal nationalist fraction based on development of new industrial and service activity and a national unity strategy in the centre (Ontario and Quebec) (Ibid.,p.297). For the former, the view of the 'national interest' was based on economic "internationalization" which posited that Canadian sovereignty was best protected through those policies which could best establish economic growth through external capital markets and redistributing wealth within a firmly cohesive and united Canadian economy. For the latter, it was based in economic protectionism.

While the entire social body was in flux, these two (relatively) powerful identities/alliances were fighting for representation within the Canadian state. Throughout this struggle, the staples fraction was to secure the critical support of financial capital as it too became more involved in the international economy and the interest of economic internationalization. However, at the same time, in response to the profound new challenges to the existing balance of power, the state not only engaged specific ameliorative policies, but began to undergo a structural shift. The ineffectiveness of what had been only an implicit industrial strategy until this point became evident. With a

Liberal government in place, economic nationalists both within and without the state began to question the validity of continentalist economics.¹

This challenge to hegemony (and the conflict and divisions it created), however, did manifest itself within an altered state structure of representation as it translated to a political crisis. It was manifest, in particular, in the issue of an explicit Canadian industrial strategy, where the interests of both fractions converged, albeit in different interpretations. These differing perspectives crystallized into two alternative industrial strategies, each of which came to be embodied in government departments and policies. At the state centre of this debate were two major federal policy advisory councils - the Economic Council of Canada and the Science Council of Canada - which largely represented, respectively, the 'free trade' and the 'technological sovereignty' positions that embodied the interests of both the staples fraction and the Canadian nationalist fraction.²

The focus of free trade strategies was upon eliminating or diminishing trade barriers in order to facilitate increased competitiveness through access to wider markets. This implied the reduction of not only economic protectionism, but of protective policy with regards to cultural and social dimensions. "(T)he continental rationalization strategy represent(ed) one of the ways in which the state might try to re-establish the political conditions for the continued realization of the core interests of the staples fraction" (Mahon;1984,p.131). Proponents of this position found institutional articulation of their interests in the Economic Council of Canada, "whose board assemble(d), among others, officials from the corporations more closely identified with the state's post-war policies"

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(Ibid.).

The origins of the other state-centred option could be found in alliance with the Science Council, which the federal government had established in 1966 to independently assess and make recommendations regarding research and development and "the application of science and technology to Canada's social and economic problems" (Canada Yearbook;1974). The Council's board consisted of leading members of the Canadian bourgeoisie involved in high-technology industries (Ibid.). This was a more complex and pro-active movement, especially in terms of government involvement. Stimulated by pressure from the nationalist fraction of the Canadian bourgeoisie in response to the national and international economic crisis, the government was pressed to develop a strategy "which would discover for Canada a new location as producer of specialized products rather than as producer of the complete range of traditional industrial products" (Brodie & Jenson;1980,p.270). Beyond protectionist measures - the focus of the Science Council continued to evolve around "the development and control of the technological capability to support national sovereignty" (French;1984,p.98). Through specific initiatives intended to: 'increase the demand for Canadian technology, develop the production of technology, increase the capacity for technological absorption at the enterprise level and regulate technological imports,' the Science Council pursued what was the closest thing to an industrial strategy.

The state's response to the emerging economic crisis in the 1970s - in combination with its bureaucratic tradition - largely reflected the contradictions and tensions of these two forces. In the process of maintaining stability within the power bloc, the state

operated to organize and establish compromise between conflicting fractions - in the face of a crisis of authority. This challenge was reflective of, and reflected upon, the major structural re-organization the government undertook in accommodation of new conditions and challenges. In addition to the two influential advisory councils, the state created two new central agencies - the Ministry of State for Economic Development (MSED) and the Ministry of State for Social Development (MSSD) (Mahon;1984,p.135) to add to the work of the newly created and powerful Industry, Trade and Commerce in pursuing economic planning. MSED, according to Mahon (1984), grew to become the centre of a vast economic policy network involving a wide range of departments (including communications), which it co-ordinated in an attempt to "arrange a new relationship between the staples and the nationalist fractions of capital...The Canadian state has responded, then, to the politicization of the issue of an industrial strategy for Canada by experimenting with corporatist mechanisms for securing consent and, more important, through the establishment of a new central agency that supplements Finance in securing the broader political interests of the hegemonic staples fraction. MSED's approach has been aimed at establishing the conditions for a new positive-sum relationship between the staples and nationalist fractions of capital" (p.138-139). Mahon argues that in this process of conflict management, the staples fraction was able to maintain its leading position in representation - although the nationalist fraction did articulate its interests and secure a stronger degree of representation (Ibid.,p.138), in large part through the favoured strategy of state-directed mega-projects.

Thus we can conclude that the 1970s - embodying the on-set manifestations of the

post-war breakdown - was a decade of shifting within Canadian political and economic powers. It ushered in a crisis and potential threat to hegemony, powerful enough to create new state structures. How did this new balance of power and shifting state-structure impact upon Canadian broadcasting? While the answer is complex, the key to tracing the impact upon broadcasting is to focus upon the larger communications sector, particularly with respect to the rise of a nationalist challenge which provided, in large part, the context and infrastructure for the growth of Canadian communications industries.

II. The Rise of Communications Industries in Canada

The high-technology sector, which was to grow significantly during the 1970s, emerged largely as the result of developments in electronics and computers following the Second World War. With respect to the post-Fordist shift in this country, what is of particular interest is the way in which political interests took hold of the technically-feasible interconnections between electronics/computers and another related post-war development - satellite technology. The 1960s represented the embryonic period in the marriage between these two forces which were eventually to constitute the basis for what was to be known as "the communications revolution".³ As Canada began to feel the first tremors of a post-Fordist quake, forces both within and without, the state (Babe;1990,p.223) responded to the inadequacies of existing industrial policies and the potential of these new technologies in the drive towards pro-active and longer-term

communications policy(ies). The Canadian government turned to new possibilities in the space/computer/telecommunications industries with the intent of channelling scientific endeavours towards industry applications. The result was two-fold; the creation, from virtually nothing, of a space industry and an explicit stated-directed industrial strategy based on the interconnection of space/satellite and telecommunications industries.

Couched largely in nationalist terms, there were two thrusts to communications policy development throughout this period. One was to cultivate satellite technology for commercial purposes. This involved facilitating the commercial potential of satellite technology through the 1969 creation of Telesat Canada, a satellite corporation intended to design, build and operate a domestic communications satellite system under the ownership of common carriers and the federal government.⁴ Until the late 1970s, when non-individual entities were permitted to purchase receiving equipment, Telesat held monopoly control over all satellite transmission and reception equipment. Despite the stated rationale of extended national coverage, its creation was based on purely economic grounds which were explicitly unrelated to cultural or social objectives (Strick;1988,p.275). The other policy thrust was to foster the space industry, particularly through mega-projects. The agenda behind this was centred on providing open-ended contracts and technology transfers to firms such as Spar Aerospace in Toronto and RCA (America) branch-plant in Montreal (Babe;1990,p.222), as well as generating business for some smaller indigenous capitals.

In the late 1960s, as part of one of its 'major programs' designed to help the Canadian economy, the Science Council released a document entitled A Space Program

For Canada. The report urged that "creation of a central space agency in the form of a Crown corporation that would be required to pursue a 'buy Canadian policy'" (Babe;1990,p.223). The Chapman Report on Space, released in 1967, placed notable emphasis on state-fostering the joint development of the satellite and telecommunications industries. The potential that satellites held for a wide range of expanded communications technologies was highly appealing. In this seminal report, Chapman⁶ concluded that, while the launching of satellites would be undertaken internationally, the development of a domestic communications program, as a precursor to developing a Canadian space agency, would ultimately be in the interest of the Canadian economy and national sovereignty. Canada's innovative aerospace and communications industries would be engaged in the high-level research, design and production of satellites, ground stations, servicing, maintenance as well as sub-contracting of sub-systems, components and tower and antenna companies in relation to the ground-station sector (Jackson;1968).

Shortly after the release of the Science Council and Chapman reports, the federal Department of Communications (DOC) was created by the Liberal government to produce anticipatory telecommunications policies and programs. Representing new high-technologies in Canada, the DOC was set up to be "the hardware agency" for the modern age of communications (Broadcaster;January,1979,p.34). This move marked the powerful intersection of the space industry with telecommunications - and later - broadcasting. With its high level of technical expertise, the DOC was to become the centre point for co-ordinating various government agencies (including Telesat and the CRTC) around issues of satellite and telecommunications research, development and

policy (Atkinson & Coleman;1990,p.106-107). The department was to oversee and engineer the smooth development of the computer/telecommunications industry and engage in large scale space-related research.⁷ The official mandate of the Communications Department was rhetorically centred around the 'public interest' and the need to protect Canadians from an unmanaged unfolding of such a new and powerful sector. As one official stated, the ministry was created "so that the people of Canada wouldn't be snowed under by this technology" (Rodger;1971). In reality, however, the ministry was created in order that the struggles between competing companies and sectors were contained. Beyond generating a space industry, the government - largely through the DOC - attempted to guide the carrier and equipment sub-sectors of the telecommunications industry towards an orderly interconnection between their business interests and their technologies within an industrial infrastructure. This state-directed style of policy-making was, to that point, uncommon in Canadian politics (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.98).

So significant were the perceived/real changes occurring within the Canadian economy, in addition to the pressures (and potential) of the communications industries that, in 1970, the DOC commissioned a task force to produce a comprehensive study of telecommunications. This marked the beginning of a long stream of documents on communications in Canada. The mandate of the Task Force was to generate communications policy(ies) to deal with the rapidly changing environment and the necessity of managing "the spectrum" and information storage systems (the 'property') that were increasingly being struggled over between different forces (federal/provincial

interests, international/national interests, larger/smaller telecommunications companies, cable companies and broadcasters). The Task Force generated dozens of studies (known as the Telecommission Studies) which were summarized in a single document entitled Instant World in 1971.

Like the DOC and the Science Council, the authors of the studies concluded that the only course Canada could pursue, if it were to get off the treadmill of dependence on foreign investment/employment, would be one geared to the new information/communications economy. This conclusion was based not only on developments external to Canada, but on the determined role and significance of the telecommunications sector within Canada as measured by the revenues and investment of telecommunications businesses, their pervasiveness in the Canadian economy and social life and the number of people employed within these related industries (see Telecommission Study 2(d)). With this the Commission made a case for the future development of Canadian research. As argued in Instant World, "(t)he technologies of telecommunications and computers effectively used in combination, could make a striking contribution to economic prosperity and the general quality of life in Canada" (p.7). This projection proved to be relatively accurate. By 1977, the telecommunications industry was expanding at a rate of more than \$2 billion a year (Canada Yearbook;1978-79).

In response to these studies, the Minister of Communications submitted, in 1973, a position paper called Proposals for a Communications Policy for Canada. One of the central recommendations concerned the need to address telecommunications and the convergent nature of modern communications technologies through a single federal body

which could adapt and respond to the rapid and multitudinous changes, balancing the technical and economic aspects with social and cultural objectives. This body was the CRTC which, under Bill C-5, was to incorporate telecommunications in 1976 (changing from the Canadian Radio and Television Commission to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission). The CRTC was assigned the position of cultural and social watchdog - without the power to formulate communications policy. At the same time, the powers granted to the Governor-in-Council over the CRTC were increased.⁸ This was the formal recognition of the existing and potential interconnectedness between broadcasting and other telecommunications industries and technologies.

Following the merging of telecommunications regulation within the CRTC, another document - A Canadian Policy for Space - was released in which the Ministry explicitly laid out its endorsement of transferring government research and development of space systems to private industry. This trend towards technological integration and transfer, and the facilitation of new communications systems was not to be short-lived. The impact, or potential impact, of the new communications technologies continued to plague state strategists and representatives and in 1979, following a decade of policy studies and investigations and research, a Standing Committee on Communications and Culture was formed to attempt to deal with the on-going issues within the communications environment. That same year, the Clyne Committee report on the implications of telecommunications for Canadian sovereignty was completed.⁹ The conclusions reached were centred on the evolving communications system in this country

which embodied telecommunications, satellites, cable and, included in this, for the first time - broadcasting. They signalled formal policy integration within the wider communications environment, even though the major emphasis in the recommendations was on programmes to support the Canadian electronics industry, rather than on broadcasting content production (Ministry of Secretary of State;1980,p.76,78).

We see, then, that certain fractions and representative branches of the state favoured this technological sovereignty approach and not only created an indigenous space industry, but helped to draw together a variety of technologies to form the basis of a new communications sector, putting in place a technological and bureaucratic infrastructure which would help carry the sector through the next two decades. It was a movement that was largely publicly funded with the intent of producing viable development and manufacturing in Canada capable of capturing international business. Because Canada had a long history and bureaucratic tradition of communications development (ie., broadcasting and telephone), this was not an untenable shift.¹⁰

The bifurcation within the hegemonic order and the state was manifesting itself within the communications sector, where the technological sovereignty side gained a significant degree of government support. The move towards a primarily indigenous high-technology/communications sector was largely engineered by the state through its representatives that saw not only the necessity of creating options besides resources, but the potential of some of Canada's specialized industries in relation to the international developments based around computers and satellites. Just as the rise of the high-technology nationalist fraction of capital was contested within the power bloc, this

conflict was also evident within the state, where not only the Science and Economic councils worked in opposition, but powerful departments such as Industry, Trade and Commerce (formerly Department of Regional Industrial Expansion) "consistently opposed DOC recommendations" as well as the collaborative role the state was assuming in industrial development (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.107).¹¹

Despite these struggles, and the fact that this sector managed to gain representation within the state, its nationalist character was not solid enough to constitute the basis of a nationalist alliance that could displace the staples fraction. It was, nonetheless, a part of the change in state structure attached to the need to address the new challenges presented to the 'status quo'. Through this process, the communications sector was drawn into the shifting balance of power, ultimately bringing broadcasting with it.

III. Commercial Radio Broadcasting in the 1970s: Content Regulations, The Arrival of FM and Industry Consolidation

Having survived the advent of television and having established a tenuous co-existence with the CBC, commercial radio entered into its modern phase in an atmosphere of new challenges. With the success of cable television, radio broadcasters had to work even harder to hold an audience that was being more and more enticed by foreign programming carried over cable channels. In addition to television's expanded appeal, radio listening was further fragmented by the increased number of automobile tape decks (allowing audiences self-selected non-commercial music) and the local communication of

Citizen's Band (CB) radio (the precursor to the cellular phone). In this context, radio broadcasters were compelled to protect their place in leisure and information practices largely by refining their programming. In this sense, the 1970s was the decade in which 'format radio' came into its own. Through the heightened use of computers and more sophisticated ratings systems, format types increased and became more complex in terms of 'targeting'.

In addition to the new technologies which threatened the radio industry, the 1970s witnessed the intimate involvement of the state in the daily operations and formatting of radio in this country. As a result of the Broadcasting Act of 1968, the CRTC (through its interpretation of this legislation) instituted a number of new detailed policies intended to protect the industry, as well as bring it in line with the larger objectives of the state. In this respect, regulation (along with economic necessity) took on an expanded role in shaping the configuration of modern commercial radio broadcasting. Two regulatory issues in particular were influential in solidifying the shape of modern radio - Canadian content regulations (and restrictions of foreign ownership) and a comprehensive FM broadcasting policy.

In 1972, the CRTC legislated 'Canadian content' regulations (Cancon) for AM radio which stipulated that 30% of the music played by broadcasters was to be Canadian in origin.¹² "Before the CRTC stepped in, Canadian musicians usually had to migrate to the U.S. to make it big. Record producers couldn't get air play for domestic products, so invested little; while broadcasters didn't play domestic products because the quality was appreciably lower. (Only in Quebec was there any appreciation of local musicians)"

(Roseman;1972,p.2). There was little doubt that the regulations helped to increase the production of Canadian recorded music (CRTC,Annual Report;1971-72,1972-73). Prior to the Cancon obligations, the Ministry of Secretary of State estimated that only between 4% and 7% of musical selections played could be considered 'Canadian' (1980,p.7), in contrast with 30% after 1972. The impact of these regulations could be found not only in the increased number of Canadian recordings, but in the 519% increase in payments made to CAPAC (Canadian performing rights society) between 1968 and 1977 (Ibid.,p.8).

FM Radio Broadcasting Arrives

Perhaps the single greatest change in commercial radio in the 1970s resulted from the coming of age of FM radio. FM technology had existed as early as the 1930s, but its growth was stunted by a number of factors including the Second World War, the arrival of television and a general lack of FM receivers on the consumer market. By 1963, as the AM band was becoming saturated, commercial channels became available through the Canadian FM Allotment Plan. As Canadians eventually began to purchase FM receivers - with their greater fidelity, lack of static and ability to project in stereo - FM radio listening in this country was to increase substantially.¹³ FM radio revenues increased 389% between 1972 and 1977 (Ministry of Secretary of State;1980,p.7). In Ontario, penetration of household FM receivers was to jump from 56% in 1970 to 94% in 1980 (Ontario Ministry of Transport & Communications;1983,p.7). It was not until

FM receivers became widely available in automobiles, however, that the medium was to expand to (and eventually beyond) the popularity of AM, as advertisers increasingly found that they could reach the all-important morning and late afternoon "drive" audiences over the 'cleaner' FM band.

In terms of programming, FM radio was dominated by 'easy listening' (beautiful music) and classical music in the 1960s, neither of which was capable of reaching as wide an audience as the AM Top 40 formats. That was to change, however, as this medium took on a new and potentially subversive life. Through the radical political climate and the 'rock and roll' music of the 1960s, FM found both content and an audience. While this audience did not initially represent profitability for the private sector, it did, nonetheless, help to breathe life into this floundering medium.

Although it is difficult to determine precisely the point at which FM fortunes turned around, it is reasonable to suggest that the switch by stations such as Toronto's CHUM-FM or CKLG-FM in Vancouver - both of which caught on to the radical rock movement in the United States in the late 1960s - was notable. For CHUM-FM, with that change came a 400% increase in audience. "For broadcasters struggling with losing classical and easy-listening FM formats, FM rock was a money-making, plug-in get-with-it kit" (LeBlanc;1980,p.8). With this, however, also came the inevitabilities that have accompanied much of the capital expansion in both the music industry and in Canadian radio. "By 1972, underground FM had lost its radical intensity. With a widening market, with more conservative minded and profit-oriented programmers assuming control, the format moved toward Top 40 to create 'progressive' rock FM" (Ibid.,p.11) "

Slowly, other formats such as Country & Western also grew in popularity on the FM band, as the rock youth culture died down and splintered off into different musical styles. This was further enhanced by an increase in the median age of listeners throughout this decade which helped fuel the growth of Middle-of-the-Road or 'soft rock' formats. As FM drew in more listeners and advertisers, it became enveloped in the process of ratings. The subversive medium began to go mainstream as it increasingly moved towards AM's popular territory.

The evolution of FM radio was different than that of AM in this country. The differences between AM and FM in the modern era were artificially created. These differences were the result - not of economics, nor any qualities inherent to the nature of one or the other medium - but primarily of government regulations. As FM broadcasting began to exhibit a stronger and more unified presence in the early 1970s, the CRTC stepped in to stem the disorder that surrounded the radio industry. As was the case with commercial radio in relation to the CBC during its early phase - when the 'public' side of the system was receiving "official" favour - FM in its infancy was treated as supplementary to AM radio. Government policy determined that its task was to provide services that AM radio did not offer.

The CRTC held a series of hearings based on a number of policy proposals for FM. The CAB was to take an active part in these hearings in a process of "working with the CRTC" to shape the form of regulation for this "bridesmaid of broadcasting". The focus of these hearings was on the development of a new and different style of radio for Canadian audiences. Both the broadcasters and the Commission were in consensus

over this direction. FM was perceived as holding a wealth of creative potential, potential that could not be expressed through the increasingly formatted and homogenized AM outlets. This potential was discussed largely in terms of elitist alternatives and the need to appeal to specialized audiences. One motivation behind the adoption of this point of view by private broadcasters was to help justify their monopoly over both AM and FM broadcasting licenses. Further to this point, they argued that existing AM operations could help shoulder the financial burden of this new and dynamic form of radio.

In 1976, regulations enhancing and enforcing the notion of 'intellectual content' were introduced for FM. These were intended to foster a move away from mainly surveillance information, which was the extent of 'enlightening' content on AM." In addition to limits set on the number of 'hits' that could be played on FM radio, the new FM policy was centred around encouraging FM broadcasters to meet the needs of minority audiences, provide more detailed and insightful news and public affairs programming and generate innovative programming (Audley;1983,p.194). One of the concrete manifestations of these objectives was what was called "foreground" programming (as opposed to "background" music), which translated to a certain percentage of talk (often theme-based programming) per hour. This was to become one of the most significant factors to shape the sound of FM radio in the modern era.

In a sense, the coming of FM relieved AM from the policy pressures for diverse "quality" programming. FM policy could be interpreted as embodying a part of the cultural objectives of the Canadian communications system that the DOC had relinquished to the CRTC and conventional broadcasting. These regulations were created at a time

when the AM industry was coming together in terms of a consistent sound and increased revenues - when broadcasters were most concerned about AM's future. As Dr. Pierre Camu, head of the CAB stated in 1975, "...AM is the workhorse, it's the milk cow. FM, so far...is a non-paying proposition...AM is really supporting, subsidizing the FM station. At least this is true in 59 out of 60 members of the CAB" (Broadcaster, April 1975). So, rather than threaten the financial viability of an economically successful medium, cultural burdens were placed on the hand which had yet to prove its profitability.¹⁶ While this emphasis on 'talk' programming seemed antithetical to the unique technical character of FM (its superior sound quality which would have been better suited to music transmission), it was, nonetheless, the chosen means by which the CRTC attempted to protect the domain of existing AM broadcast operations and simultaneously fulfil larger cultural goals.

By carving out a niche for AM broadcasters where 'rolling' and 'hit-based' formats were preserved solely for their band, the CRTC created an FM style, distinct from AM and unique to Canada. Despite resistance from some FM broadcasters, however, audiences continued to tune in to hear the new FM sound (either because of, or in spite of the 'talk') and FM jumped from 17% of all radio listening in 1976 to 41% by 1985 (Bureau of Broadcast Measurement; 1986, p.9). In the end, the federal regulator had aided in creating a financially successful and distinctive industry out of a scattered and directionless technological capability. While regulation could have led the medium to any number of ends (ie., educational radio, minority or alternative broadcasting), the CRTC facilitated its evolution as a state-mediated market enterprise.

Consolidation Within the Industry

Regardless of the programming divisions between AM and FM radio, these two media were not fundamentally opposed to one another. In fact, even with the splintering of commercial broadcasting into the two different bands and a number of different format styles, the industry was becoming increasingly consolidated. In most cases, AM and FM stations were owned by the same company. In 1975, there were 67 commercial FM stations. All but two were owned by AM operators (Broadcaster;1975,p.26). Most of the country's first FM frequencies were secured by AM license holders long before they began programming on the new stations. Because it was a relatively low risk investment for AM station owners - who could spread their resources (staff, facilities) across the two stations - many of those owners who could afford it, scooped up FM licenses and hardware. They were held as tax write offs, as a means of preventing competition within their markets (LeBlanc;1980,p.11) and as insurance in case the new medium was to take off in the future. "(M)any FM stations owned by AM operators either simulcasted their programming with their AM station or used automation equipment to program wall-to-wall music to maintain their license, anticipating future market investments and audience reach as FM radio grew" (Firminger;1978,p.30).¹⁷

The purchasing of FM stations by existing AM broadcasters or broadcast companies ('twinning') added to what was to be an enormous leap in corporate concentration within the radio business in the 1970s, as did the changing tax structure at the time which was increasingly weighted in favour of investment rather than enterprise (Allard;1979,p.43). In addition, government regulation also helped to create and

maintain these types of ownership arrangements through its 'duopoly and one-to-a-market' policies and through the barriers to entry and exit that were created by licensing requirements (Ibid.,p.30,36). Similarly, the increase in corporate ownership could also be attributed to the 1969 directive on foreign ownership which set in motion a process of divestiture of foreign investors through to 1973. Due to a deficit of "qualified" Canadian buyers, there was an increase in concentration of ownership (Report of the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration;1978,p.351).

As commercial radio became more standardized through its formatting practices, and more unified through its ownership patterns, its representative organization, the CAB, also entered into a new era of consolidation. As a result of a number of incidents in which the lack of cohesion and vision within the CAB (as well as what had become a narrow-self interest), became apparent to both the government and the public (Olney;1973), the organization underwent a major re-structuring in the mid-1970s. Following the recommendations made in a thorough and independent study prepared by Woods, Gordon & Company in 1972 (Marketing;July 15,1974), the CAB, amongst other changes, moved its headquarters from Toronto to Ottawa to further strengthen its lobbying connections through the formation of the Parliamentary Relations Organization. The new CAB of the 1970s reflected the interests of its expanding corporate membership (ie., Bushnell Communications, Telemedia (Quebec) Limitee, Moffat Broadcasting Ltd.) - privileging them with a higher profile within the organization.¹⁸ Following years of internal divisions and defensive attitudes, the Association took on a new pro-active character, moving towards a more clear understanding of larger national interests, and

a perception of concern for public good. In contrast to past presidents such as T.J. Allard, who were largely narrow-minded, anti-government, English speaking entrepreneurs unable to articulate their interests to more broad long-term interests of Canadian nationalism (Olney;1973) - an approach that was not completely ineffective in the past, but was unsuccessful in the political climate of the 1970s - the CAB hired first Dr. Pierre Camu and then in 1977, Ernest Steele as Association presidents. Both men were bilingual, articulate, experienced in government interaction and consultation and had numerous contacts in both industry and government (Broadcaster;November,1977,p.8, Olney;1973,p.122).¹⁹ In its new form, the CAB chose to focus upon the issues of unity stressed in the 1968 Broadcasting Act, in the face of challenges by new technologies that threatened the jurisdictional rights of federal regulation. This change, which proved to be relatively successful, also marked the beginning of more intensive relations between commercial broadcasters and the government that were to characterize the modern era.

In summary, within the industry itself, enormous changes took place as the shape of modern radio solidified in the 1970s. In terms of 'targeting', radio broadcasters became more efficient and consistent in reaching specific audiences at specific times through both specialized and standardized formats. With increased corporate concentration many cross-market (AM and FM, and radio and television) efficiencies were realized and as a result, radio experienced an economic vitality uncharacteristic of the general economy with a 10% growth rate in 1972 (1% ahead of the Canadian economy) (CRTC,Annual Report;1971-72,p.5). With FM given a distinct role through its own regulations based on 'diversity' and 'enlightenment', AM and FM came to a

place where both could largely co-exist in terms of targeting different audiences and in terms of common ownership. It could be argued, then, that within the commercial radio broadcasting industry, the 1970s - the first half of the modern era - were the years of consolidation.

IV. Commercial Radio Broadcasting Within the Widening Realm of Communications

While many of the changes that occurred in commercial radio (such as the tightening of formats and FM broadcasting) originated from within the industry itself, the shape that modern radio was beginning to take was also the result of the influence of factors external to the business. Commercial radio in Canada was ultimately drawn into the larger hegemonic disorder of the 1970s, particularly as that disorder was manifest in the regulation of communications and related industries, as industrial policy shifted from manufacturing to high-technology priorities.

In terms of technological capability, cable represented one of the key links between elements in the new communications environment. It was a stepping stone between broadcasting and the new computer and satellite technologies. While satellites and space technology gathered power and influence within the state bureaucracy in terms of funding and promotion, cable became the commercial kingpin in the private communications environment of the 1970s. And, while cable itself was responsible for

bringing in numerous channels, it was the potential of linking cable with satellite program distribution that held the greatest commercial appeal in terms of broadcasting - particularly television. With this, radio became relatively subordinate not only to cable, telecommunications and satellites, but to television as well.²⁰ In terms of the new communications, television appeared to hold out the greatest hope of commercially exploiting cable and satellites.²¹ Although the CRTC had initially slighted cable in the 1960s - to protect the interests of off-air broadcasters - as broadcasting demonstrated that it could survive and television profits continued to rise, cable came into favour (Babe;1990,p.210-211). The full effect of the interactive possibilities of cable and broadcasting, however, were not to be realized until the 1980s, when satellites became the fuel for cable broadcasting.

During this period, cable was also connected to the telephone companies which leased to them parts of the necessary cable and cable equipment - although by the late 1970s cable and the telecommunications companies (ie., Bell) began to express mutual interest in merging both their hardware and services (teleshopping, pay-tv, dial-a-program, electronic mail delivery) in a nascent vision of a new wired society (Byers;1976,p.5). In contrast to decades of conventional off-the-air radio and television broadcasting, the new means of carrying communication signals were becoming more and more interrelated. As the Ministry of Secretary of State concluded in 1980..."cable affects broadcasting and broadcasting affects satellite utilization. Satellite utilization is, however, also affected by common carrier requirements which in turn relate to telephones, data, broadcasting, and cable. The permutations and combinations are

endless, creating a maze of interrelated activities" (p.79).²²

Out of all of this overlap came much regulatory confusion. After 40 years of struggling to establish jurisdiction and rights between public and private broadcasting, the communications environment was becoming vastly complex. In its 1971-72 Annual Report, the CRTC had warned that there was "a danger that the actual development and even the policy of broadcasting may be determined by the natural tendency of hardware and tools to proliferate as a result of new technology and marketing pressures" (p.9). This statement placed determinacy on technology (omitting the social relations and capital needs for expansion that lay behind all of this movement) and indicated the shift in what was to be the discerning trend for the modern era of communications as technology became increasingly centred within the broadcasting environment. In this climate, programming, content and cultural concerns began to take a backseat to the economic possibilities that lay within the new technological possibilities and realities. In a 1975 interview, the acting chair of the CRTC stated that he believed that the CRTC's highest priority was to "maintain a vigorous and healthy Canadian broadcasting system, integrating all technology in a harmonious way" (Stone;1975,p.122).

The emphasis on the new technologies of communications was further reflected in the relatively rapid subordination of the CRTC to the DOC and the powers of cabinet instituted with the Telecommunications Act in the second half of the 1970s. This brought into question the relative independence or autonomy that the CRTC was officially intended to possess. And, as the CRTC lost some of its autonomy to larger forces, so too did conventional broadcasting. "Whereas the 'national broadcasting policy' had been

coaxed into existence after years of public debate, less than a year after its enactment it was evidently in total eclipse by an incipient 'national communications policy' in which broadcasting would be only a part. And where broadcasting was traditionally seen as a cultural tool of national purpose, 'communications' had an essentially economic and industrial vocation" (Raboy;1990,p.193).

This shift was indicative of the place the 'technological imperative' had taken in the larger social order and in the communications sector, where a technological response was generated from an economic crisis. The ideology of 'technological necessity' began to pervade the communications and broadcasting policy discourse at the beginning of the modern phase and grew to become its defining characteristic by the end. There was, according to the government, no choice but to pursue these new technologies. "There is no insulation from these forces, (stated) the White Paper on Broadcasting, there are no iron curtains of the mind to permit a comfortably slow pace of adjustment to new forces..." (CRTC;Annual Report,1968-69,p.23). This view was echoed in 1971 by Eric Kierans, the Minister of Communications who argued that, "(i)f we don't move into this kind of technology...Canada will be far behind other nations, and we could become a helpless maple syrup republic" (Rodger;1971).

In conclusion, the 1970s was a time of format and industry consolidation wherein commercial radio still carried the weight of nationalism and objectives of public and cultural good. At the same time, it was slowly becoming part of new ownership structures, and part of a communications system that simultaneously threatened and held potential for economic growth (in a variety of forms). As ownership patterns were

increasingly connected with other communications industries, commercial radio was being re-situated (although not explicitly at this time) in terms of its place within Canadian capital. Because of multiple media ownership patterns and because of state regulations and structures that were increasingly centred on the integration of communications technologies, commercial radio was being drawn into the rising nationalist fraction and the new 'communications revolution'. That is, while the commercial Canadian radio industry in the 1970s was consolidating itself, it was simultaneously becoming a part of the larger wave of change within the Canadian political and economic context. Larger interests were challenged by a crisis in hegemony. The disorder that was to ensue was manifesting itself in both the economic patterns of the country, as well as in an increasingly altered state structure. So, while radio evolved in terms its own internal needs and responses, it was also being shaped by other, more powerful, forces.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER SIX

1. Although, it must be made clear that, despite growing support for the nationalist argument, "in certain branches of the Canadian state, it was by no means the dominant state strategy, which instead favoured continental rationalization" (Mahon;1984,p.107).
2. French (1984) has suggested that the "fundamental element dividing the advocates of technological sovereignty from the advocates of free trade (was) their...treatment of the legacy of the National Policy", which was "Canada's first and most sustained industrial strategy" (p.96-97). Beginning in the 1870s, the National Policy - which involved tariff protection and encouraged national industrial development largely through the development of a transportation infrastructure - dominated Canadian economic and political development until after 1945. After that period came the shift towards foreign investment and free trade. Thus, the advocates of the continentalist or free trade interests favoured the course the country had been on since the 1940s, whereas the technological sovereigntists or nationalists were more interested in a return to a strategy more closely resembling the National Policy. While members of the dominant fraction of capital were largely opposed to the development of this industrial strategy, the two streams within the hegemonic alliance were not in complete opposition. They were ultimately united over interests of capital accumulation. French (1984) has argued that the two camps were not totally irreconcilable, and both were interested in international competitiveness and access to larger markets. "The technological sovereignty school does not reject free trade as an ultimate objective, while the free trade school agrees that technological superiority could be a powerful competitive advantage in international markets" (p.102). But, as he goes on to argue, "(t)hey differ very significantly...in their priorities for policy action. Underlying these different priorities are different ideological positions on the role of the state in economic life" (Ibid.). They both struggled over representation within the state in terms of having established their preferred conditions or foundations for the realization of their economic interests.
3. This phenomenon has similarly been labelled, or been a part of, what is called the 'information revolution'. In a scenario reminiscent of the emergence of radio broadcasting technology in the early 20th century, satellites evolved out of U.S. military research into defence and combat systems as expressed through the intense promotion of space exploration (Babe;1990,p.219). By the early 1960s, the Canadian Defence Research Board began a long and co-operative relationship with the United States.

While Canada created and developed various ionospheric research techniques, NASA became the foundation for Canadian satellite development, primarily through its role in the launching of domestic satellites, although the Canadian role in space technology was to progress with a degree of independence from the United States.

4. This new enterprise, which deployed the world's first domestic satellite in 1972, was created at the urging of the telecommunications and related industries. It also benefitted from the support of other interest groups that saw the potential for extending communications coverage (both English and French) across distant regions.
5. Although, interestingly, despite the heightened nationalism of the period, Telesat purchased its first three spacecraft in 1970 from a Californian firm - Hughes Aircraft Co. - which offered the product at a lower cost than Canadian firms. This move triggered a fevered public debate (Hutchison;1975).
6. See Atkinson & Coleman (1990,p.107) for a discussion on Chapman's significant influence. Chapman later became a high-level official in the communications department.
7. The "nucleus of the department's staff came from the Department of Transport and the Defence Research Board (Lorimer & McNulty;1987,p.206). Under the DOC, the Defence Research Board was subordinated when telecommunications were increasingly transferred to wider civilian interests as economic opportunities in business and personal data service technologies superseded interest in military research. Under the DOC the Communications Research Centre began its long tenure of operation as a satellite research and development centre for purposes of technological transfer to private industry.
8. Bill C-43 (the second part of a two-part telecommunications policy) granted "the cabinet and the minister...the power to issue directives to the CRTC and the federal government to delegate responsibility for broadcasting, or a portion thereof, to the provinces" (Broadcaster; January,1979).

While the state-directed space industry and policy network represented one dimension of the 'communications revolution' in this country, the other significant component of this high-technology bloc was the telecommunications industry (ie., radio and telecommunications equipment, common carriers) which, largely through technical compatibility and economic potential, was allied with the interests of the state and satellite businesses. The rise in power of these businesses was

tioned in great part to the use in business organizations of electronic computer technology and its connection to telephones. This sector operated outside of the highly organized state-co-ordinated network that characterized the space industry. It was based, instead, upon a number of largely autonomous state agencies formulating largely reactive, fragmented and poorly co-ordinated policy under DOC rule. It did not achieve the support the space industry did, at this time, due mainly to a lack of technical expertise within the department (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.112-113).

9. This "consultative committee" was charged with the task of producing a plan for "restructuring the Canadian telecommunications system 'to contribute more effectively to the safeguarding of Canadian sovereignty" (Rahoy;1990,p.261).
10. "Since the very beginnings of settlement in British North America, political leaders have viewed transportation and communications as instruments of both economic and political integration" (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.97). What was different at this point, however, was the considerable role private industry was given in this strategy. As Rahoy (1990) has argued, "(t)he thrust of government involvement in developing a satellite system was markedly different from the approach that had been taken to earlier communications technologies, like radio or cable distribution, which had been allowed to develop under private ownership before falling under the regulatory web...a satellite system would be developed according to a coordinated plan, but private capital would have its place right from the beginning" (p.192).
11. It is important to keep in mind that other developments were occurring simultaneously in terms of Canadian resources and trade liberalization, for, as Mahon (1984) has argued, the struggle over the development of an industrial policy represented "only one political manifestation of the erosion of the material basis of consent that set in during the 1970s" (p.135).
12. The 'Canadianess' of a recording was determined through a quantitative measurement system put in place by the CRTC wherein at least 30% of music played would have to meet two of the following conditions; the playing or singing must be principally by a Canadian, the music written by a Canadian, the lyrics written by a Canadian or the performance recorded in Canada (Bird;1988,p.451). It should be made clear that the BBG, which governed the industry prior to the CRTC, had also established regulations concerning Canadian content, but they were primarily centred on television and on programs of Canadian origin, rather than recorded

music. It was widely held that even these restrictions were weakly enforced.

13. "Several of the imperatives that led to the creation of FM radio broadcasting were technical. FM is inherently a clean medium...AM is noisy, interference prone and crowded. As people in the '60s became accustomed to hearing better sound from their home equipment they were (eventually) drawn to FM with its stereo broadcast signal" (LeBlanc; 1980,p.8).
14. Even one of the country's longest running "alternative" FM music stations, CFNY-FM in Brampton, Ontario, finally succumbed to the pressures of profit-making as it further commercialized its playlist in the late 1980s following a buy-out by Maclean-Hunter Ltd. It began to play more and more Top 40 hits in the daytime as a part of streamlining and "repositioning" its operation (Broadcaster; March, 1989,p.55). Ironically, Dave Marsden, who was one of the original alternative radio programmers at CFNY-FM when it was starting out, has now switched over to AM COAST 1040, an alternative Vancouver station on the AM band where he is DJ and program director.
15. In the earliest stage of government involvement, the CRTC required all FM stations to devote at least 20% of their air-time to what was loosely called arts, letters and sciences (Schreiner;1972). This was, in part, an ideological lag from earlier ideas, and a confusing requirement tied to the disillusionment many had with AM radio and what some believed had become a background, shallow and mindless medium, driven primarily by market forces.
16. For many FM station owners, the new regulations meant increased costs, further complicated by increased restrictions on the amount of advertising minutes per day. The production of non-music programming required additional staff and freelance personnel and the increased use of various production facilities (Cunningham;1976,p.S-8). The CAB was able to help out the smaller broadcasters through a program exchange which provided some of the required 'foreground' programming necessary to meet CRTC requirements. The larger broadcasting companies did not feel the cost pinch as much, and in fact, for some, this became a new financial opportunity as companies such as Standard Broadcasting and Western Broadcasting created and/or enhanced their existing commercial production facilities for syndicated and leased production purposes. This also touches on another significant off-shoot of FM policy which was the instigation of an independent syndication industry - for both packaged talk and music programming - which came into effect primarily following FM regulation

introduction, but was really only to burgeon in the 1980s with the advantages of satellite transmission in contrast to physical distribution of tapes. What is noteworthy is that many of these syndication companies and/or independent production outfits were owned by broadcasters seeking new capital investment in the opportunities provided by CRTC policy.

17. Regardless of the potential threat FM posed in terms of fragmenting AM audiences, an owner holding licenses to both AM and FM stations in a single market was not a contradictory practice. These broadcasters were rarely competing with themselves because of format differences in which diverse audiences were targeted. For example, when a company such as Rogers Broadcasting Ltd., owned both CFTR-AM (youth-oriented rock/pop) and CHFI-FM (adult contemporary) in Toronto, it was not in competition with itself. These stations broadcast to two very different 'target' (consumer) groups. Through this, Rogers could actually enlarge, rather than diminish, its advertising base.
18. Multiple ownership groups accounted for 47% of radio and 49% of television at the time (Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media; 1970, p.5). What was offered to smaller broadcasters was a variety of services, rather than representation of their financial and political interests (see Olney; 1973).
19. The effect of the re-structured CAB and its new heads was reminiscent of the CRL and its use of Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt in the 1930s.
20. A survey of CRTC annual reports throughout the 1970s reveals that radio was given less attention over time as other issues filled the pages.
21. The Special Senate Committee recognized as early as 1970, the potential (both negative and positive) that cable held for expanding television service. Hence, the first discussions of pay-tv in the mid-70s, which appealed both to broadcasters and to cable operators who, by that point had saturated the Canadian market (Babe; 1990, Ch.17) with cable installation. Pay-tv promised to be a means to expand capital (along with an attempt to move into the American market).
22. For commercial broadcasters themselves, the new technologies initially appeared as a potential threat in terms of fragmenting audiences. The threat was less direct for radio than it was for television, however. In terms of direct cable and radio interaction - the local nature of radio (as determined by both economics and political intervention) made cable less relevant. So, when the CAB initially spoke out against cable, it was primarily television broadcasters (often the same owners of radio) that

were issuing objections. However, once cable's potential to contribute to the coffers of broadcasters became apparent, the opposition died down somewhat and was transferred to issues such as cable companies also being expected to meet social, cultural and national objectives (Rahoy;1990,p.197). The eventual warming of relations between the broadcast and cable industries, had also to do with two other factors. One was a number of high-level interactions between the CAB and the cable association (CCTA) to work towards mutual benefit. The other was the effect of several broadcast and cable companies gradually coming under common ownership. Many of the larger broadcasters (ie., Maclean Hunter and Rogers) began to purchase cable holdings as early as the 1960s, basically as a form of insurance or protection - as they had done with FM radio. One thing that larger broadcast companies such as Maclean-Hunter realized during the economic downturn in the 1970s was that total reliance on advertising dependent enterprises which shifted with the economy (such as commercial radio and television), was not necessarily the best strategy. To avoid economic swings, diversification tendencies increasingly included operations such as cable, which was more reliable. By 1979, both the CAB and the CCTA fully supported cross-ownership between the broadcasting and cable industries (although both wanted to remain independent from the telecommunications carriers). So, while radio broadcast owners were merging more with other forms of technology and ownership, radio was increasingly drawn into the larger system of communications where, despite the greater power and representation of corporate interests, it became a more marginal interest within these organizations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE 1980s - CONVERGENCE, CONCENTRATION AND A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

I. NEW ALLIANCES AND A RIGHT TURN IN THE 80s

The second half of the modern era of broadcasting unfolded in a dramatically altered context as the crisis that had begun in the 1970s continued to manifest itself throughout the political, economic and social structures of Canadian life. Crisis periods bring about fundamental change when old structures become vulnerable to new forces. In Canada, the post-war regime of accumulation was no longer effective and, like many other Western industrialized nations, the country was to undergo a considerable shift towards the right as deregulation, privatization, decentralization, continentalization, rationalization, an attack on social programs and a general move towards neo-liberal ideologies' began to cripple the more nationalist liberal post-war compromise. In the thick of post-Fordism, Canada, like the United States and Great Britain, adopted a more explicitly market-oriented character, responding to national and international economies and economic crises with new political and economic alliances. Unlike these other countries, however, Canada also experienced this crisis in terms of its manifestation largely through federal and national rather than class issues (Jenson;1989,p.77).

The effects of the economic crisis and its intersection with the traditional cultural and regional divisions in Canada were to culminate politically in the Free Trade Agreement and the debates over the Meech Lake Accord of the late 1980s - challenging both the protectionist bias of traditional economic nationalism and the provincial and bilingual structures of federalism. Continentalism and increasing regionalism were expanding together in the face of a weakened federal state as the economies of the

provinces became more closely tied with the United States - particularly the resource-rich provinces (Molot & Williams;1984,p.92-93). These two phenomena were interrelated through the larger hegemonic crisis that had extended over nearly two decades. At the centre of this was "the 'nationalist' identity' which (was) fragmented and unorganized within civil society in Canada...and lost its place at centre stage through most of the 1980s as the collective identity piecing together diverse struggles" (Albo;1990,p.166) over a variety of rights. The hegemonic project of the post-war period, which had continued to centre itself around Canadian nationalist discourse (despite activities of continental integration) was losing its social, cultural and political legitimacy.

Following the defeat of Quebec sovereigntists in the 1980 referendum, the federal government sought new ways to ameliorate the tensions and contradictions not only between Quebec and English Canada, but between other regions as well. Just over a decade after the B & B Commission and the Official Languages Act of 1969, the Canadian federal system was being increasingly pressed towards its limit. This tension also reflected the need to alter a constitution which was no longer a viable federal representation of the political realities of Canada, particularly for the Quebecois and the Western regions. The constitutional resolution proclaimed in 1982, however, did not appease all Quebec interests and tensions persisted throughout the 1980s, leading to the further struggles over the Meech Lake Accord in 1987. Similarly, not all provincialists were satisfied with the Constitution, as they had wanted more powers transferred to the provinces (Milne;1984,p.324). These interests would remain powerfully persistent throughout the decade. The discontent and frustration of Quebec, other regions,

aboriginal peoples and women were reflected in the failure of Meech Lake. Divisions were actually widened and differences exacerbated, pointing to a desire for decentralization and a new emphasis on the citizenry.

Throughout these events, the technological sovereigntists and the nascent nationalist fraction of the power bloc continued to pose a challenge to the staples fraction, although the export of resources did remain dominant in both the economic and political agenda. While the high-tech sector continued to impact upon both the Canadian and international communities, a surge in the representation of staples-related interests came from the improved organization of the alliance of staples-financial capital. In response to the pressures of international political and economic forces, these interests were being more and more frustrated by a state structure no longer equipped to deal with the newer more concentrated, centralized and continentalized nature of much of the multinational capital in this country. Langille (1987) has suggested that throughout the 1980s, the state did not act as effectively as it had in the past in terms of constructing a structural compromise between capitals (and between capital and labour). This in turn lead capital to seek out new means of cohesion (p.45-46). "(N)either the state executive nor the bureaucratic apparatus appeared capable of adequately representing the interest of monopoly capital, or of organizing the compromises that would maintain the latter's hegemony. Therefore the hegemonic fraction itself had to step in and perform this role. Faced with an economic crisis which the state had contributed to but so far had failed to resolve, the hegemonic fraction organized the power bloc so as to exert a direct influence over the state" (Ibid.,p.46-47). In addition to frustrations with government structures,

Atkinson & Coleman (1989) have suggested that this fraction underwent this major re-organization also because it was "feeling a serious challenge to its pre-eminent status" (p.49) which demanded different compromises in order to re-establish its hegemony.

This revitalized alliance of capital was established largely through the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI) - an elite organization of the chief executive officers of 150 leading corporations (Wolfe;1989,p.103). The BCNI was created in order to represent monopoly capital interests on national issues,² providing strategies for action in addressing both the economic crisis and increasing state involvement directing a new 'compromise' between labour, state and capital interests. As an umbrella organization which was to benefit from the size and organization and increased corporate concentration (Langille;1987,p.75) of such powerful interests, the BCNI was relatively successful in achieving its economic and political goals, not through working as a restrictive lobbying group, but by determining some consensus amongst members and situating constituent interests within the larger social order - articulating these interests in terms of the 'national interest'.³

In addition to its internal organization and ideological appeal to the wider population,⁴ the degree of success that the BCNI experienced throughout the 1980s was due to changing conditions within the state. The 1980s represented the decade of unprecedented consultation between the state and the private sector - a shift which was given a major boost by the Macdonald Commission in 1985, which recommended not only the continentalization of a pro-market economic policy in Canada, but greater consultation in policy-making (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.21).⁵ Centring in on a state

which was weaker and less autonomous than a decade earlier (Richardson;1992,p.320), this highly organized alliance was to find a powerful degree of representation. This was an illustrative case of agency impacting upon a vulnerable state structure creating, in turn, an altered political and economic structure.

Although the BCNI was to recommend state policy on a number of issues (including "rationalization" of the welfare state), the central goal towards which this alliance worked was one focused upon setting up Canada's economic framework to accommodate the international competitive marketplace. This stood against labour interests and in opposition to economic nationalism and the type of interventionist industrial policy that had characterized the 1970s. With the support of the Macdonald Commission, the BCNI was the chief force behind the push for a free trade deal (which was ultimately struck in 1987), as access to larger markets became necessary for capital expansion - particularly for the large corporations which had already dominated and saturated domestic markets. Here too, the Economic Council of Canada came to the fore with its emphasis on policies geared towards international trade and open markets - basically an extension of the post-war policy.

While the Free Trade Agreement could be largely interpreted as the economic success of a newly strengthened hegemonic alliance, the Meech Lake Accord indicated the further weakening of the federal system at the political level in a process of decentralization. The failure of Meech Lake also reflected the concomitant rise of new social movements and identities and the decline of traditional forms of (federal) politics in favour of provincial powers. These two political events embody a point of "profound

restructuring of economic and political relations within Canada" (Breton & Jenson;1991,p.200).

What must be kept in mind throughout this political economy of Canada in the 1980s, is that hegemony is never absolute nor permanent. The new reinforced continental staples alliance was contested by not only labour, citizens groups and subordinate nationalist fractions of capital, but by elements of the state as well. While the powerful free trade position represented a concerted move away from the tradition of national development and a (pseudo-) industrial strategy,⁶ there remained, nonetheless, a shred of a planned industrial strategy (beyond the latent industrial policy of 'free trade'). This position, however, was somewhat diluted in the 1980s, due in part to the profitable nature of export strategies which could benefit other national industries in the process of continental integration - as well as the rising pressures from regional demands.⁷ What did remain of industrial strategies was less focused on traditional manufacturing and more on the information sector - although, debates surrounding industrial strategy simultaneously began to embrace export resources in Canadian economic development (Doern & Phidd;1983,p.422), leading to greater confusion and contradiction within the state.

Brodie (1989) has argued that a number of developments during the 1980s transformed the debate between the technological sovereigntists and the free trade proponents (p.177) and ultimately reduced an "electoral discourse to a simple choice for or against" (Ibid.,p.179) a free trade deal - especially as the enthusiasm surrounding science and industrial policy in the 1970s began to wane in the 1980s (Jarrell;1985,p.27).

The pro-market Conservative government elected in 1984 took a 'no industrial policy was the best economic policy approach' to help foster competitiveness and streamline or rationalize government operations. Rather than develop indigenous policies, the government chose to set broad structures for international trade and interaction, along with regulatory reform. Thus the protectionist Foreign Investment Review Act (FIRA) of the 1970s was transformed into Investment Canada with a mandate to search out, rather than block out, foreign capital. In an environment (national and global) of privatization, transnational capital and the blurring of national boundaries, industrial policy became a less explicit part of economic development than a decade earlier. With the re-emergence of a fortified hegemonic alliance, the national (high-tech) fraction - with less state support - was compelled to re-situate itself within the power bloc.

II. COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGIES AND THE RISE OF CONVERGENCE

"(A) technological revolution has descended upon the Canadian telecommunications system, and that revolution may transform, not only telecommunications proper, but Canadian society itself."

(Canada Yearbook;1980-81,p.616)

The "communications revolution" - which was ushered in during the 1970s - was to move forward at full speed in the 1980s, despite the powerful push of the staples fraction and its agenda. This second decade, however, was also characterized by the rapid privatization and commercial maximization of the technologies that constituted the

new 'revolution'. As with the initial thrust of communications policies in the 1970s, the ideology of the 'technological imperative' was to persist as a governing force with respect to the communications sector and its (perceived) pivotal role in the unfolding of Canadian society in the 1980s. This 'revolutionary' motif was evident in the DOC's 1981 document, The Information Revolution and its Implications for Canada which stated that "(t)he social and economic impact of the information revolution could be as profound as that of the industrial revolution" (p.8). This echoed the position put forward the previous year in the DOC Annual Report predicting serious consequences if Canadian industry were not a participant in the new information-based international economy, declaring that "Canada's very survival as a nation (was) at stake" (p.6). Later, in an address to the CAB, the Communications Minister stated that "(t)he significant changes now taking place in communications shape up not simply as a challenge of adaptation to technology, but as a critical phase in the evolution of Canada as a nation" (Fox;1981b,p.9). In a separate address the Minister further declared that "Canada must come into the information age, must identify and seize the opportunities it offers, must build on her many advantages in doing so, and must become a major player in the international marketplace...(if not), our economy, and therefore all Canadians will suffer" (Fox;1981a,p.19).⁸ This technological ideology had not diminished in the least a decade later when, in an address to The National Summit on Information Policy, Perrin Beatty the Minister of Communications stated; "(t)his country is in the middle of a world-wide revolution. It's not the traditional kind of revolution, involving armies and guns, but a revolution in technology and its impact upon society...The official currency in this new

world is information, in a multitude of forms" (1992,p.1).

Underlying this ideology of technological determinism and the inevitable "revolution", was evidence that communications technology and business (encompassing communications and telecommunications) had indeed become a commanding force in an economy that was otherwise being ground down by an extended period of crisis. According to the CRTC's 1984-85 Annual Report, the communications sector (which draws in with it many smaller businesses with compatible products and services) "lies at the strategic centre of the entire economy" (p.ix). In 1983 the telecommunications industry had become the largest high-technology employer with over 125,000 employees and was fast becoming a sector of significant capital investment (Fox;1983,p.6). By 1984 telecommunications operating revenues had increased four-fold from 1974, "surpassing the growth of the Canadian economy as a whole" (CRTC,Annual Report;1983-84,p.vi). A 1987 Communications Canada report - Communications for the Twenty-First Century - stated that the communications industry was Canada's leading area of high technological achievement, accounting for more than one quarter of our industrial research and development (p.5). In 1989, the Financial Post indicated that the communications sector was the third best performer for the decade (following gold and silver mines and real estate) with an average annual increase of 21 % (and 500% over 10 years) (Summer, 1989,p.188).⁹ And, in its 1992 document New Media...New Choices, Communications Canada stated that "the information technology market is larger than that for transportation services and has surpassed the market of a traditional sector like pulp and paper" (p.25).¹⁰

Beyond its domestic economic growth potential, the communications sector was of particular value in terms of its export-orientation. This included not only the content, but telecommunications equipment and space systems revolving around satellite technologies.¹¹ In 1983, Canadian space and electronics firm, SPAR Aerospace Ltd. estimated that half its sales for that year would be in international markets (Financial Post Special Report; November 19, 1983, p. S3). Roughly three-quarters of the substantial revenues of Canada's space industry in the 1980s were derived from exports (Hatter; 1989, p. 42). The telecommunications marketplace worldwide was growing approximately 20% a year (Financial Post; June 16, 1989, p. 16) and, in 1986, Canada exported \$437 million more in telecommunications equipment than it imported (Blackwell; 1987-88, p. 23).

In a 1981 address to the Annual Conference of International Relations Club in Montreal, the Minister of Communications indicated the extent to which this economic activity had penetrated the political sphere when he argued that communications represented one of the most dynamic areas of international relations where Canada is particularly influential. In fact, the Minister made the claim that communications were the "cornerstone" of international relations (Fox; 1981). This political strategy reflected a larger ideological and strategic shift within the state. The Canadian government addressed communications in the 1980s as a sector which needed to be internationally competitive rather than domestically protected. Government policy has highlighted the power of the international economic community. In its justification of deregulation and the apparent disregard of the public or public interest, Communications Canada stated;

"(t)he current trend in telecommunications around the world is a gradual easing of market regulation and the privatization of government owned telecommunications companies...Canada cannot be left behind" (1992,p.4).

The context that was required for the rapid implementation of both the new communications technologies and policies and actions geared towards their commodification, was one based on deregulation. This was congruent with the larger Canadian economic and political atmosphere at this historic juncture. Mosco (1988) has argued that "deregulation is a response to the recognition that telecommunications and its related informatics and communications sectors have come to occupy a central place in the capital accumulation process..(d)eregulation and privatization accelerate the information commodification process by rupturing traditional relationships among business, the state and labour" (p.119).¹²

In political terms, communications policy embraced more completely technological transfer and the promotion and marketing of communications technologies - all on behalf of private sector interests. The DOC also assisted by creating seedbeds where companies could develop new approaches to technological transfers through its Office Communications System program.¹³ Through overt financial support, the use of procurement, the sharing of human resources and the development of joint government-industry partnerships for marketing purposes (as the DOC had done with SPAR), attempts to help private industry capture a share of new markets were made.¹⁴ Once companies were able to demonstrate their ability to profit, the government withdrew (as exemplified with Telesat Canada).

Convergence in the Modern Era

With the increased emphasis on export, the major links to business development and a concomitant rise in the service sector, communications industries did indeed grow to represent a significant force in the traditionally resource-based power bloc. It was the convergence of technologies and the interests behind them that helped to solidify this new force. While there had been an awareness of this growing technological convergence beginning in the early 1970s, it was not until the 1980s that the implications began to manifest themselves in business, technology and government policy. By 1990, Communications Canada had established the Telematics and New Media Branch (DGNM) to examine the effects of convergence. The agency's "ultimate objective (was to) strengthen Canada's industrial and technological capabilities in telematics and the new media through policy and regulatory measures favourable to their growth" (Communications Canada, Annual Report, 1990-91, p.15).

The origins of 'convergence' can be traced back to the early technological advances in communications such as cable, computers, satellites and conventional broadcasting. Despite the fact that the term has really only been fully adopted in policy and media discourse over the last decade, it was conceived of and discussed in the late 1960s. In fact, in its first Annual Report, members of the CRTC wrote; "(n)early all the means of modern communication will likely be linked together in the future to bring programs and information of all kinds to the home set, through link-ups with conventional broadcasting facilities, telephone, computers, cable and satellites. While these concerns have not been voiced in the 1968 Act the Commission has been made aware of their

potential and effects on the future of the Canadian broadcasting system" (1968-69,p.4). Although the issue of convergence did not preoccupy the broadcasting regulators or dominate the broadcasting environment during the 1970s, the powerful influence of the new communications technologies and interests were felt - along with the increasingly dominating DOC influence - by the 1980s. With the linking of cable to conventional broadcasters in the 1970s, and the full use of satellite-cable networking (along with direct broadcast satellites) in the 1980s, convergence unfolded largely without the fanfare or public attention that it was to garner in the late 1980s when much larger interests grew to have a stake in its potential.

With the increased overlap between communications technologies came a blurring of regulatory lines (Strick;1988), as evidenced by shifting priorities and new policies within state agencies. In 1981 the DOC wrote: "(t)hese and other advances in technology offer new possibilities that may strain traditional regulatory concepts. Broadcasting, for example, has long been regulated as a scarce resource, but the abundant capacity of new systems now poised for implementation may well require a new approach. It also raises the question of what institutional framework will be required" (DOC,Annual Report;1979-80,p.6). Clearly, there was a sense within the state of an inevitable structural change as the old jurisdictions, policies and government bodies/agencies became outmoded in relation to current practices.

Throughout this process of shifting powers and structures, the CRTC was to become further subordinated to the broader interests of the DOC and Cabinet, as it was not equipped to deal with the wide range of issues this new convergence was bringing,

issues that were being relegated to the hardware realm largely under DOC authority. Even though detailed telecommunications regulations did fall under CRTC jurisdiction as of the mid-1970s, over time it appeared that even these issues were to encroach upon regulation of conventional broadcasting as less and less time and resources were attended to content and more to carriage - concerns about access for carriers and business decisions. The chair of the CRTC at that time, John Meisel, reflected this integration; "(t)raditionally, there also has been a cleavage between telecommunications and broadcasting matters among the interests of the commission members. However, more and more... 'these distinctions are blurring and the chairman and the two vice-chairmen are now operating in a more collegial fashion suitable to an integrated approach to regulation'" (Black;1980,p.42).

The predominance of economic over cultural or social interests began to emerge in cultural and communications policy, as revealed in the 1981-82 DOC Annual Report which stated that "(g)overnment communications policies are in need of continuous reassessment in light of the rapid change, particularly in technology, which characterizes the communications/information sector. Economic considerations play a major role in this process". With the melding of content and carriage under the DOC authority, cultural and social issues were increasingly becoming tied directly to capital accumulation, their worth measured through economic performance domestically and internationally. Telecommunications policy was designed to help meet what the government had deemed to be the two fundamental policy goals - economic renewal and national reconciliation (MacDonald;1989). This lay bare the economic core and the need

to ameliorate provincial and regional tensions, rather than create national cultural identities.

Similarly, CRTC regulatory concerns centred on issues of enlightenment and nationalism began to diminish. Emphasis appeared to be shifting towards regulation in the interests of varying and competing segments of capital. In a 1989 article written for Cable Communications Magazine, Keith Spicer, the chair of the CRTC, wrote that the "Commission's basic duty, of course, consists of the regulation of broadcasting and telecommunications in an impartial way. Its job is to ensure a level playing field for both the cable and telecommunications industries and to maintain a credible system of regulation - one that is clear, stable, fair and reasonably predictable" (December 15, 1989, p.11). Beyond the omission of the public and non-corporate interests, this statement indicates the degree to which the Commission had grown subservient to the larger agenda/interests of the powerful communications players.

By the end of the 1980s, the role of the CRTC appeared to be primarily that of mediator amongst competing firms, under the greater control of the DOC - control which eroded much of the variability in CRTC regulations and helped the Ministry foster industry development. More recently, the CRTC has spent much of its time and resources on overseeing business development and transactions. Even the DOC is being strained in managing the evolution of the communications environment of the 1990s, not only through its subordinated relation to the Department of Finance and macro-economic policy, but by its own inadequate policy-making apparatus which has been largely unable to set policy to address rapid technological change (Roman; 1990, p.109). Thus, the

Minister's unsurprising statement in 1992: "(t)he rulebook has been tossed out. That's precisely why my department has been working so hard with Canadian businesses and consumers to discover how we can harness the tremendous potential of new information technologies" (Beatty;1992,p.2).

While converging technologies and capitals had begun to snowball in the early 1980s, by the end of the decade this convergence had become a powerful presence in Canadian society, where telecommunications, cable, software and broadcasting were being drawn onto the same terrain. This terrain was characterized by a multitude of players struggling to ascertain dominance in a new and profitable communications world. One of the predominant conflicts to emerge has been between the cable and telecommunications companies as they have entered into direct competition over what is being billed as the new 'information highway'. This is a term used to describe the integration of a number of communications technologies in a single digital system that will be capable of delivering interactive services into Canadian homes and businesses. This proposed system - based on several developments already in existence, requires the installation of new wire and cable systems, or at least the up-grading of existing ones. Both the telecommunications and cable companies could theoretically and practically provide the same communications services. Both can carry video, audio and data (compressed) in digital form, ultimately over fibre-optic cables into homes. Many billions of dollars are currently being invested in this vision as hardware, software, cable and telecommunications companies frantically merge and concentrate assets¹³ in order to assert their own vision of the information highway. Phone, computer, broadcasting,

cable, satellite, software and entertainment and consumer service companies are all entering into new mergers and market opportunities.

The significance of this technological and business convergence to the government was indicated by the recent Liberal appointment of New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna as Minister of State for the Information Highway, and by activities such as the government assisted \$100 million CANARIE project designed to help link up electronic networks (ie., satellites, digital technologies, fibre-optics). While the public has largely been excluded in the planning of this new communications world, they have not been in paying for it.¹⁶ "Because of the huge infrastructural investments involved, and the comparatively low rate of return on such investments (cable, satellites, etc.), these moves involve close alliances between capital and the state in order that taxpayers carry the cost of distribution systems, while private capital takes the profits from the sale of hardware and from the subsequent development of a consumer durables market...and of a software market" (Garnham;1979,p.145).

Through all of this there has been a shift within cultural and communications agencies (and agents) from an obsession with the conventional media in the 1970s to one over telecommunications and new distributional technologies in the 1980s. What becomes apparent is that, while the communications (and high-tech) sector was not hegemonic, it did intersect with the hegemonic alliance in the 1980s (with its more export-oriented, privatization, deregulatory and transnational emphasis) - where it has been drawn into new power structures.

III. COMMERCIAL RADIO IN THE 1980s

Radio and the New Communications

"It used to be that you could name the media on the fingers of one hand. They divided themselves into neat categories such as film, television, cable, radio and print. All of those lines, however, are dissolving. We now have a profusion of new media in which technologies are combined, replicated, modified and piggy-backed to suit the needs of the user." (Beatty;1992,p.2)

What has been the place of commercial radio throughout this process of convergence? Just as the medium has historically been drawn into larger patterns of power through regulation and economic and political conditions, commercial radio has been altered in this phase too by its role within the communications sector. Radio has traditionally had little overlap with other communications technologies, particularly when compared with television which, after having struggled against cable in the 1970s, has become highly integrated with both cable and satellites. Cable and commercial radio have remained largely segregated due primarily to the local nature of both. Satellite transmission, on the other hand, has grown to play a larger role in commercial radio (as well as television) broadcasting since the early 1980s, and has been a major force in the current round of convergence. According to Charles Dalfen, the vice-president of the CRTC in 1980..."on my arrival, there was little attention to the impact of technology and what it could do. But in a short period of time, that's changed. Satellites in particular...were not in original CRTC planning, yet now are central to the development of the broadcasting industry" (Strouts;1980,p.52). By 1985, the chair stated in the CRTC

Annual Report that the Commission's first priority must be meeting the technological challenge successfully for the rest of the decade (1988-89,p.x).

In 1979 the CAB hosted a convention which featured a major session on the use of satellites and future technology. This marked the beginning of serious organizational interest in the interconnection of radio and satellites. Although the CBC moved much of its radio operations to satellite in 1973-74, it was a decade later before it was incorporated into private radio broadcasting. Along with the coming of new specialty channels for television and a general easing of regulations initiated by the DOC (and manifested in CRTC licensing alterations facilitating licenses for network programming), the way was paved for the increased use of satellite transmission in private radio. Once these structures were in place, there remained only the problem of the high costs that the monopolized Telesat placed on rental of channels by individual stations (along with the high costs of transmission and reception equipment). This spawned a major effort by some private broadcasters for the right to allow ownership of up-link facilities and the subleasing of parts of television satellite channels (or eventually, new more flexible SCPCs (single channel per carriers) which were better suited for networking practices and more appealing than satellite video signal subcarriers). By the middle of the decade, Telesat and Cancom (the Canadian satellite services company) negotiated an agreement wherein Cancom could generate subleasing rights.

Satellite transmission with its technical superiority, was especially appealing to network operations which were to grow throughout the 1980s. In terms of networking, the more stations or reception points a network owned, the more cost efficient this mode

of transmission was, especially in terms of multiple access features. Not only have radio networks been interested in the use of satellites, radio news delivery services¹⁷ and companies such as Telemedia Broadcasting Services (TBS) began carrying its sports and music services over satellite space subleased from Cancom (of which Telemedia was part owner). Along with format services such as 'Star Country' a country music format, and re-broadcasting services such as SRN owned by CKWX and CKKS-FM in Vancouver, overnight services proved to be popular with smaller and medium sized radio market stations which could automate their midnight to morning broadcasting with a satellite feed from a company such as Seltech's 'Night Channel'. By the late 1980s, most stations across most markets used satellite services to varying degrees, for as a Toronto station general manager suggested in 1984, "we think, as most other broadcasters do, that satellite delivery of services will be the only and most efficient way to deliver any number of broadcast services either programming, commercials or news" (Allman;1984,p.11).

While satellite use has been economically attractive at the station level (small, medium and large) to help cut costs, another way to interpret its intersection with the commercial radio industry is through an explanation based on capital expansion and simultaneous capital rationalization by the larger broadcasting corporations.¹⁸ Beyond the economies of scale of satellite use across stations, many broadcasting companies hold stakes in satellite companies. While several broadcasters became cable owners as well in the 1970s, in the 1980s they moved into ownership of other forms of communications. Telemedia is part owner of Cancom (a consortium of private broadcasters), as is WIC

Western International Communications Ltd. which (in 1990) owned 51% of the satellite distributor. In addition to the general processes of capital expansion which account in part for movement into this type of ownership, the state of the economy in the 1980s put pressure on advertising budgets as advertising revenue (along with media stocks) began to decline greater than ever in the past (Siklos;1990). This required not only cost-cutting measures at the operational level, but divestiture into ventures less dependant on the fluctuations of the advertising market, ventures such as Cancom which was not advertising dependent and which performed well throughout the period.

In this new environment, corporate broadcasters often expressed interests which appeared to contradict what had traditionally been the industry's insistence on the local nature of commercial radio and the need to preserve a national character in broadcasting. This was reflected in a statement made by a Telemedia executive wherein he observed..."(t)here is a move to globalization. The world is getting smaller, and our sense of community is larger than it used to be. My contention is that there is room for these things now" (Lavers;1989,p.76). This dynamic characterizing modern commercial interests - national or international capital owning local radio operations - embodies a contradiction that was to become more manifest by the 1990s.¹⁹

Consolidation and Self-Regulation in a Competitive Media World

It was in this context of technological convergence and economic rationalization that commercial radio evolved in the last half of the modern era. Having developed

effective programming approaches and marketing techniques for format radio in the 1970s, changes to the content of commercial radio in the 1980s were essentially extensions of processes already in place. Formats were further refined, more specialized and increasingly fragmented as broadcasters and advertisers continued to narrow in on specific audiences with finely detailed demographic characteristics. FM broadcasting continued to grow (in many markets overtaking AM in ratings), especially as more and more automobiles were routinely outfitted with FM receivers. The greater degree of change, however, lay within the business of radio, rather than what was heard over-the-air.

The shifts that occurred within the commercial radio broadcasting industry at the firm level were largely reflective of the political and economic climate of Canada in the 1980s. Consolidation and concentration came to dominate what, by this point, had become a corporate rather than an entrepreneurial business. Paralleling the feverish motion of takeovers in the Canadian economy, the 1980s was also a period of great merger and takeover activity in the communications business where companies expanded territory within the sectors they knew best in the struggle to dominate those sectors, rather than drawing together a number of unrelated businesses (Mittelstaedt; 1989, p. 75). While it would be onerous to chronicle the countless buyouts and takeovers throughout the decade (there were 73 takeovers in radio between 1986 and 1992), a look at 1988 - which was a particularly active year for mergers and acquisitions in the business - will help to illustrate the degree of corporate maneuvering within the industry.

To begin, "one of broadcasting's oldest family operations, Sunwapta

Broadcasting Ltd. (of Edmonton), was taken over by CAP Communications of Kitchener, the broadcast arm of electronics giant Electrohome Ltd." (Davis;1989a,p.18). Maclean-Hunter bought Selkirk Communications for an astounding \$594 million, "the biggest buyout ever engineered by a Canadian media company" (Davis;1990b,p.13). (It 'flipped' 12 of the radio stations acquired in a \$25 million dollar deal with Rogers Communications Inc. soon after.) Western International Communications Ltd. (WIC), engineered a buyout of Allarcom Ltd. worth over \$100 million for "which they received two television stations, the Super-channel movie service, a 50% interest in the Family Channel and the Studio Post and Transfer post-production facility. This deal came at a time when WIC's radio division, Westcom Radio, was performing poorly with seriously declining profits. Even smaller media players such as Pelmorex Communications Ltd. moved in to grab up 14 small-market radio stations in Ontario. According to Peter Viner, president of Telemedia Communications Inc. (Ontario), in light of the flurry of transactions which have taken place in the late 1980s (along with escalated interest rates), "(w)e are running out of candidates for sale in the broadcasting sector" (Hylton;1988,p.34). Regardless of Viner's concern over the lack of potential investment property, his statement is nonetheless indicative of the 1980's intensification of concentration in an industry in which the 9 largest radio firms in Canada represented 93% of all pre-tax profits (Ibid.).²⁰

With increased consolidation amongst fewer, more powerful, owners/corporations came the enhanced ability to unite the radio industry in common purpose to help address what had become, by the 1980s, dwindling revenues (especially in smaller radio markets).

Working at the industry level with greater resources than could be generated earlier amongst smaller independents or chains, the Radio Bureau of Canada (which changed its name to the Radio Marketing Board [RMB] in 1991 to reflect a more aggressive business attitude) established itself as a sales and marketing organization intended to service the industry and create a business plan to establish co-operation amongst radio broadcasters, at the same time raising the profile of the medium with advertisers and agencies. By improving sales forces and sales strategies, commercial broadcasters and the Marketing Bureau were better able to tie-in radio targeting with the marketing of products and services in both smaller retail and larger national advertising markets. For the first time the industry worked largely as a whole to protect general radio interests.

At the political level, the momentum started within the CAB in the 1970s was to increase during the 1980s as the Association shifted from sporadic representation efforts to highly mobilized lobbying activity. As with the consensus atmosphere in the Marketing Board, the consolidation of member stations helped to create a greater degree of solidarity, especially over issues such as new media and technologies. Within the CAB numerous sub-committees and groups (such as the Consultative Committee) were formed to more systematically facilitate relations between broadcasters and the government.²¹ In this new interactive style, the CAB produced strategies which were aimed at influencing the direction of legislation and regulations to make them as favourable as possible to the private broadcasting industry (CAB;1981), focusing on not only the CRTC, but the DOC at the political and bureaucratic levels. With the selection of more "political" executives such as Ernest Steele, who brought "a special brand of Ottawa 'moxie' to the

Association...(linking) private interests with the public interest (through his knowledge of) the location of the levers of power" (CAB;1984), the CAB effected many of its desired results.²²

In the early 1980s, the CAB contributed greatly to a major government radio review. This signalled the beginning of concerted attempts for a reduction in CRTC regulations and "a plea for a new regulatory philosophy - one that would recognize the powers of the marketplace, the forces of competition...the strength of self-regulation and society's greater ability to look after its own interest" (*Broadcaster*;September, 1980,p.48). This new regulatory philosophy was largely accommodated through increased consultation with government agents and bodies.²³ What followed was a new, more consensual and congenial atmosphere in broadcasting/government relations, and one decidedly different than twenty years earlier when, as Olney (1974) has argued, the two were essentially at odds. Although the CAB did not attain its goals over every issue throughout the 1980s, Pierre Nadeau, former executive at the CAB, has suggested that the CRTC "seldom approved anything that would be regarded as negative by the industry, and if it did, it would make the necessary changes" (Davis;1989,p.24).²⁴ This increased representation could be tied into a number of variables including a more malleable regulatory body operating within an increasingly market-driven climate, as well as the integration of radio ownership with larger corporate ownership.

In addition to the growth of favourable relations between the CAB and the CRTC, private broadcasters were also supported, to a great extent by the Department of Communications which appeared to express interest in nurturing the economic health of

the broadcasting industry. In an address to the CAB, the Communications Minister said; "I hope that in our dealing over the next few years we will be able to influence each other." He also stated; "(p)ersonally I sympathize with the trend to limit government intervention, especially on questions of content...I would have serious reservations if it wanted to regulate products of the mind" (Fox;1980,p.2-3). And, later..."(e)veryone agrees that co-operation between governments, broadcasters and regulators is essential if this industry is to remain healthy and vibrant..." (Fox;1981,p.4).

This heightened focus on the economic interests of private broadcasters corresponded inversely with the declining emphasis on goals of public service or public good, particularly as telecommunications concerns came to dominate the communications environment. This attitude began to emerge regularly in government statements and policies concerning broadcasting. The 1983 DOC strategy paper on a national broadcasting policy was based on two premises which highlighted this shift in priority. The first premise referred to a need to help broadcasters become more competitive and the second concerned the desire for high-quality programs (DOC;1983). Similarly, in the strategy paper the response to the coming of new programming services (via satellites, cable, etc.) was; "(t)he emergence of new programming services may well represent an important opportunity for private broadcasters who wish to employ their entrepreneurial ability, production skills and knowledge of the Canadian market to expand their revenue base" (Ibid.), emphasizing the focus on broadcaster's financial needs rather than public interests. This position was mirrored in the CRTC 1983-84 Annual Report, wherein the Commission stated that two of its three key strategies intended to enhance its mandate

under the Broadcasting Act were to encourage and not hinder the entrepreneurial spirit in the communications field and to add to the menu of existing Canadian communications products and services. In this sense, regulation was drawing them into the dominant agenda centred on communication: technology.

The result of this changing vision and interpretation of commercial radio's role in the broadcasting system was an unequivocal move towards self-regulation. With increasingly formalized consultative structures, CAB input to the CRTC and DOC was more and more effective in achieving a streamlining of regulations and a more supervisory approach, especially by the second half of the 1980s. Following intensive lobbying, the CRTC altered industry regulation such that the CAB was essentially left to develop and police its own programming codes regarding sexism, racism, sex, violence, etc. The CAB's response was the institution of its own Canadian Broadcast Standards Council. While the institution of such codes would give the impression of public duty and concern for the public good on the part of private broadcasters, this self-regulation was ultimately in the interest of self-preservation. This type of self-regulation was fundamentally based on not offending listeners and catering to the middle line, the most profitable road. As Bureau stated, "(i)f their (broadcasters) community doesn't feel they are properly reflected in their programming...(audiences) will just abandon them. There is too much choice now" (Careless;1989,p.9). The CRTC was able to justify this new regulatory approach in terms which had little to do with public service, as indicated by the statement; "(this approach) allows increased scope for the industry to devote more time to the creative and marketing aspects of broadcasting, an imperative if broadcasters

are to compete successfully in the current and emerging environment" (CRTC, Annual Report; 1983-84, p.21).

The 1980s witnessed the fruition of a communications environment in which commercial radio broadcasting established a new relationship and new means of connecting with the state. Market concerns were no longer the concerns of just the industry, nor were they couched in larger issues of public and national good. The patterns of power and of capital had ultimately re-defined the nature of the radio business, its regulation and the issues of representation as the privatized, deregulated and market-driven atmosphere of Canadian society percolated down to this narrow cultural sector.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Langille (1987) suggests that the primary difference between "neo-conservatism" and "neo-liberalism" "is that the former pays more attention to traditional values such as patriotism, the family and religion; while the latter is concerned more with free market individualism" (p.44).
2. Rocher (1991) has argued that "the support for free trade is a function of the nature of the markets. Companies that are already quite strong within the continental market support free trade because such a policy would increase their exports. Their argument rests on the long-term economic benefits of increased access to US markets and on the importance of circumventing the rise of American protectionism...The new class alliance to emerge within the Canadian bourgeoisie brings together elements of the business community that emphasize exports or that depend on the continental market" (p.150-151).
3. In a Maclean's interview (February 24, 1986), Thomas d'Aquino, president and chief executive officer of the BCNI said; "Our members detest confrontation. We bring the senior voice of business to government in a more sophisticated, better-prepared way" (p.17). Langille (1987) has argued that the BCNI was more effective than certain other neo-conservative think-tanks or lobby groups largely because of its political ability to appear to represent or be concerned about the interests of all Canadians. "For instance, in their proposals for tax reform and for the reform of social policy, the BCNI were concerned to both reward the rich and protect the poor. They suggested lowering the tax burden at both ends of the spectrum, and using tax credits to insulate low-income earners from increased expenditure taxes. By championing the cause of the poor, they appear magnanimous at very little cost to themselves, since most of the reforms they propose would be borne by the middle class" (p.60).
4. For a detailed account of parts of the massive political advertising campaign undertaken by the free trade supporters during the 1988 election, see Richardson (1992,p.322).
5. According to Richardson (1992) the BCNI "used its clout to convince the Macdonald Commission of the importance of a free trade deal with the U.S." (p.321). For an explication on the biases of this Royal Commission, see Cameron & Drache (Studies in Political Economy;No. 26, Summer 1988).
6. "Protectionist policies were...denounced by the proponents of free trade

as unfair for those more productive enterprises that strive hard to meet adequately the challenges of international trade. Even if protectionism may at times prove to be efficient, it must be avoided as a general rule, because it only delays the necessary process of adaptation to which Canadian enterprises must willingly submit if they are to succeed" (Rocher;1991,p.144).

7. "Science policy in general, and research and development in particular, have enjoyed a special place in the Canadian state's panorama of industrial-support programs. But this status was fading in the late 1980s as these programs were increasingly obliged to meet the demand for regional economic development. Programs of industrial subsidy were gradually expanded to become omnibus in nature and a great many activities associated with industrial development were made eligible for support via the most general and regionally sensitive of these programs, the Industrial Regional Development Program (IRDP). Tax assistance in the field of research and development was so undisciplined that a wide variety of investments, many only loosely associated with R&D, were the beneficiaries of tax credits" (Atkinson & Coleman;1989,p.28-29).
8. This view or position was supported by a promotional push intended to draw in public interest and understanding of telecommunications and technological issues through a panel of "qualified and distinguished Canadians" (DOC,Annual Report;1979-80,p.14).
9. For the Financial Post survey, the communications sector included the following companies: Baton Broadcasting, BCE Mobile Communications, Cdn. Satellite Communications, CFCF, CHUM, Cineplex Odeon, Groupe Videotron, Hollinger, International Thomson, Maclean Hunter, Quebecor, Rogers Communications, Shaw Cablesystems, Southam, Tele-Metropole, Thomson Newspapers, Toronto Sun, Torstar, WIC Western International. In reference to the space sub-sector (part of the communications sector), Atkinson & Coleman (1989) have argued that "space has emerged as one of Canada's most rapidly expanding high-technology industries. It has recorded strong gains in manufacturing output and employment and spectacular increases in labour productivity" (p.105). The domestic space manufacturing industry has now achieved worldwide annual sales of almost \$300 million. In 1989 a new Canadian space agency based in Montreal was created. It was responsible for co-ordinating the spending of close to \$2 billion by the end of this century on a proposed international space station and various new satellites. In 1976 Canada had become the first country where the private space industry generated more revenues than government was spending on space (Hatter;1989,p.42).

10. The telecommunications dimension of the communications sector was crucial not only for the economic growth it generated itself, but because of its highly productive role as the 'key piece of infrastructure for future business development' (Fox;1983), particularly for large companies that benefitted most from new services and equipments - businesses that need to connect and distribute information over long distances. The more sites a company had, or the more information and longer distances, the more they were to benefit. For those firms with long distance communication needs, this technology was cost efficient, provided control over data and services and facilitated transnational capital expansion. The Annual Report of the CRTC for 1984-85 stated that "(w)ithout telecommunications...effective business decisions and the data they rely upon, just could not be made" (p.ix). Information, in this era, moved from being a by-product of production, to a central force in political and economic control and development.
11. "The application of communication and information technology is vital to building an international division of labor that permits capital to take advantage of the most profitable and most stable markets for financing, raw materials and labor" (Mosco;1988,p.119). Much of the space-related business of the 1980s was part of the larger cold-war ideology and military research and build-up originating in Reagan's cold war agenda, particularly the 'Star Wars' program. There have also been partnerships in the telecommunications industry with countries besides the United States, such as France, Japan, China and here it becomes interconnected with the Department of External Affairs. For example, DOC and External Affairs organized technical missions in the mid-1980s to Japan, China and Brazil for Canadian firms intended ultimately to stimulate international deals (Blackwell;1987-88,p.25).
12. In commenting on communications deregulation in the United States, Jeremy Tunstall (1987) has suggested that "(t)o deregulate communications is to move it out of the government bureaucracy of regulation and throw it into the twin marketplaces of commerce and politics...behind (a) loose deregulatory consensus lies the... assumption that communications is becoming the number one industry in the world..." (Walker;1987,p.20). This deregulatory activity is occurring not just in North America, but in most industrialized Western countries and is in large part tied to the new power of information technologies and capital. Thus, in this context, the Free Trade Agreement can also be situated as part of a larger international restructuring of business related to electronics and communications where transnational capital, not nation-states, become defining powers. With deregulation also came the move towards privatization of Crown corporations such as Telesat Canada and Teleglobe. By the 1990s, the

federal government sold its 53% stake in the profitable satellite company Telesat. This twin process of deregulation and privatization was a relatively unfettered process in light of the free trade context of the 1980s, an outlook which was largely supported by the communications department.

13. Including companies in fibre-optics, cellular radio telephone systems, mobile satellite programming and, the most notable failure in technological transfer - Telidon (see Gillies; 1990). Economic and Regional Development Agreement (ERDA) programs were instituted in 1984 for purposes of establishing co-operation between federal and provincial governments through culture and communications projects to stimulate economic growth. ERDAs were phased out (except in Quebec) in the late 1980s.
14. The Space Industry Development Program was also created to assist "Canadian suppliers of communication satellite components and systems to become commercially viable. The Program is cost-shared between the Department and the supplier" (Communications Canada Annual Report; 1990-91, p.39). Two of the chief ways in which technology transfers occurred were through the Industrial Research Assistance Program (IRAP) and the Unsolicited Proposals (UP) Program. With mechanisms becoming entrenched, the Ministry created the Technology Transfer Office (TTO) in the late 1980s. With respect to export and promotion of Canadian industry, Communications Canada's "international marketing activities directly assisted Canadian companies in generating \$130 million in sales abroad" (Ibid., p.48).
15. There has been a public awareness and concern with the implications of such concentrated corporate control over information. In Canada, a Coalition for Public Information has been established to study and represent the rights of non-corporate citizens throughout the struggle for control being conducted largely at the corporate level.
16. After years of setting up a satellite industry and space and telecommunications infrastructure, the state has been compelled to follow through to help recoup and justify its investment. This financial and ideological incursion has been further boosted by headline-hungry media with a deluge of features on everything from how wonderful the new 'information highway' will make life to user's survival guides for travelling the new 'highway'.
17. News delivery services were the first to move into using satellites with Maclean-Hunter's Newsradio, Standard Broadcasting's News (SBN) and Broadcast News (BN) supplying satellite services for subscribers. In the

same year that BN was established, a consortium called ENG (with a subsidiary - Canadian Satellite Delivery System) was also created with venture capital to offer news services by satellite, acting as a middle-body between programmers, news services and Cancom.

18. The appropriation of satellite technology by broadcasters pursuing development of new services reflected the tendency to expand capital through investment in technologies only indirectly related to radio. As of 1986, five of the top eighteen broadcasting firms have been working to develop new services from existing satellite capabilities for purposes of diversified corporate strategies (Stratavision;1986,p.72).
19. When considering the power broadcasters had in this phase, we can look to Cancom and see that not only was it a profitable and powerful player, but it won the favour of government through support for its interests in such matters as the distribution of distant signals via cable into major markets. This policy (which not only expands customer base, but benefits cable operators as well) appears to contravene not only protection of local broadcasters, but Canadian content regulations. Here large broadcasting centres or head companies with stakes in the new communications benefit, while at the same time their other operations are threatened. This exposes the contradictions and conflict amongst divisions of broadcasting capital.
20. This concentration of ownership was also reflected in CRTC activity in the 1980s where a decrease in the number of license applications reviewed was offset by an increase in applications concerning ownership changes and transactions (CRTC, Annual Report;1987-88,p.ix). In 1988 the CRTC stated that as a regulator, the Commission required more emphasis on market information and more applied research to better assess market conditions, needs and reactions..." (Ibid.,p.xiv). As a result, CRTC focus shifted more to business concerns. A review of CRTC annual reports over time shows a marked decline in the reporting of license applications, approvals, denials and reasons. By the 1980s, much less attention and space was devoted to individual stations and much more to corporate control issues. In fact, by the beginning of the 1980s, the CRTC itself was increasingly being structured in a corporate manner involving financial and administrative accountability and strategies and balancing its policy and regulatory activities with the necessities of efficient management.
21. Despite greater solidarity, however, some major corporate owners continued to work for their political interests outside of the collectivity.

22. Interestingly, as private broadcasters turned more and more to figures with political or bureaucratic experience to represent them, government agencies were being staffed by those from the private sector. For example, Andre Bureau, CRTC chair in the second half of the 1980s held considerable executive experience at Telemedia and Cancom Inc., and was director of Teleglobe Canada and the CAB, amongst other organizations. In 1988, Michael McCabe, who had previously run his own lobbying company and had no experience with the broadcasting industry, was brought in. A "political animal", McCabe also had the considerable knowledge and power to bring to bear on policy issues.
23. Because this new relationship evolved in the larger context of increased lobbying, consultation, etc., private broadcasters met with greater success when asserting their policy concerns and wishes. "Reminding Mulroney that broadcasting's health is related directly to the economy and that the (1982 Federal Cultural Policy Review Commission) identified broadcasting as Canada's most important cultural resource, the CAB...requested 'an early and full' discussion with the (new) PC leader (in 1984). In response,...the PM assured (the association) that policies would be developed through consultation with organizations such as (theirs)" (CAB, Annual Report; 1984'.
24. A case in point would be the CAB's fight against 'neighbouring rights', a copyright measure governing the air-play of musical recordings which would essentially increase fees paid by broadcasters to recording artists and record companies. This was a move which large broadcasters claimed would not only hurt broadcasters, but would probably kill many of the smaller marginal stations which were operating at dangerously low levels of profitability. Through its Parliamentary Relations Organization (and a huge campaign of letter writing to MPs arguing that Canadian radio would almost be destroyed), the CAB was able to affect the DOC.

CHAPTER EIGHT

COMMERCIAL RADIO BROADCASTING AND THE MECHANISMS OF REPRESENTATION AND REGULATION

I. Representation Through Regulation

It was argued above that commercial radio has been drawn into the larger patterns and structures of power in Canada in different ways over various historic phases. In each phase, the way in which radio's private sector was integrated (more or less) was dependent upon a combination of the immediate accumulation strategies of the power bloc, the longer-term hegemonic project of its leadership and the power (economic, cultural and political) that private broadcasters held in relation to these forces, including their (in)ability to articulate their interests to these strategies and projects. These phases of radio history have largely coincided with distinct historic blocs in Canadian society. In the modern period of commercial radio broadcasting, the way in which the medium was drawn into the larger patterns of power was due, in great part, to its role in the burgeoning communications sector. While this role and the situation of commercial radio in the communications environment was to change over the course of two decades, it is nonetheless possible to examine more closely the mechanisms through which the relationship between commercial radio and other interests and processes was established.

The notion of representation can be explored in more specific terms by beginning with the structural mechanisms of regulation - as they were instituted in 1968 - and the modifications made as pressures from broadcasters and external forces impinged upon and altered these structures. The structural lag during the 1970s and 1980s (between broadcasting acts) provides the framework for analysis. While it is undoubtable that private broadcasters became a more powerful force as part of the 'communications

revolution' and their increased corporate concentration and deregulation over the last two decades, it would be erroneous to simply assume that through increased power and representation they have "captured" the agency which regulates them. With respect to regulatory bodies, Mahon (1977) has suggested that "(t)he representatives of all social forces perform two roles: representation of the specific interests of their respective groups in the negotiation process and regulation -- the attempt to persuade and/or coerce their group into accepting the compromise...This dual character of representation constitutes a critical factor in the functioning of the state as the central focus for the maintenance of the unity of the power bloc under the hegemonic fraction" (p.183). This interpretation of representation is helpful for understanding how a particular sector and/or interest has been integrated in the larger balance of power within a particular historical juncture. It also provides a more comprehensive approach to portraying the relations between the broadcasting industry and the state.

By exploring the ways in which the Broadcasting Act of 1968 and the mandate of the CRTC - as well as amendments and interpretations - were subordinated to the general state 'bias', more focused analysis can reveal how commercial radio has been both represented and subordinated through the structures of regulation in the modern period. This complex process of simultaneous representation and subordination was manifest in, and can be exemplified by, the two primary regulatory powers of the agency which emerged out of the long history of conflict, negotiation and compromise within the evolution of the Canadian broadcasting system. Through the specific licensing practices of the state, the material interests of private broadcasters have largely found

representation while, at the same time, through the Canadian content regulations imposed on commercial broadcasting, private radio has been generally subordinated to the larger powers and interests of Canadian nationalism.

II. Licensing: Representation and Protectionism

The Canadian state has been compelled through its structures to create, legitimate and enforce property rights for capital (Clement;1983,p.211). While it was long maintained that broadcasting airwaves in this country were 'public property', they effectively became 'private property' through a selective and protective system of licensing. And, through a variety of licensing mechanisms and conditions, the interests of corporate broadcasting capital have been largely guaranteed. The state - through the powers granted to the regulatory commission, as well as the Department of Communications and the Governor-in-Council - structured this process by granting licenses that determined who was to hold the rights to certain frequencies, whether these rights of capital were to be reproduced and, to a great extent, the degree of profitability to be realized (Ibid.,p.210-212).

There was a period in the 1930s, when Aird had released his report and the Canadian Radio League was gaining momentum in its fight to develop a national public system, in which the existence of private broadcasting appeared threatened. However, as outlined above, this threat was never to materialize. Ultimately, the profitable nature

of commercial radio broadcasting and the power of private broadcasters representing a small, but significant division of capital (including not only the broadcasters themselves, but advertisers as well), was too strong to seriously be placed in jeopardy. In addition, privates were confronted by a capitalist state structure based upon free enterprise and the primacy of profit. By the 1940s, the tenuous position of commercial radio was informally secured. The representation of this politically active sector of broadcasting has been evident in state policy since that time. Beginning with the activities of the BBG in the early 1960s (Raboy;1991,p.145: Bird;1988,p.294) and carrying through to the mandate, structure and activities of the CRTC, state protectionism has, in large part, characterized the modern era of commercial radio broadcasting.

The licensing regulations structurally embodied in the Broadcasting Act of 1968¹ signified one of the principle means by which broadcasters have been protected economically within the state. The key to this protection through licensing practices (specific rules and their interpretation) revolves around the restriction of competition and the creation and maintenance of corporate concentration and monopoly-type conditions. These conditions have largely guaranteed the profitable success of many broadcasting operations. In fact, in the mid-1970s, two media executives praising the CRTC referred to it as "the best manipulator of supply and demand any industry has ever seen...(R)adio has flourished partly because of the CRTC, which kept the supply of licenses tight and prevented weak stations from cutting into the total revenue" (Broadcaster;March,1975,p.8). Similarly, as Gathercole (1986) explained in her analysis of The Caplan-Savageau Task Force on Broadcasting Policy; "the report establishes the

extent to which the private broadcast and cable companies have the Government of Canada to thank for their existence and profitability" (p.10).² A closer look at the ways in which broadcasters are protected in terms of immediate competition for audiences and advertising revenues will help to illustrate this protectionism at the station level.

Within any major radio market, listeners throughout the 'format era' have been provided a plurality of stations and programming, each appearing to serve the unique listening needs of a particular demographic (target) audience. This ostensible "diversity" of information and entertainment has been linked to licensing practices which restrict the type of format a new applicant may choose, or a re-applicant may want to change to.³ The CRTC has held control over which formats enter a market. Each station in a market generally had a unique format and target audience. In restricting competition by granting only one or two licenses for a particular style of radio station in each market, the state helped to ensure that those who broadcast and advertised to a specific target audience essentially held a monopoly over the listenership of that particular demographic (consumer) group. Here the product or service deemed most appropriate to that specific age, ethnic or gender group, etc., was to reach the largest number of people in the market most likely to be interested. The management and control of formats has been an integral part of regulation. Format regulations, while they have been justified on the basis of establishing greater diversity within listening markets, have ultimately created the monopolization of 'target' audiences by specific stations, increasing the potential for revenue, rather than having it diluted across a wide number of competing stations.

CRTC policies have also structured monopoly conditions for existing broadcasters

by designating particular signal strengths for commercial operations which would not overlap with others, on the grounds that this would yield entry into new markets, causing economic injury to another private station ('boundary maintenance'). In Ontario, for example, Toronto radio stations have been technically capable of reaching surrounding smaller cities such as Peterborough. However, inundation of these urban signals into smaller markets would diminish the impact of local radio and the revenues of local advertisers.⁴

Protection of commercial radio interests has been heavily integrated into almost every reach of the business. For instance, in order to protect AM from the expanding FM in the early 1970s, the CRTC implemented different mandates and policies for each to avoid format overlap and a negative economic impact on the existing and financially successful AM stations (as discussed in Chapter Six). 'Diversity' was artificially imposed on the conditions of license for FM operators, thus allowing AM stations to continue to broadcast 'hit' formats, while FM formats were to put more into spoken-word production and non-hit play lists in order to fulfil regulatory obligations of diversity and enlightenment. "(O)n May 28, 1968, the CRTC denied applications for four new FM stations because the 'applicants did not undertake to provide significantly new or different programming opportunities to the communities concerned.' The (CRTC) announcement went on to say that the Commission would ensure that FM radio 'be developed in such a way as to contribute to a more varied program service which will complement and enrich services already available from existing stations.'" (McFadyen, Hoskins & Gillen;1980,p.200). Of course, this was to change over time, for a number of reasons.

Most important was the fact that FM skyrocketed in popularity and was, in many instances, becoming more profitable than AM. By the 1980s, many of the restrictions and obligations that had been placed on FM radio were dropped.⁵ While AM station representatives scrambled throughout the decade to deal with the rise of FM both in the market and in regulatory priority, it must be kept in mind that most AM owners also owned FM operations - essentially a situation of 'money out of one pocket and into the other'. As one Edmonton program director mused; "If I was an owner right now, I'd assume that the money I'd lose from AM I'd get from FM" (Careless;1989,p.9).⁶

Through the mandate of the Broadcasting Act, the CRTC has been empowered to hold public hearings in connection with licensing. The 'autonomy' and 'political-neutrality' of the CRTC was largely legitimized through the practice of public hearings upon which the agency claims to place considerable reliance in order to become attuned not only to the views of industry members, but to those of Canadians not directly participating in broadcasting (Babe;1979,p.37).⁷ Through this, the long-term benefits were, in part, represented in the face of shorter-term sacrifices. "The alternative to open hearings may be public suspicion and that could lead to alternatives, prompted by political exigencies, that are quite inimical to the interests of regulated enterprises...On balance, regulators and regulated are better served by the current norms of the hearing process than are intervenors" (Brown-John;1981,pp.205,218). The notion of 'public' hearings implies that Canadians have had control over 'their' airwaves. It has also provided a degree of legitimization for the private use of a 'public' resource. Consideration of the structure of these hearings, however, reveals the limits of the state capacity to facilitate

general public involvement.

Two of the most contentious points with respect to the hearings have been the CRTC's prohibition of cross-examination by the public and its insistence that the financial information concerning private radio stations be kept confidential between the broadcasters and the Commission (Ibid.,p.38). As a result of these policies, the public is denied access to crucial information regarding the issue of whether a station should be licensed and whether it is capable of abiding by the rules laid out in the Broadcasting Act. (This was further complicated by the lack of any explicit policy on concentration.) If members of the public were opposed to the extension of broadcasting rights to a particular enterprise, they would be unable to build a reasonable case for opposition as a result of this lack of information. The CAB has vigorously fought any CRTC initiatives towards financial disclosure largely on the very shaky platform that the public would not understand the information. "The public aren't that bright...it really is too complicated for the public" argued CAB President Ernest Steele in 1978 (Broadcaster;1978,p.57). Ultimately, the fear amongst broadcasters was not a lack of public understanding, but that competitors, advertisers and unions would understand and possibly threaten management strategies. In addition to these frustrations, there is no formal requirement that the Commission is to base its decision on evidence heard at a public hearing, nor that it justify publicly any licensing decision.

Perhaps here it should be noted that the degree of retribution exercised by the CRTC over licensees has been practically negligible. Stations that have not conformed to licensing conditions have often received lukewarm and repeated warnings. Rarely has

a station lost its license. A 1981 Auditor-General's report noted that the CRTC seldom cancelled or refused to renew a station's license for failure to abide by conditions of license (Broadcaster; January 19, 1982, p.17). An interesting example of disciplinary measures occurred in 1988 when the CRTC imposed an order on Toronto's CKFM-FM (owned by Standard Broadcasting Corporation) following its non-compliance on playing more than the regulatory limit of Top 40 or 'hit' records for the FM band. As penance, the station was ordered to provide its audience with three 'commercial-free' days. While in the short-run the effect may have been lost revenues, the attention and popularity that this sanction appeared to generate for the station left it with a larger audience - a far cry from losing a license.

Throughout the modern era of commercial radio broadcasting, the CRTC has increasingly come to rely on the arguments of "economic viability" for license approval as a part of a wider emphasis on ensuring the longer-term survival of the industry. This reflects, in particular, a shift in state operations and strategies and in the corporate nature of broadcasting, particularly in the 1980s. In 1985, the chair of the CRTC made clear the extent to which the Commission favoured not only 'profitability' in its decision-making, but the profit-making characteristics of large or strong capital, rather than that of the independent or small-scale ownership. In a convention address, Andre Bureau stated;

"I will even go so far as to say that the Commission's belief in financially strong entities has moved it to the point of being prepared to examine a relaxation of CRTC-imposed crossownership restrictions on a case-by-case basis if that is what it would take to ensure strength and long-term viability. Canada simply has not got the luxury of

being able to afford failure in these areas. The risks and costs are just too high" (Stratavision;1986,p.29).

This is a notable deviation from the stated objectives of the 1968 Broadcasting Act to provide "varied", "balanced" and diverse programming. Conditions of license and the Promise-of-Performance have become diluted over time, as both the CRTC and broadcasters have been fashioned in the corporate mould. More recently, the CRTC took a notable jump towards harmonizing itself with corporate interests when it recognized the industry's need to rationalize by approving CHUM Limited's purchase of CKLW and CKLW-FM in Windsor, thus permitting the company to own four radio stations in that market (CAB;February,1993). This was part of what has become a larger easing of restrictions on concentration justified in the interest of financial viability.

Restrictions generated by the Broadcasting Act, which were initially intended to provide public good, have taken a back seat to the all-important issue of financial success. Long-term broadcasting visions have been supplanted by short-term narrow goals. Demands for Promise-of-Performance data were reduced and the need for financial projections for radio licensees were eliminated. This type of action has been stimulated by a more aggressive and consolidated radio industry and a more vulnerable state structure. The 1986-87 CRTC Annual Report included a subsection entitled "Viability: A Prerequisite" which stated that the Commission had become "eager to encourage a responsible entrepreneurial spirit. In effect, this means a willingness to compete, to innovate, and to take risks without sacrificing viability...The thrust of our decisions should not hinder or thwart legitimate business initiatives or jeopardize the opportunities for further growth and development of the regulated industries provided that they also

benefit the public. Indeed, these interests should be encouraged and even nurtured within the parameters of the regulatory process" (p.iv). This move away from the structured mandate of the Canadian broadcasting system highlights the contradictions within the capitalist state as it attempted to facilitate capital accumulation under the rubric of 'public good'.

Entry and Exit Barriers

Beyond format and station to station protection, there have been significant artificial barriers to entry created, which have fostered corporate concentration in the broadcasting industry, and which, as Hoskins & McFadyen (1982) have argued, "allow(ed) firms to increase prices and reap monopoly profits" (p.9). As a 1986 report on ownership structure and behaviour in Canadian broadcasting (prepared for the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy) stated;

"constraints on entry are justified on both technical and policy grounds. In theory, in return for the higher profitability which should result from these barriers, broadcasters are expected to undertake certain activities -- such as the production of Canadian programs -- which may not be wholly justifiable on economic grounds. To the extent that regulatory requirements do not match exactly the financial performance of broadcasters, higher than normal profits may result. This potential profitability in a protected market environment should make entry very attractive for new players and, in particular, create incentives for existing players to expand their holdings" (Stratavision;1986,p.36).

This 'market segmentation' form of regulation determined whether or not the

market could accept a new entrant and, in the case of commercial radio, a new format. "The process controls entry into a market system because existing participants argue that the market is not sufficiently large to accommodate additional participants, for example, the rate of return on investment for those in the market will be in jeopardy...Thus, those enterprises functioning in an area of regulated economic activity derive substantial benefit from the existence of the regulatory agency. Market shares and rates of return can be protected, indeed augmented, behind the shield of a regulatory agency" (Brown-John;1981,p.133-134). By holding down the number of stations in a market, each existing broadcaster has been able to share in a larger slice of the audience and advertising pie.⁸ Throughout the modern phase of broadcasting, these barriers to entry have been increasingly defended in economic terms, rather than in terms of 'public interest'. Through much more detailed financial research on the profitability of various radio markets and stations within those markets, the CRTC has granted entry only in markets that can sustain a new station and for stations that it is assumed will make a profit. This pattern differs from the American system. Deregulation there has led to situations where cities such as San Francisco have become saturated with approximately 70 competing radio stations, in comparison with a Canadian major market such as Toronto, with 19 stations (Goddard;1993,p.K7). The 'scarce resource' basis of commercial radio broadcasting has traditionally been one of the driving forces behind the creation and justification of monopoly conditions within the industry.⁹

In much the same way, 'barriers to exit' - created by the policies of the Broadcasting Act and the CRTC - have also encouraged industry concentration and

protection by providing strong incentives designed, in theory, to avoid depriving a community of a service that has been provided over time. These incentives have included the option to sell the physical plant to another company willing to continue operations. This is a process which has been amenable to the corporate strategies of diversification, as well as specialization within corporate broadcasting organizations that could afford to cross-subsidize from other more profitable operations. Under this arrangement, at the discretion of the 'seller', licenses can be 'sold' or transferred privately (to the party proposed by the vendor) with no opportunity for outside offers and with no chance for competitive intervention by outside bidders. Similarly, in takeovers of small broadcast operations by large companies, all that was required was 'quantifiable benefits' (a tiny percentage of takeover costs contributed to community benefits by the broadcasting or communications business). In most cases, small owners have lost out to large companies with the resources and corporate formats and operations. Ultimately, the effect has been the state-supported trend towards industry concentration and protectionism.

In conclusion, licensing regulations have reflected the formal representation of private (corporate) broadcasters in the structural compromise which was the 1968 Broadcasting Act. Licensing practices and regulations throughout the modern era have, in large part, guaranteed the profitability of the industry, although over time it has changed such that the guarantee has been accorded primarily to larger corporate owners as the interests represented in licensing have grown to be less about public benefits and more about quantifiable economic benefits. Despite this protectionism, the regulatory process and the process of representation has been complex in its articulation within

policy and regulatory practice. As Mahon (1977) has argued, regulation has to do with not only representation, but the subordination that is an inherent part of the larger hegemonic process embedded within the state. Representation takes on the dual character of not only representing specific interests in the negotiation process, but 'persuading' or coercing those interests to accept compromises as they are (partially) subordinated to larger, more powerful interests which have also been represented in the state structure (Mahon;1979,p.183).

III. Canadian Content Regulations: A Mode of Subordination

The representation of private broadcasters, manifest within the Broadcasting Act and the interpretation and activities of the CRTC, was tempered by both the national(ist) tradition of broadcasting and the social conditions of the country during the 1960s. The media, propelled by the popularity of television, were central to concerns over cultural sovereignty. The 1969 Senate Committee (Davey Commission) on the ownership and control of the media in Canada and their real or potential impact on Canadian life, reflected the weight of this concern. "Cultural survival" the committee argued "is perhaps the most critical problem our generation of Canadians will have to face..." (Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Vol. 1; 1970, p. 195). This focus on 'Canadian nationalism' was part of the larger state project which was being conducted mainly at the symbolic level. Leading up to 1968, conflicts at this level were fought

largely over issues such as the official use of the term "Dominion", a citizenship bill, a new flag and whether mailboxes should be designated "Royal Mail" or not (Brodie & Jenson;1980,p.244-245). In the late 1960s, this debate was increasingly carried over to the broadcasting domain.

At about the same time that it was first acknowledged that private broadcasters were to be an 'integral' part of the broadcasting system, the regulatory functions of the CBC were transferred to an independent body, the BBG. These events signalled a difference in the way in which the state responded to, and interacted with, the private sector. This change, which characterized the beginning of a new compromise between the industry, the state and the dominant forces in society, marked the regulatory shift in emphasis from technical ownership issues to a concern with content (Mazer;1986,p.101). While the earlier rise of 'Canadian nationalism' in the 1930s had resulted in the creation of a national public broadcasting system, the late 1950s can be distinguished as the embryonic phase of the development and protection of the Canadian 'identity' through the mode of content regulation, especially with respect to television.

In the realm of broadcasting, the process by which the state granted to commercial broadcasters exclusive rights to segments of 'public' property was legitimated in the 1968 Act by the agreement that, in return, these broadcasters would contribute to the public or 'general' interest through enriching and strengthening the fabric of the country. In this respect, the historic reason that subordination in this second phase was manifest through content regulations, was not so much in order to serve a perceived public interest as to "show that public broadcasting was not the only solution to the national interest in

broadcasting" (Raboy;1991,p.145).

Canadian content regulations for AM radio were introduced in the early 1970s by the CRTC in response to the legislation of 1968. It should be noted that they had not been included in the FM Radio Policy - a decision which was highly favourable to FM broadcasters. This decision was founded on a number of issues, including the fact that there were not many available Canadian recordings of the alternative types of music that were being played on FM's more diverse schedules. The Commission stated in the FM policy hearings that, while a 30% quota would not be appropriate, it would solicit industry opinion as to reasonable objectives to aim for. The CAB argument in response was that FM provided a much greater potential to develop new talent that could not be heard on AM, and that FM programming flexibility could provide a different type of exposure to Canadian audiences through elements such as "live" performance concerts. These responses apparently satisfied the Commission and content quotas remained in the AM domain.

Largely as a result of Canadian content requirements on AM, the radio and recording industries began to develop a mutual interest in and reliance upon each other. Canadian artists required the regulations to ensure airplay along with the popular international recordings and, Canadian broadcasters needed a greater output of Canadian recordings to fulfil their content requirements.¹⁰ In addition to stimulating the Canadian recording business itself, the air-play of Canadian records was intended to increase the revenue of musicians through royalty payments. In his studies of power and property, Wallace Clement (1983) has explained that it is within the jurisdiction of the state to

determine not only who has the rights to property, but who is to benefit from these rights and to what extent. In the case of the regulation of radio broadcasting, it was determined that the Canadian recording industry, in addition to commercial broadcasters, was to benefit from the 'private' rights to the Canadian 'public' airwaves.

Beyond any benefits intended to accrue for various sectors of Canadian capital, the state pursuit of national unity and identity through broadcasting was primarily an ideological and symbolic act (albeit ultimately tied to economic interests). Brown-John (1981) has argued that while the existence of regulation in Canada is fundamentally for economic reasons, there is a caveat to the typical economically-motivated regulatory agency. "For the very reasons for which Canada emerged as a distinct country (the need to protect an identity and natural resources from the ever exuberant and often opportunistic Americans), regulation of resource exploitation and management and regulation of certain forms of mass media came to pass as nationalistically premised policy options. Hence the mandate for regulatory activity in Canada frequently incorporates within the scope of the public interest symbolic qualities" (p.135).

While private broadcasters have undoubtedly found economic protection through the licensing practices of the CRTC, the Canadian content issue has been one of constant contention between broadcasters and government agents and agencies. In a response to the 1968 Broadcasting Act and the action of the CRTC, the primary trade journal of private broadcasters and the mouthpiece of the CAB, changed its name from Canadian Broadcaster to Broadcaster as an act of scorn for the new regulations (Bird;1988,p.454). And, although there were times of relative passive acceptance - as well as of active

promotion of Canadian content requirements - throughout the modern era, commercial radio broadcasters would periodically lash out against their assigned cultural and nationalist purposes, particularly into the 1980s. Perhaps one of the most extreme rhetorical instances could be found in the 1981 CAB Review of Radio Submission to the CRTC in which the Association argued against government policies concerning the role of the Canadian broadcasting system in 'safeguarding and strengthening the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada' - calling it potentially dangerous as a "propaganda tool for government departments" (CAB;1981,p.6-7). This discussion carried on to argue that regulations should revolve around the unquestionable right to freedom of expression if this country was to avoid becoming like many of the Eastern European countries (at that time). While private broadcasters would often vacillate on their views with respect to the role of broadcasting in nation-building, this document did signal a discursive shift within the private sector to a more coherent and cohesive ideological platform revolving around issues of individualism and rights of freedom, issues which were to coincidentally take precedence in the larger society throughout the 1980s.

From Cultural to Economic Nationalism

Throughout the modern era of commercial radio broadcasting, Canadian nationalism was to remain a central concept within regulation. The form, content and definition of Canadian nationalism, however, was to change over the course of these two

decades as the predominant cultural nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s was gradually displaced by a form of economic nationalism in the 1980s. With this came a shift in the place and role of broadcasting and its subordination to larger forces. As the social relations which shaped the social and cultural order altered over time, so too did the dominant discourse found in state policy. In this dialectical progression between social relations and discourse, the repeated practices of social agents impinged increasingly upon the structures in place in the late 1960s, eventually creating new ones by the end of the modern era of broadcasting. Much of the Canadian nationalism behind the 1968 Broadcasting Act was largely a symbolic nationalism intended to generate a sense of national identity both through national coverage by the broadcasting system and through broadcasting content that was, in part, Canadian in origin and flavour. This was a reflection of the tradition of broadcasting (including bureaucratic inertia) and the climate of the times. In this context, radio audiences were addressed in policy and government interactions as a mass population of "Canadians". Emphasis on Canadian nationalism was deemed to be in the general public interest of these Canadians to help provide national unity and consciousness. The fundamental assumption underlying this ideology and long-term vision was that through the institution of social and cultural benefits - which would ultimately help to define and delimit a Canadian nationalism - economic prosperity would eventually follow.

Over time, policy alterations almost completely reversed this assumption such that any benefits of national ideals and identity were left to result from the trickle-down effect following economic growth. Even though Bennett's famous national identity and nation-

building speech was often recounted (such as in the CRTC's Annual Report of 1976-77) this appeal to the tradition of Canadian nationalism became largely a cultural remnant in a structure that was actively changing. Economic considerations were surpassing cultural objectives and concerns. By the mid-1980s, the CRTC boldly credited the (successful) mixed public and private broadcasting system in Canada to the "dynamic and imaginative spirit of our entrepreneurs" (Annual Report; 1987-88,p.vi). The historic tradition of the Canadian broadcasting system was being re-cast. What caused this shift in policy and ideology? While a number of factors interacted to generate this change, a combination of economic and political changes in Canadian society (provincialism, decentralization, continentalization and internationalization) and the communications sector, along with the move towards increased corporate concentration in broadcasting seem to encompass the bulk of causal explanation.

In addition to the agency of various social forces and the malleable political and economic milieu of this era of 'crisis', the changes in the interpretation and regulation of cultural policy could be attributed to ambiguities and contradictions that existed within the Broadcasting Act itself. With diverse and wide cultural objectives, the mandate of broadcasting regulation became a variable in accommodating shifting interpretations of long-term visions, narrow economic and general public interests, and of the term "public" itself. For example, subsection 3(j) of the 1968 Act which covered flexibility and adaptability with respect to technological change, held within it the seeds of future contradictions with respect to cultural objectives which could, and were, increasingly defined in terms of new means of production and transmission (carriage). With the new

media technologies of the 1970s and 1980s came not only phenomenal corporate profits, but greater fragmentation of audiences through many more individualized forms of communications. Rather than emphasizing the subsection on goals of national identity, government bodies (especially the DOC) began to place priority on other dimensions of this multidimensional Act. The contradictory co-existence of these goals (national objectives and flexibility with respect to scientific and technical advances) as structured into broadcasting regulation became especially evident when technologies such as satellites, which are capable of transmitting distant foreign signals, became profitable and accepted in the lexicon of Canadian communications technologies.

Concomitantly, the CAB began to place emphasis on sections 3(c) and (j) and the idea of flexibility and technological change, especially in its various submissions and statements to government bodies and officials. In the 1981 CAB Review of Radio submission to the CRTC, private broadcasters repeatedly engaged the use of the word 'flexibility', referring to the notion which was embedded in Section 3(j) of the 1968 Broadcasting Act. Flexibility (which was essentially deregulation in their meaning), became the key to shifting commercial radio away from a mandate of social, cultural and national objectives to one centred on the more immediate and market-oriented process of radio programming in conjunction with consumer behaviour patterns. In responding to the new technologies, radio needed to be flexible, as did the regulation of radio. If regulations were like "guardrails", the greater degree of flexibility would allow the industry to adjust to the changes being imposed on it from economic and technological forces. Thus, where throughout the 1970s Section 3(g) - which centred on a balanced

and enlightening broadcasting system intended to contribute to the development of national unity and the expression of Canadian identity - was the reigning philosophy of regulation, by the 1980s, the focus had changed, due in large part to the efforts of private broadcasters, to Sections 3(c) with its emphasis on freedom of expression and 3(j) dealing with flexibility. Both were congruent with the larger social context of the 1980s.

While the CAB and certain powerful broadcasters initiated this discursive shift, it was not long before the government had also adopted a new language. The term 'flexibility' increasingly appeared throughout government strategy papers, addresses and annual reports. In its 1983-84 Annual Report, the CRTC wrote; "the Commission believes that a greater emphasis on supervision rather than strict regulation together with a consultative approach to major issues is the appropriate orientation. This approach permits greater flexibility while ensuring that the regulatory framework which governs the broadcasting sector remains strong and is consistently applied. It also allows increased scope for the industry to devote more time to the creative and marketing aspects of broadcasting..." (p.21).

Another example, and one which reflects the dominant broadcasting interests and the push towards greater flexibility in regulations, lay with the issue of radio networks and the lobby to eliminate most network regulations (especially for AM which was rapidly losing revenue). The case made by private broadcasters was based on the inclusion of "flexibility" in the 1968 Broadcasting Act and the fact that restrictions on licensing of networks were contrary to public policy since they did not encourage technological flexibility. They argued further that increased syndication through

networking would foster greater use of Canadian creative resources and, in a twist of already ambiguous policy, that, by reaching across the country, it would "strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canada". This, of course, contradicted their fierce fight for the protection of the "local" nature of radio. Further, what was not included in their account of public benefits was the financial interests behind this development. Networking was a means to help reduce operating costs.

This technological move away from a mass "Canadian" audience in policy was to coincide also with the larger societal move away from "Canadian" identities to the era of individual and minority group rights, especially following the Constitution and charter of 1982. This move was, in part, an outgrowth of the bi-culturalism and multi-culturalism of the 1970s. The concept of a single general 'public' in this context gave way to the notion of 'publics', as a national identity gave way to a variety of regional, ethnic, linguistic and gender-based identities (Emke;1993). The abstractive nature of a "public interest" which had been closely connected to earlier policies, gradually began to collapse under the real shared interests of these "publics" and with this, the ideological binding concepts of national identities also lost much of their meaning - becoming increasingly abstracted from material relations.

This shift in discourse and identities was evident in the changing nature of both private broadcasting and government cultural policy. Private broadcasters moved away from using "nation-building" in justification of their monopoly control of public airwaves, focusing instead on their ability to respond to marketplace and audience needs. They began to articulate their interests in new terms. Where in the past they had gained

representation in part through the articulation of their interests to larger issues of national unity (especially during the inter-war years), during the second half of the modern period, commercial broadcasters increasingly disassociated themselves from these interests, shifting their articulation to the new cultural identities within the changing state of hegemony.¹¹

As new discourse began to replace the structures of the previous discourse, the forces which held control and interest in these new terms were able to shift policy towards their interests. "To control the signification of events is thus to define the legitimate concerns within a particular policy arena: it is to control the language/symbolizations within which the subsequent policy struggles will occur and to decide the new conformity which all further argument must account for. It is ultimately to control the politics of language" (Fortner;1988-89,p.83). In this round of the struggle over broadcasting, much of the political discourse was carried in interactions exclusive from public discussion. Private broadcasters possessed the organizational power to exercise their representation in the re-defining of terms and meanings within the broadcasting environment.¹²

In his study on the politics of language in Canadian broadcasting development, Fortner (1988-89) argued that it was in part "by means of both the process of socially constructing reality through the control of language and symbolization and the process of making a particular signification stick that the legitimacy of ideas or perspectives is created and maintained..." (p.83). With the decline in "Canadian" identity and the subsequent increase of new and varied identities also came the introduction and

widespread use of the term "consumers" to define the population (Raboy;1990,p.216-217). This new terminology was closely tied to the rise in importance of both new technologies and the determination of market forces in policy and regulation. In the 1983 DOC strategy paper, the initiatives proposed for a new national broadcasting policy were based on enabling "Canadian consumers, broadcasters and other entrepreneurs to take advantage of new technologies". Likewise, in the department's 1987 document Vital Links, the proliferation of new services within the broadcasting environment were presented as "good news for consumers" (p.59). The Ontario government similarly adopted the new economic/individualist-based description of Canadians as indicated in a 1983 policy paper on radio broadcasting in Canada in which the Ministry of Transport and Communications reaffirmed the federal shift and encouraged "harnessing new technologies and market opportunities for the benefit of both the consumer and the industry" (1983,p.ii). And, the 1986 Annual Report of the CRTC stressed the massive changes within the broadcasting environment since 1968, citing a wide range of new technologies (ie., satellites, DBS, VCRs, etc.) that had begun competing for the "communications consumer". These statements illustrate not only the precedence that the market had taken in cultural policy, but the role technology and the ideology of technological determination were playing in the discursive shift from a largely cultural and symbolic nationalism to ideological concepts centred around marketplace and corporate terminology. This was an era where hegemonic long-term vision and national unity were both unstable (challenged) and different than in the past, and where old structures were being stretched towards disjuncture.

The outcome of this new policy thrust was one which placed emphasis on the shorter-term vision of capital accumulation. Here nationalism took on a new meaning based on economic growth through continued integration with other nations.¹³ Thus we find in broadcasting policy a greater emphasis on export, both in the media/communications industries and in the recording industry. With a small domestic market, Canadian capital was compelled to target external markets. The significance of internationalization was heavily reflected in not only communications, but in cultural policy throughout the 1980s. In discussing the cultural industries in its 1984-85 Annual Report, the CRTC stated that they "must position themselves to respond effectively to the needs of a sophisticated and demanding public and of an industry that is rapidly evolving and rapidly becoming international" (p.v). The pro-industry Applebaum-Hebert Report also stated that private broadcasting was a "unique industry with exportable products".

With respect to the sound recording industry which was this country's most widely traded cultural product in the 1980s (DOC,Annual Report;1986-87,p.16), the DOC developed a \$25 million funding program through which the Department, amongst other initiatives, was responsible for the "international marketing, business development and specialized music distribution components" (Ibid.,p.17). The government took further action to sponsor export of cultural products which continued into the 1990s. In 1989-90, it became involved in supporting participation by Canadian artists at major international events and in distributing recordings to international recording executives and distributors (Communications Canada,Annual Report;1989-90,p.45). In this incarnation, economic nationalism was asserted through stimulation of indigenous industry with the intent of

capital expansion through multinationalization.¹⁴

More specifically, as the interpretation of nationalism changed, the official interpretation of radio also changed as it moved from being a part of the symbolic or cultural dimension to being fundamentally an industry (and part of the new communications sector) with economics lying at its defining centre. With this, broadcasting policy, in keeping with the larger social and political re-arrangements, was based less and less upon principles of intervention and more upon market performance. However, the shift from cultural nationalism to economic nationalism did not radically change the regulatory burden of Canadian content restrictions over the course of the modern era. Here we see the more complex nature of industry regulation in this country, even in a context of deregulation and the dominance of market forces. The reason for the persistence of Cancon could be found not so much in its significant contribution to Canadian cultural unity and identity formation, but in the role it played in increasingly generating revenue and exports. Radio, in this sense, was subordinated to the economic potential (and lobbying efforts) of the recording industry.

While Canadian content quotas have not placed the burden on radio operations that they have on television, they have, nonetheless encountered a degree of resistance by radio broadcasters over the last two decades, especially by those working within formats such as 'instrumental' where supply of Canadian music has been limited. They persisted, however, as a condition of license, even through the deregulatory temper of the 1980s. This persistence could be attributed to a number of factors including a strong lobby from the recording industry (with its more evident saleable and exportable 'product') and

performing rights organizations and a weaker lobby from commercial radio broadcasters who were not wholeheartedly committed to abolishing these regulations which did not place excessive financial strain on them.¹⁵ To accommodate broadcaster resistance, the (internationally centred) recording industry lobbying and the state agenda of breaking down national boundaries in economic terms, the CRTC changed the content requirements for Canadian music on radio in 1993, in order to make it easier for recordings and live musical broadcasts to qualify as Canadian if they involved collaboration between Canadian and non-Canadian artists (CRTC Public Notice 1993-5).¹⁶ A 1986 statement by the CRTC chair, Andre Bureau, seemed to sum up the changing attitude that the government held towards the interrelation between nationalist interests and broadcasting; "I cannot help but think that broadcasters, as businessmen, should be looking at Canadian content as the way of differentiating themselves in an increasingly competitive environment...(w)hile Canadian content had its birth as a cultural policy, it will increasingly become a straight-forward business decision by Canadian broadcasters" (CRTC, Annual Report; 1985-86, p. xiv). In discussing Canadian talent in production, the chair of the CRTC stated that the true test of successful programming was "consumer acceptance and export markets" (Ibid.), rather than any sense of successful national unity.

It is argued that commercial radio broadcasting interests were subordinated to issues of Canadian nationalism which, throughout this third phase, manifested themselves first largely in cultural terms and then in economic terms. Although the industry has found a greater voice in representation through licensing practices, it did, nonetheless, remain partially subordinated. The nature of this subordination changed over the course

of the last twenty-five years as the larger political and economic agenda of both the state and hegemonic interests shifted from emphasizing cultural unity in long-term visions to the shorter-term economic interests of powerful new communications industries and the traditional continentalist resource/finance corporations. As the national interest changed, so too did the content of 'Canadian nationalism'.

To summarize, then, it is through the regulatory practices of the 'biased' state structure that private radio has been linked to the dominant powers in society. By looking at the historic forces involved in the creation of the 1968 Broadcasting Act and the CRTC, it was shown that the interests of private (mainly corporate) broadcasters have been represented and inscribed in the state structure, where regulation has ultimately benefitted and protected them from competitive (and potentially industry-destructive) forces. However, the state cannot be interpreted as having been a 'captive' of the industry. The structural bias of the state necessitated that while the interests of private broadcasters were represented and protected, they were simultaneously subordinated to the political and economic interests of hegemony.

The process of simultaneous representation and subordination was illustrated in the two primary regulatory powers of the state which arose out of a long history of conflict and negotiation. Through the specific licensing practices of the state, protection of the industry from foreign and indigenous competition and the creation of monopoly conditions for private broadcasters, were established in order to foster capital accumulation and ensure economic survival. In this way, the interests of commercial

broadcasters have been represented. At the same time, through the Canadian content regulations that emerged out of an historic concern for the development of national unity and identity through broadcasting and later for the economic potential it generated, private radio has been subordinated to the 'national' or 'general' interest. Here the fundamental material interests of commercial broadcasters have been largely satisfied in a way in which they have been effectively combined with those of the hegemonic fraction. These powers over licensing and Canadian content quotas represent concrete examples of how private broadcasting has been connected, through the state, to the larger historic forces; thus exemplifying how the patterns of power within the capitalist society have been exercised in the Canadian broadcasting system.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Some of these licensing practices were in place in the years prior to 1968.
2. Note that this does not imply a unified pleasure with the agency. Private broadcasters are notorious for their constant complaints against the regulator. There is also the on-going problem of regional/provincial frustrations over specific broadcasting issues. However, in his survey of regulated industry representatives, Brown-John found that "90% of respondents expressed satisfaction with the agency...with which they did business" (1981,p.143).
3. In very recent years, the CRTC has intervened less in this process and greatly loosened radio restrictions.
4. In the first half of the modern phase of broadcasting, AM radio was still the medium for local advertising, these small territories and markets were carefully carved out by the Commission in terms of signal boundaries. By the 1980s, however, as corporate broadcasters with their greater profitability rose within the industry, protectionism shifted in favour of allowing cable carriage and network broadcasting with national advertising to cut into local markets, while at the same time helping smaller stations (often owned by the larger network owner) cut operating costs. Also, by denying alternative local community and educational stations the right to advertise, while at the same time not following up on the promises of subsidization for these stations, the CRTC provided exclusive commercial rights to private broadcasters, allowing them solely to profit from the airwaves. The CAB has been effective in lobbying against the encroachment of these stations. After urging by the Association in the mid-1980s, the CRTC refused to allow three Quebec community radio stations to increase their already limited commercial time.
5. The decision was also based on the fact that FM's greater clarity was much better suited to the broadcasting of music rather than spoken word content. This increased favouring and deregulation of FM was particularly apparent in the mid-1980s decision by the CRTC to be flexible in its regulation of Windsor FM stations, to allow them regulatory relief in altering programming in order to compete with Detroit FM stations (thus placing economic over cultural objectives).
6. This relationship between AM and FM was reminiscent of the advent of cable which was, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, regulated to the protection of conventional broadcasters. For example, cable services were

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PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

prohibited from carrying American radio stations or stations from other markets with the same formats as those existing in the host market. As cable became more popular and profitable, and once broadcasters were permitted to own cable systems, cable policy was integrated into general broadcasting policy such that cable operators (many of whom were also station owners - ie., Rogers), were given greater consideration in the carving up of market and audiences. In 1977 the CRTC reversed its original policy to all cable operators to carry American and Canadian stations as long as they did not solicit outside advertising. It was stated that these signals should not directly compete with existing FM stations. Thus, in addition to revealing the degree to which free and competitive enterprise was limited, this also raised the question of whether Canadian content was of concern to regulatory goals, or simply Canadian advertising and the economic benefit it provided. In many instances, government decisions and actions have clearly favoured protection of Canadian advertisers over interests of Canadian content.

7. Due to a reduction in resources, the Commission held fewer and fewer hearings throughout the 1980s - from over 40 in 1985 to only 18 in 1988-89 (CRTC Annual Report; 1987-88, p.x).
8. It was stated in Section 2(c) of the 1968 Broadcast Act that the number of stations owned by any one company in a single market were to be limited (Broadcasting Act; 1968, Section 2(c)). Ownership of more than one station per market has been limited to what is known as AM/FM "twins" (a single company owning one of each), "a policy originally fostered by the CRTC to ensure the economic viability of fledgling FM operations" (McFadyen, Hoskins & Gillen; 1981, p.109). However, while ownership concentration within specific markets may have been limited, ownership of radio stations across markets, as well as ownership of other media outlets created conditions for concentrated capital accumulation.
9. In 1991 the CRTC generated criticism with its decision to limit applications for a valuable frequency to existing stations looking to upgrade their operations, ensuring profitability and excluding a wide range of groups interested in new formats that would have at least provided greater diversity, if not greater profits (Globe & Mail; December 13, 1991, p.B3).
10. A number of initiatives aimed at fostering this alliance between the two industries have been made over the years. In the early 1980s, a Canadian record fund (FACTOR), designed to provide a percentage of recording costs, was established by a group of corporate radio owners - CHUM Limited, Moffat Communications Limited, Rogers Radio Limited, along

with the Canadian Independent Record Production Association (CIRPA) and the Canadian Music Publishers Association (CMPA). "After fighting the quotas for years, (the three founding sponsors) decided to see what they could do about increasing their supply of music instead" (Gillies;1985,p.8). At about the same time, a Toronto radio station (CKEY) also contributed \$20,000 and collaborated with an American production team to produce 27 easy-listening selections employing forty Canadian musicians in a "desire to aid Canadian musical talent while improving its on-air product with updated Canadian content" (Broadcaster;March,1980,p.44). In the mid-1980s, Canadian Talent Library (CTL), which was established by Standard Broadcasting in 1962, was merged with FACTOR to form FACTOR-CTL (radio broadcasters and independent record companies) which devoted close to \$1 million a year to stimulate production. This sector of cultural activity, which was largely inconsequential before the 1970s, is today comprised of over 200 companies which employ over 2,000 people full-time and provide significant opportunities for free-lance musicians (Industry, Science & Technology Canada;1992,p.1). Thus, while it is true that the Canadian recording industry is heavily tied to a highly concentrated American recording business (Berland;1992: Audley;1983), the state-mediated relationship between radio broadcasters and Canadian recording artists has provided some benefit to Canadian musical talent.

11. However, commercial broadcasters have retained the rhetoric of national unity in one dimension of their discursive activities. In order to be protected from both American signals/programming and provincial control, the CAB has fought vigorously throughout the 1980s to maintain federal regulatory control. To this end, the CAB will often come out with surprisingly bold statements and initiatives regarding its role in preserving the national character of Canadian broadcasting. While, on the one hand, commercial broadcasters intensely opposed any assigned cultural role in a bid for deregulation on the other, the CAB would easily adopt its role in cultural and national identity and unity when it concerned its immediate interests, as was the case with the need for federal jurisdiction in regulation. In 1984, following the early 1980s radio review which pleaded for freedom from oppression by government intervention, CAB outgoing president, Ernie Steele, stated that the CAB needed to be "vigilant and forceful in arguing for a future where there is still a national overview of cultural objectives" (Moes;1984,p.5).
12. As the private sector detached itself from its traditionally assigned social and cultural role, the government, rather than enforcing these historic obligations, shifted what was originally the responsibility of commercial broadcasters to work for purposes of unity, to the public broadcaster,

where taxpayers were then to shoulder the cost of unity. One result of this trend was the about face by private broadcasters towards favouring the preservation of public broadcasting. As long as the CBC could carry the weight of cultural nationalism and minority (and non-profitable) broadcasting, commercial radio was freed from responsibility. This new approach was evident in the early 1980s in the Applebaum-Hebert Report (Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee) which advocated, on the one hand, situating the CBC at the "heart of Canadian broadcasting" and on the other, reducing its size and resources. This, along with decreased funding to the CBC, was indication of not only the increased power of commercial broadcasting, but the declining importance of cultural nationalism within the state agenda - despite a wave of renewed Canadian nationalism in the late 1970s.

13. With respect to this, one consideration would be Ted Magder's (1985) question regarding the tendency to equate culture and sovereignty with economic control, a strategy which has resulted in an industrial/cultural policy that undermines the very goals of cultural nationalists.
14. Through the melding of technological and economic imperatives, the new brand of 'Canadian nationalism' manifest within communications and culture policy grew to be expressed primarily in terms of geographical unity. Thus, while government statements and official policy still retained, to a degree, the term "unity", this increasingly became defined in terms of technological capabilities to provide full and equal coverage (ie., via satellites, cable, etc.) across the entire country. Justification for funding of research and development of new technologies such as satellites and fibre-optics, which were ultimately in the interests of the large corporations that would profit from their commercial applications were based on the mandate necessitating complete national coverage of the remotest of areas, regardless of the expense. Unity, then, was achieved through carriage rather than content. The general public interest became an issue of access/coverage rather than common cultural identity.
15. Not all radio broadcasters have contested the regulations. For some stations, such as Q-107 in Toronto, they have provided an opportunity to build a strong relationship with the local music business (Stone;1987,p.18).
16. Similarly, the change in FM regulations which reduced its "foreground" (enlightenment) programming requirements at the cost of increasing Canadian content requirements could be viewed as a shift from cultural obligation to economic subordination.

CHAPTER NINE
CONTEMPORARY SHIFTS AND POSSIBLE SCENARIOS

I. Summing Up The Modern Era

What is most interesting about the evolution of modern commercial radio broadcasting is the way in which its unfolding has reflected the larger changes that have occurred within Canadian society since the 1960s. While the initiatives and necessities of broadcasters themselves have contributed to these changes, the economic, cultural and political nature of the industry has been integrally caught up in the larger movement of capital and the agenda(s) of the state. The configuration of radio broadcasting could have taken on a number of different shapes. However, the political and economic structures of cultural production that are unique to this country, have biased this cultural practice.

Regulation has acted to both represent and subordinate commercial radio in different ways at different times. This has been dependant upon larger powers, the form of the state and the relative power of commercial broadcasters. In a cursory evaluation of the first two periods of commercial radio history, what was argued was that the relative position and degree of representation held by private broadcasters in each period was conditioned by their collective power (organization, resources, personnel, etc.) in relation to other broadcasting and communication forces within the particular social, political and economic context of a given period. Through a broad and generalized analysis, I have argued that in the early inter-war phase, commercial interests in broadcasting were not as heavily favoured, and did not find the representation they were to find in the second, post-war period. In the 1930s and 1940s, politicians and much of the business and cultural elite were more interested in notions of national unity,

consciousness and enlightenment through broadcasting. These were objectives they felt could best be achieved through a nationalized system. In a mood of national independence, private broadcasters were not powerful enough to overwhelm these visions with their own narrow and poorly articulated interests. By the 1950s this trend began to change when the profit potential of commercial broadcasting became more evident as its popularity (along with the popularity of television) and community involvement increased. Further, these factors coincided with a more favourable post-war ideology and a socio-economic climate which was congruent with private enterprise politicians and state structures.

It was the culmination of these two phases, encompassing decades of conflict between pro-public and private forces, that led to the 1968 Broadcasting Act and the creation of the CRTC. This legislation was brought in in the context of re-newed nationalism(s). This period marked the decisive beginning of explicit attachment of cultural and social conditions onto the broadcasting system. With the structural compromise established, commercial radio entered into its modern era. Throughout the course of this period, the country itself was to begin a slow, but significant re-structuring through a realignment within the power bloc, a re-assertion of continentalist forces and the powerful rise of the communications sector. This was to play a part in the eventual transformation of many of the regulatory structures and mechanisms put in place in 1968. This re-structuring would lead to different forms of representation and subordination and a new style of radio as the larger social formation edged towards a new historic juncture.

The Modern Sound

Much of what characterized modern commercial radio could be detected in what was actually broadcast to listening audiences - what was heard over-the-air. The sound of the 'format era' was the sound of specialized and largely standardized formats targeted at individual listeners, aggregated by the industry in terms of demographic considerations. Music, talk elements and commercials were refined in the process of 'flow' programming and a certain percentage of songs played throughout the modern era were 'Canadian'. Until very recently, FM programming - with its regulated emphasis on diversity and 'enlightenment' - could be clearly distinguished from AM with its proliferation of hit-music, commercials and repetition of songs. In the 1970s, FM broadcasting was subordinated to AM, but by the 1980s, this trend had begun to reverse. This was due to increased audience preference for the FM band with its clearer sound and/or different programming. It was also the result of greater availability of FM receivers on consumer equipment. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, most FM restrictions had been dropped and requirements for traditional, special interest and alternative music were removed. In terms of programming, AM and FM became much more similar in sound.

By the end of the modern period, increased regulatory flexibility had lessened government influence over the designation of particular formats within specific markets. Where it had once been a very difficult and frustrating process for a station to change its format, format (and staff) turnover became almost commonplace by the late 1980s as broadcasters struggled with changing formats in response to low ratings and declining advertising revenues. Formats were also changed through the maze of takeovers and

mergers where transfer of ownership led, in some cases, to re-formatting.¹

The 1980s were a particularly challenging decade for commercial radio broadcasters, especially AM and smaller-market operators. Although they had been relatively profitable until this time, the effects of not only television, but cable, satellites and other technologies such as automobile cassette tape decks and CD players, cellular phones and various home entertainment and music listening options, began to take their toll on the medium as a whole. While many broadcasters turned to new technological innovations (ie., AM stereo, CD broadcasting), ultimately it was effectively formatted programming and the exploitation of a local/community niche that helped keep audiences tuned in. As commercial radio moved into the 1990s, much of what could be heard over the band had changed from the early days of modern radio. Station loyalty had become less common as a result of increased numbers of stations, companies changing formats and a wider variety of media and technologies to attract listeners. The 'modern era' was beginning to undergo a structural transformation.

The Changing Economic, Political and Cultural Dimensions of Modern Commercial Radio

With respect to the social processes and relations that lay behind the development of commercial radio during this period, the economic, cultural and political dimensions have all been altered -to varying degrees - as the medium has been drawn into the larger changes within the Canadian social system. Many of the characteristics that dominated this type of broadcasting at the beginning of the modern period, had shifted by the 1980s.

Cultural, corporate and state practices have changed the form of this cultural sector. Despite the apparent consolidation, secure positioning and clear cultural regulation of the medium in the first part of the modern era, contradictions inherent in the Canadian tradition of broadcasting and cultural policy were ultimately to become exposed by the second half.

Ambiguities, fragmentation and contradictions in cultural policy are generally reflective of the same within the larger state apparatus. Just as the representatives of the capitalist state were unable to wholly embrace nationalization in the 1930s, the power of economic necessity and profitability began to blatantly confront the national and social goals of the Canadian broadcasting system. These contradictions, along with tensions between fractions of capital, capital and labour and federalist and regional interests, reflected the clash of long-term goals and short-term narrow interests. Since the 1960s, the commercial medium has been caught in between the traditional 'cultural' role assigned to radio broadcasting and its place as a cultural industry within the new, market-driven, 'communications revolution'. The last twenty-five years have witnessed the journey of radio's pull through this transformation.

In terms of the economic nature of commercial radio broadcasting, the modern era was the era of the shift from entrepreneurial broadcasting capital to full corporate capital with its different financial interests and strategies. As broadcasting companies became highly concentrated information and entertainment outlets (amongst other business activities), the domination of larger interests have situated radio within corporate plans and decisions that are not necessarily concerned with the medium itself, but with the

bottom-line financial needs of the corporation. This new form of ownership paralleled larger economic patterns based on increased concentration of ownership, diversification, integration and economic rationalization through technology and consolidation. Through this economic landscaping, the corporate interests of private broadcasters grew to find a greater voice within the policy process. Following an almost disastrous period after the loss of 'Cancon' battles and the castigating report of the Davey Commission in the early 1970s, the internal shake-up and subsequent reorganization of the CAB - which saw larger broadcasters (multiple holdings) gain much of the executive control - marked the Association's increased organizational capacity and power over defining and making legitimate its interests and affecting change in policy. Were commercial radio owner/operators to remain small-scale broadcasting entrepreneurs, it is highly unlikely that they would have gained the protected position within the broadcasting system that they did over the course of the modern period.

This success was also due to the conditions of state structures throughout this time which created, or at least facilitated, the opportunities for effective consultation and lobbying. With the long-term and dominant cultural nationalism vision in recession, the representatives of corporate capital could more explicitly present their demands and agenda for the future of the industry, as it grew more and more detached from cultural and political tasks. Despite Cancon regulations - which were becoming tied more to promoting the Canadian export-oriented recording industry than binding together "Canadians" - involvement in terms of regulation in the interest of national unity appears to have declined in favour of economic diversity. As a result, the political nature of the

medium has been growing qualitatively rather than quantitatively different in the last several years.

As national/symbolic culture was increasingly being displaced within the commercial broadcasting environment, what remained was, in essence, 'corporate culture'. It is interesting to explore the shifting notions of culture with respect to commercial broadcasting throughout the modern era, especially where one might conclude that commercial broadcasting is no longer about cultural nationalism. What degree of the cultural dimension remains is not readily apparent in the contemporary configuration of private radio. If we refer to cultural nationalism as being ultimately rooted in a hegemonic definition of the national interest (Chapter Three), then we see that modern or contemporary commercial broadcasting is not devoid of cultural or national content. Instead, it now embraces it more in a form of 'corporate culture'. There has been a shift in emphasis. Nationalism as a long-term interest, persists, but in a more unstable environment, where new forces have been struggling for representation and where shorter-term narrow interests have gained a stake. Corporate culture in this sense, is simply about shorter-term economic goals and less abstracted and symbolic elements. This is symptomatic of conflicting definitions of the 'national interest' as newer forces challenge the existing hegemony patterns.

It could be argued that this new corporate culture arose, in large part, from the fusing of corporate interests in the broadcasting sector with a powerful communications sector and a general 'free-market' environment. It was also fostered by the CRTC, amongst other government bodies, through new mechanisms such as 'economic-viability'

conditions of licensing and the government support of increased corporate concentration. Hand in hand with changing regulatory practices that reflected the growing predominance of a corporate culture went changing discourse. With a decline in cultural nationalism came a new version of liberal ideology to penetrate the broadcasting realm, one which translated terms such as 'Canadians' to 'consumers' and 'culture' to 'communications'.

The blanketing of cultural nationalism within commercial radio broadcasting did ultimately signal a change in terms of the cultural nature of the medium. This was due, in part, to the declining significance attached to nationalist symbolism through broadcasting. In addition to the continuing economic nationalism, there also remains an ideology of 'technological nationalism' within the state in the context of the 'communications revolution' which has come to play a central role in the movement of the Canadian economy into the next century. Broadcasting regulation has been drawn into this context, as Canadian nationalism has been partly re-defined in terms of access to coverage and economic/technological nationalism.

Beyond the issues of nationalism, the question to be asked is; in what other ways has this commodified cultural form been altered throughout the modern period? Commercial radio today remains the 'invisible' medium that continues to play a role in confirming lifestyle and work patterns, as well as purchasing habits. In this respect it is still distinct from other non-cultural enterprises. However, to what degree has the 'artistic' or creative dimension survived the increased rationalization and technological mediation of this cultural form? Having established above that the artistic or creative elements of the commercial radio broadcasting process (beyond the musical content) were

largely in the hands of programmers who put content elements together in what was intended to be an aesthetically pleasing way, it is reasonable to suggest that even this dimension has been altered. As broadcast companies grew to be part of larger media and non-media conglomerates, the programming of formats for re-use across stations and networks, and the influx of radio consultants and syndicators, meant fewer and fewer people were given a place in determining the broadcast output. This suggests less overall diversity and creative input across both the station and the firm level, as programming decisions were increasingly made from outside the radio station. As the nature of broadcasting capital changed then, so too did the nature of the cultural form.

Just as the cultural nature of the medium has shifted, the political dimension of commercial radio has also taken on a new character through the last two decades, especially as other technologies have come to dominate the communications environment. The influence of these new forces has affected the regulatory environment of radio broadcasting in a multitude of complex ways. First, the political nature of commercial radio has changed through a re-interpretation of Canadian nationalism, as discussed above. Beyond this, however, a general deregulatory shift within the hegemonic alliance and state has pervaded the broadcasting environment. Deregulation can be viewed, not as a sign that broadcasting plays any less of a role in Canada's political economy, but as an indication that with a changing economic face, the nature of political interaction with economic processes such as these are simply different. Regulation is increasingly and explicitly tied to the technology/hardware and business aspects, and is rooted in the technological determinism and technological imperative of the state - leaving content to

the discretion of commercial broadcasters, and cultural and national responsibility to the tenuously funded public broadcaster.²

Throughout this evolution, the *raison d'être* of the regulatory agency - intervention over the struggle for control of property - has persisted. In fact, with the decline in the public/private broadcasting struggle and with the erosion of many cultural/national/social objectives, the original (and formerly latent) function of mediating conflict over control of property has become much more explicit in CRTC activities. The general shift to deregulation has only been a shift in priorities such that viability, protection from American competition, the management of domestic competition and the smooth introduction (and promotion)³ of new technologies have all become more significant than goals of public good and national unity and identity. This shift in emphasis has resulted from not only pressures from private broadcasters, but from the downward pressures of other more powerful agencies within the state, which are themselves ultimately shaped by hegemonic forces. It has been suggested that many of the decisions to be made in the future will be more relevant to, or appropriate for, the courts or the Bureau of Competition than the CRTC.

While 'property' has remained central to the link between commercial radio broadcasting and the larger patterns of power, its meaning and interpretation in terms of radio has been somewhat altered throughout the modern period and, at this point sits on the brink of complete re-definition as communications in Canada enter a new and radically different phase. The traditional driving force behind the justification and the perpetuation of monopoly conditions in Canadian broadcasting was the argument that the

airwaves were a scarce national resource - owned by the public and borrowed for private use which was to ultimately serve the good of the public. Despite the fact that the airwaves largely became private property throughout the post-war period, they continued to be referred to as 'public'. However, new technologies and changing attitudes amongst broadcasters and state agencies, have slowly exacerbated this rhetorical disjuncture. As cable and satellite broadcasting expanded profitably, interest in preserving the 'limited resource' argument appeared to decline for both broadcasters (for whom the argument meant being tied to larger cultural and national objectives) and for state representatives. In the late 1970s, the Clyne Commission was already talking about the obsolescence of traditional scarce resources and in its 1980s submission to CRTC (Review of Radio - FM (pt.2)), the CAB pointed this out as well. Throughout the 1980s this trend continued, leading to the contemporary period where the central focus of the communications sector and regulation is on establishing private ownership and control patterns, where access is no longer considered a public right and a private privilege, but a private right of the most powerful.

In summary then, by 1968 the structural foundations of the modern era of commercial radio broadcasting were set in place in terms of programming patterns and in terms of state regulation and the place and obligations assigned to commercial radio within the Canadian communications system. That structure, however, was to be altered through the continual activity of a variety of agents in the dynamic evolution of broadcasting over the last twenty-five years. While the structural lag of cultural policy and bureaucratic tradition was to persist throughout much of that period, the changes both

within and without the private broadcasting sector have been so profound that radio today is on the brink of a fundamentally new era, one which could be called the 'contemporary era'. This is a period in which the economic, cultural and political dimensions that have characterized commercial radio broadcasting for decades are being profoundly re-defined. New (and often contested) structures are falling into place, as old rules, ideologies, practices and objectives are giving way to different demands by different players. Much of this change is being facilitated by the organization, strategizing and articulation of interests by corporate broadcasters.

II. Digital Audio Broadcasting: Tuning in the Future

As radio broadcasting entered the 1990s, it was being drawn into a tide of change not only through altered regulation and larger technological and economic conditions, but through the leadership of industry representation which has, in recent years, directed the medium towards a radically different form of radio. With profits in decline across much of the industry,⁴ the CAB executive began to promote what it determined to be the "inevitable" coming of digital audio broadcasting - or DAB. In the words of Michel Tremblay, executive vice-president of the CAB, "(t)he advertising base is declining, and digital is meant to help radio thrive again as a business. We look at it as a means to reposition the medium and expand its revenue base" (Levitch;1993). DAB supporters

have heralded its future arrival as more significant than the introduction of FM in the 1970s. "Digital is not only a technical improvement, it's a revolution" according to Tremblay (Ibid.). This will be the technology that will steer radio through the era of the information highway and help to retain listeners amidst the jungle of new communications technologies. According to CAB president, Michael McCabe, "(d)igital technology is the wave of the future...In the long run, it could replace both AM and FM technologies" (Ruttle;1990,p.14).⁵ While many broadcasters and industry observers have argued that perhaps a new approach to programming - one which could better attract distracted listeners - might be the answer to radio's difficulties, the technological imperative which has fuelled much of the development of the communications industries and communications policy, has proven once again to be the preferred path to change.

DAB, which is already in operation in Japan and Germany, creates CD-like, interference and drift-free digital signals. The proposed DAB system is not intended to represent another "tier" of radio broadcasting (co-existing with current AM and FM bands). Instead, it is meant to be a 'replacement' technology - one intended to create a level playing field within markets for all radio broadcasters. With stations broadcasting from equal stereo-quality digital audio signals, a level playing field would be created for all radio broadcasters within markets, where only programming would distinguish stations. No station would suffer from lower quality signals (as some currently do) and AM and FM would no longer exist...there would only be "radio".

What DAB promises the listener is compact disc-quality reception.⁶ (This, of course, will require the purchase of new digital receivers necessary to receive digital

signals on a new band.) Also, with advanced digital compression technology, a greater number of channels and information can be squeezed into delivery systems. In addition to crystal clear audio, DAB supporters, the government and manufacturers envision "smart" digital receivers that will include LED (light emitting diode) readouts that can simultaneously communicate visual digital data. But, DAB is about more than improved hardware, it is also about new types of programming. Listeners may eventually be hearing different content over-the-air (or off cable or home satellite). There are currently a number of services, particularly in the United States, which are offering digital music programming delivery over existing cable lines with a number of channels that provide CD-quality programming dedicating entire channels to one specific type of music, with no talking. Subscribers pay a monthly fee.⁷ There are also channels that allow selections from a menu that listeners choose from and pay for. The listener in the future may actually program her or his own formats. The extra capacity of digital audio technology to carry data will allow the receiver to identify programs and music without the aid of talk. This will no longer be broadcasting, but a music service.

What DAB will offer broadcasters who will opt for this system is cost-effectiveness. The design chosen as the standard for digital audio broadcasting in Canada, in addition to requiring less power than AM or FM broadcast operations currently in use, allows 16 stations to share a single transmitter. This eliminates the need for large land sites (25 to 200 acres for AM) with accompanying taxes and maintenance. Only one small site will be required for sixteen stations, generating substantial capital cost savings. A great deal of money also stands to be made for stations selling off land where

old transmitters used to stand..."(s)ome stations own huge parcels of land in urban centres" (Ibid.). In addition to minimizing interference from other communications services, this system can pick up signals from both satellite and terrestrial transmitters and can switch between them imperceptibly. And, there is the capability for broadcasters to extend coverage across adjoining areas through a "single frequency network" for local, regional or national broadcasting.

While the suggestion that AM and FM radio will be replaced by a new digital form of aural communication may sound ominous for the business, the threat to existing broadcasters has largely been ameliorated through a plan made by the CAB - and supported by the CRTC - to allow existing AM and FM operators/owners the first opportunity to acquire digital licenses. While there is no regulatory system in place yet, there is a move, even at this early stage, for the CRTC to begin handling applications for access to new frequencies at the time present station licenses come up for renewal. This protectionist approach has been enshrined and legitimated through the terminology surrounding discussions of DAB. By labelling it a "replacement technology" rather than a new or a different/competitive opportunity, existing broadcasters' access to first choice in DAB services is justified.

As with the introduction of compact discs in broadcasting, or the (not so successful) attempt at establishing AM stereo broadcasting, the majority of broadcasters not directly involved with the development and promotion of DAB have had to be sold on the proposed new system. Just as there appears to be, in reality, very little demand from Canadian listeners for DAB, many private broadcasters have shown little interest

either. They have had to become 'educated' in the proposed benefits DAB has to offer. Through trade journals, newsletters and conferences, radio operators have been drawn into the promotional frenzy of this 'industry-saving' sensation. In 1993, the CAB and its regional associations organized five cross-Canada digital radio workshops intended to give owners, managers and engineers information on the transition to digital radio. In addition, the CAB's Task Force on the Introduction of Digital Radio has a variety of working groups that have helped establish the idea of DAB as legitimate and possible.

If one contextualizes this intense focus on DAB within the contemporary structures of corporate ownership, the potential changes which - in many respects - appear to promise to destroy conventional radio broadcasting, begin to make more sense. Large-scale private broadcasters have harnessed not just what may be a means for saving commercial radio from its financial fall, but new ways to expand capital. That AM and FM may cease to exist as we have known them in the modern era does not appear to be of concern to the segment of broadcasting capital that is interested in developing any new commodified cultural form that will translate to capital accumulation. As the executive vice-president of the CAB suggested, "(i)t's going to help by keeping us competitive and opening new business opportunities..." (Sutton;1993,p.12). Duff Roman, chair of the CAB's digital radio task force stated; "(m)y own excitement about digital radio is driven by the high fidelity, CD-quality capability...(b)ut beyond that, because of the data transmission capability". Roman suggests that private radio might become the "'ultimate marketing tool' through receivers equipped with LED readout screens that can display phone numbers and locations of advertisers, information from record labels, surveillance

material like weather and traffic reports - even hybrid units that could work as a fax modem" (Ibid.,p.14).

Herein lies the essence of the push for this new technology - it is not solely about improving the quality of radio broadcasting, but extending capital into new technologically-mediated and untapped areas. Tony Viner (CEO of Rogers Broadcasting) has argued, "I think it's time that we look at the landscape of radio broadcasting in Canada to come up with different models to meet the needs" (Fairbridge;1992,p.21). While broadcasters are banking on DAB to stimulate listenership throughout the tangle of new information and entertainment opportunities, the hefty investment in the technology (research, development, promotion) rests on the other business opportunities it presents for "broadcasters" (who may ultimately lose that title as their new interests may eventually re-define them). They are also aiming at a new audience - the business community - where narrowcasting or closed circuit data transmission becomes a business interest or tool. The ironic twist in this scenario is that telecommunications companies are beginning to turn more and more to wider entertainment services, while broadcasting becomes more narrowly focused on point-to-point transmission, thus revealing the artificial nature of the boundaries that have existed between the two.

The increased power of broadcasting capital over the last ten years has been reflected in the influence broadcasters have had over the government in initiating their own plans for DAB. This has been further enhanced through the interest of the government in technology development and transfer. A great amount of Canadian (taxpayer) resources have gone into the development and introduction of this new form of

transmission. As the communications department stated in a recent Annual Report, "DAB is expected to be the sound broadcasting system in the future" (Communications Canada;1990-91,p.20). Beginning with earlier efforts at instituting the concept of "flexibility" within regular regulatory discourse, private broadcasters have effectively managed to shape the structures or patterns of industry/government relations in a way which can now accommodate the desired changes. "Paul Racine, DOC assistant Deputy Minister...(stated) that the DOC accepted the recommendations of the radio industry's 1992 Action Plan for 'speedy introduction of digital radio' as one way of improving Canadian radio's competitiveness and financial health" (Sutton;1993,p.10). Beyond this, the DOC, the CBC and the CAB have been working together on this new technology through a variety of joint ventures including the Canadian Advanced Broadcasting System Committee and the Digital Radio Research Inc. (DRRI). The DRRI is a non-profit company set up by the CBC, the CAB and by the DOC which put in \$1 million to research and experiment with digital radio transmission and related activities (the CBC and CAB each contributed just over half a million dollars). This joint venture includes private companies such as CHUM Limited, Telemedia, Radiomutuel, Rogers Communications, Shaw Radio and Power Broadcasting. Beyond interests in the potential of the new technology, these companies can deduct contributions as a business expense and can claim tax credits for investment in research and development. In addition, the CAB is pressuring the CRTC to accept these contributions as a "quantifiable benefit" in the regulatory negotiations of mergers, buyouts and takeovers.

The DOC was also politically active in (successfully) lobbying internationally for

the worldwide allocation of a particular spectrum for new radio digital services. In a competition over the bandwidth to be chosen as the global standard, Canada managed to convince the World Administration Radio Conference (WARC) that its choice of the L-Band - which was based on its capability to transmit both terrestrially and via satellite in digital - was the best choice. While many other countries, especially the United States, wanted only a satellite-delivery DAB system (largely because most other countries do not have in place the comprehensive terrestrial system that Canada has), the Canadian representation fought for a system which could initially use a terrestrial form then later move to satellite transmission. The apparent logic behind this plan was that this would give terrestrial services a fair chance to get started and become competitive before satellites (largely international) grabbed the market share.

Despite DAB supporters' supposed concerns about the need to protect local radio and local advertising in Canada through the use of a terrestrial system, there is little doubt that satellites are a large part of the future vision of radio in Canada. The CAB has stated that satellite producing material will become the standard on digital. Phillippe de Gaspé Beaubien, head of Telemedia Communications, also suggested in an interview that "we will have to become accustomed to new competition. I think there is going to be satellite-to-home radio" (Stone;1992,p.36).⁴ While satellites will most likely be introduced as add-on technology to terrestrial digital audio broadcasting for regional, national or specialty cable services, the penetration of foreign signals will eventually be pervasive. The shift to cross-border satellite transmission is already underway through the efforts of Cancom, which has become involved in a project with American partners

for a digital audio broadcast satellite to deliver up to one hundred channels of radio to all of North America (Globe & Mail; January 22, 1992, p.B12).⁹

Though the pitch for the L-Band by the Canadians was designed to provide protection for current broadcasters, give a role to terrestrial carriers and make an appeal to the potential of satellite delivery, ultimately, the choice of transmission system was based on another consideration. "From the CAB's viewpoint, the real technological importance of...the L-band for the new digital signals is the greatly increased data capacity it offers. Data is the joker in the deck" (Levitch;1993). The emphasis on data distribution through digital radio indicates the shift in focus, priority and vision amongst broadcasters, or at least amongst those representing broadcasting capital in the 1990s. CAB executives envision everything from subscription radio to coupon printouts to radio-based security systems, with alarms transmitted over broadcast bands (Ibid.) Radio is being steered away from a community-oriented means of broad-casting into audio/visual display technology carrying music and information services from a multitude of points ranging from local to international origins. Duff Roman, vice-president of industry affairs for CHUM Ltd., Toronto, says "broadcasters face a technological revolution...(w)e have to think in terms of becoming information-dispensers, not just radio operators. We want to be in the forefront of the new positions in the digital spectrum.'" (Ibid.).¹⁰

Possibilities and Implications for the Culture of Radio to Come

The new direction upon which radio is poised raises a multitude of questions and issues concerning not only commercial radio, but all of commodified Canadian culture in the future. Most of these issues are related to the general themes that have persisted throughout broadcasting history since the 1920s. While the changes that are now occurring can be tied in with the impact of broader communications technologies and larger economic forces, the process of capital expansion and rationalization through technological innovation lies at the centre of the contemporary phase of radio broadcasting. While technology has played a major role in the evolution of radio and radio regulation, it has become much more determinant in the past decade. This suggests a number of questions including; who will deliver, pay for and control the new technologies and who will benefit and/or be served by them? If ownership patterns continue in the direction they have been going, then there is a high risk of the monopolization of power over information and entertainment.¹¹ The state has clearly assumed that new information-based technological developments are in the public interest, or the Canadian interest, yet, if the public, (or publics) is to be served, how will it be defined, what will its needs be and who will determine these? What will the new labour processes within such media practices be?

More specifically, with respect to radio audiences, if commercial radio as it has been established since the 1960s were to collapse, would these audiences continue to be as well-served (if they ever were) with new narrow-casting music or data services through which they no longer constitute a listening (abstract) community. Will listeners be

deprived of any community connections (real or imagined) that had been established by conventional commercial radio? Will the shift to increased self-programming opportunities provide listeners with greater creative freedom - the creative freedom that radio programmers used to hold in the early part of the modern period? Will recording artists be as fairly represented in a new system of music delivery which will in large part be talk-free? If their names and the names of their recordings are not announced, and if digital transmission/receiver systems are designed for direct in-home taping, will the promotion and sales of their music decline? How will musicians be remunerated for the commercial use of their music? As formats and delivery services become increasingly specialized, what new cultural practices (and products) will be engendered?

With respect to regulation and the changes which are already underway, the questions raised are endless. Most fundamentally, we must ask, what will the nature of regulation be in this new broadcasting environment? What will be the role and mandate of the CRTC? This question is significant in a number of ways. First, if AM and FM radio no longer exist, then much of the regulatory activity of the modern period that was concerned with restrictions and obligations intended to differentiate between the two will no longer be necessary. With that may also disappear the regulation of diversity and 'enlightened' programming (a trend which already appears to be underway). Second, the potential role of digital radio via satellite raises a number of questions related to regulation and the issues of Canadian nationalism and property rights. When digital audio broadcasting becomes primarily satellite-driven, there will be very little ability (and I suspect, political will) to regulate the penetration of foreign signals. Unlike with cable

or off-the-air broadcasting, distance is not problematic for satellite distribution. This begs the questions: how will broadcasting or audio communications in this country remain largely Canadian controlled, as it has been throughout the modern era? How can Canadian cultural and nationalist goals (or, at least what remains of them) be imposed on owners who are not based in this country, or upon incoming signals that cannot be regulated? Will radio lose its role in promoting Canadian recording artists, or will the CRTC seek out new means to foster Canadian musical talent? What system of accountability could be put in place? What about the nation-binding role of radio communications that was a part of its founding mandate? Will the penetration of foreign signals eliminate any chance of Canadian broad or narrow-casting fulfilling this role, or, is it a fallacy to believe that commercial radio has ever served such a purpose? Since private radio has been primarily a local medium for most of its history, can one argue that it has played a role in binding the nation? (This can then be compared to the effectiveness of Quebec commercial radio dominated by two major networks.) Perhaps a new satellite-based system which facilitates regional and national (as well as global) transmission will, in actual fact, prove to be more effective in serving any interests of Canadian nationalism.¹² This scenario, however, leaves open questions of what will happen to local advertisers and those in smaller communities that have traditionally turned to local radio for information and a degree of confirmation of community. Finally, if private broadcasters have historically been subordinated in part through the demands for Canadian content, what form will subordination take in the contemporary era?

In terms of the issue of property, the goals of digital broadcasting suggest new

definitions and consequently new forms of regulating property. With the elimination of the 'scarce resource' argument, the CRTC takes on a new role with respect to managing the conflict between capitals and between capital and other social groups over access to and control of frequencies and transmission facilities.¹³ In addition to the complex of telecommunications facilities and the possibilities of direct-to-home satellite radio transmission, if frequencies become widely available, the social and cultural obligations that have traditionally been attached (as an implicit justification) to the "privileged" use of the airwaves become inapplicable and regulation becomes largely based on mediating against the excesses of a market system.

As the proposed new radio technologies approach convergence with the cable and telecommunications industries, will radio broadcasting regulation resemble anything of the past? If there are an unlimited number of channels transmitting audio material, is there a greater chance that minority tastes will be served? If listeners opt to pay subscription fees for services they are interested in, does the government have any right to intervene and regulate that content? Having lost control over what was formerly determined to be 'public property', will regulation become unjustifiable, or will the conflicting interests of competing capitals and the potential of complete monopolization necessitate a continuing and active role for the CRTC? We have already seen the CRTC lag behind business in a largely re-active manner throughout the 1980s. How would the regulatory body manage to take hold of this rapid expansion and convergence of systems? Will the rise in provincial power and the decentralized nature of telecommunications detract federal authority away from this cultural activity? While it is difficult to predict

what will happen, it is probably reasonable to assert that the social, cultural and nationalist goals traditionally associated with commercial radio broadcasting in Canada may become largely obsolete in the radio systems of the future.

Commercial radio broadcasting in Canada has undergone enormous changes over the last seventy-five years. These changes may prove to be minor in light of the possibilities of the new digital technologies. While it is difficult to determine the shape the medium may take in the future, what is clear is that commercial radio is not, and has never been, an inconsequential household appliance. It is, instead, a politically-mediated cultural sector based on complex power relations that vary in conjunction with the larger forces in Canadian society.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER NINE

1. This deregulation interestingly reflects a contradiction between the 'public good' obligations within cultural policy and the increase in protection of narrow economic interests. On the one hand, one of the justifications given for non-competitive bidding in the sale of a station (one of the 'barriers to exit') has been the practice of licenses being passed on to licensees (selected by the vendor) that are assumed to be able to keep the station running financially, regardless of what format is chosen. The logic behind this regulatory approach has been that the transfer should not leave a community without service. The contradictory aspect of this policy lies with the fact that formats create abstracted communities in the sense that they serve to group people together by demographic characteristics such as age or lifestyle. Thus, if a vendor transfers a license to a new company which changes the format (or if a company simply changes a station's format), then, in essence, the community is deprived of a service. For example, if a country format is abandoned in favour of a heavy or classic rock format on the dial, then that country audience (which it is safe to assume, is unlikely to switch its musical preference) is deprived of its service, regardless of the CRTC's policy of replacing a service.
2. From this, what becomes especially evident is the way in which regulatory and government bodies have not been neutral. Much of the change, conflict and contradiction within broadcasting has been a reflection of larger changes in structures, priorities and interests impinging on this narrow sector. Apparent is the mediating role of the state in determining not only which interests will be represented, but which will benefit throughout the rapid unfolding of the communications industries. In fact, the state played a large role in determining that the 'public' would demand these new technologies - for which there is little evidence. Within this new mediated context, players now articulate their interests in terms of profitability, diversity and consumer choice.
3. In its 1992 New Media...New Choices, Communications Canada argued; "(a)s we move to a media-based economy, it is not enough to invent an endless stream of new products. We must find and create the markets for those products" (p.22).
4. 1991 revenue losses by Canadian stations were up 60% from 1990. Commercial radio has been losing ground in its share of total advertising expenditures - down from 11.2% in 1972 to 8.9% in 1987 (CAB;April,1989,p.7). This stands in sharp contrast to a decade earlier,

when revenues of private radio stations increased by 247% between 1970s and 1980 (Audley;1983,p.318).

5. It should be noted that the technology itself is not new. Digital has been around a long time. In fact, many satellite program services have been using digital technology for years. Digital radio was first mentioned in the Telecommission studies of the early 1970s (see 4a), but until music was digital (cds), there was not much point in pursuing digital capabilities. DAB - although it has yet to become an established part of Canadian communications - is a fascinating example of the way in which larger patterns of power can be played out in very narrow sectoral ways. Just as the history of commercial radio represents a site upon which the political, economic and cultural structure of Canadian society was manifest, DAB is like a microcosm of the movement of forces within Canadian society in the 1990s.
6. Many believe that digital technology loses some of the depth of sound, and that digital transmission will not recreate the richness of FM voices.
7. DMX in Los Angeles (supplied by International Cablecasting Technologies) for instance, delivers 30 channels of digital music, each with a particular musical style, to subscribers on cable systems and on satellite. It is uninterrupted music. There are also DMX receivers equipped with receptors for home recordings. In the United States, Blockbuster has entered into partnership with IBM to develop a digital music-delivery system that would let customers order music from an electronic library (Heinzl;1993,p.B8).
8. Some Canadian companies are currently interested in these new services. Cancom has been supplying Western Information Network with a digital audio satellite service for audio and data service to radio stations across B.C..
9. Shaw Cablesystems Ltd. recently joined International Cablecasting Technologies to form a new company - DMX/Canada - to distribute the American company's digital music service, via cable, to home digital audio tuners in a "pay radio" scheme. This proposed commercial-free cable radio service (along with another by Cogeco Radio-Television Inc.) was rejected first by the DOC, then by the CRTC. This rejection did not signal the end of such services in this country, only the need to wait until the larger industry (including broadcasters) is ready for an orderly and fair/competitive introduction. Broadcasters want to be prepared to compete, and the government needs to develop an adequate policy that will cover issues such as content requirements. Strong complaints made by the

Canadian music industry were also a mitigating factor in the CRTC's decision reversal.

10. This type of service highlights radio's further immersion in the larger convergence of cable, satellite, telecommunications and broadcasting and signals a major shift towards a business based, not on broad communication to a local community, but data delivery and point-to-point communication (or narrowcasting). New digital technology enhances the compatibility of different types of technologies and information. This marks broadcasters entering directly in competition with telecommunications companies (and cable companies) which can also utilize these narrow band technologies in data delivery and other services. "As the telephone and cable companies digitize their communications networks, and as broadcasters announce plans to do so, the boundaries between these sectors are being redefined. Digitization has meant that each of these systems may carry virtually all forms of information" (Communications Canada;1992,p.18). In this respect, one can begin to make sense of the massive occurrence of mergers between broadcasting, cable and telecommunications companies in 1993 and 1994. "These mergers and alliances indicate the necessity to link various industries, and to combine capital, technology and expertise to create the synergies required to capture new media markets" (Ibid.,p.19).
11. This reflects the global trend in cultural industries indicated by the DOC in the late 1980s, wherein new processes are leading to not only concentration amongst massive conglomerates, but "to centralization of decision making and a narrowing of choice" (Vital Links;1987,p.15)
12. The state does not appear to be overly concerned with preserving the local nature of radio. The 1986 Task Force recommended development of networks as relief from economic hardships through pooling resources and sharing of costs among stations (p.407).
13. Interestingly, the notion of resources in relation to communications emerged in New Media...New Choices (Communications Canada;1992). The discussion reflected a move away from the "airwaves" as the resource to the notion of information. "...knowledge and data are now considered a strategic resource through corporate Canada. Companies have realized that information constitutes a non-depleting resource. Current information can be sold. Then, when it has become dated, it can be resold as historical data" (p. 12).

APPENDIX ONE

'Flow' Programming in 'Format Radio'

Central to the maturation of modern commercial format radio was the evolution of 'flow' in programming. While 'flow' is a rather nebulous term, it can be pinned to radio programming through an understanding of how the individual components of the broadcast have been blended. The sound of commercial radio was found to be most effective when the production elements were combined smoothly and in a way which the listener perceived to be most congruent with his or her lifestyle and listening habits. A sense of continuity has been an important part of this flow process. Particular elements, presented at specific (and appropriate) times of the day and bridged together unintrusively and coherently within the boundaries of a particular genre of sound corresponding with the demographic characteristics of a particular audience - were all a part of the process of creating 'flow' in programming. The music that bridged different features, as well as that which lay under station identification voice overs, was used to "convey the mood of the station, the day, and the time of day to help strengthen the station's hold on its audience" (Keith;1987,p.44).¹

It was discovered early on in the history of 'format radio' that, in order for the 'flow' of programming to make sense in a listener's life, it had to co-ordinate or move concomitantly with the flow of everyday life. Programming, it was found, was most effective when related to what broadcasters and advertisers assumed to be the most common daily experiences of the audience or target group. In an attempt to accompany listeners throughout the day, radio programming imposed a particular structure on time. Although the radio broadcast day was continuous, format programming evolved into a

process which simultaneously fragmented and compartmentalized it to co-ordinate with the broadcasters' perceptions of an audience's daily routine. The programming elements which constituted the broadcast day began and ended, routinely, at specific times. As one industry expert has written, "the very nature of radio programming is repetitive because the listener's routines are" (McFarland;1990,p.71). Broadcasters found that as listeners came to identify with a radio station, they would start to tune in an habitual way, becoming increasingly reliant upon this confirmation and regularity. In order to convince advertisers that a station could reach the maximum number of people for the greater amount of time in a day, radio broadcasters had to reach listeners wherever they could be found, and relate their content to the routines of daily life in a relevant way.

The modern commercial radio view of working life, while it has altered somewhat over the last few years to accommodate work force changes, has largely been based on a '9 to 5', five-days-a-week conception. The assumption implicit in programming decisions and announcer patter has been that this type of life was what was "normal", at least in urban Canadian society. The feeling conveyed was that everyone in the targeted listening community was similarly co-ordinated in terms of work. For example, weekday mornings at most commercial stations were filled with light chatter, jokes and information about what was happening in the world. This was assumed to help prepare the listener for the day's upcoming social interactions and to bridge the move from the privacy of the home into the public sphere. On the way to work, the listener was then informed of the fastest and least troublesome routes by station traffic reports. Once in the workplace, for those who were able to listen to radios, daytime programming catered to what it

perceived to be their interests. Office contests, coffee-break features and lunch-time business reports were all programmed specifically for those times in the day when working people were most likely to have access to a radio (i.e., coffee and lunch breaks). Then, as the working day would draw to a close, radio broadcasts would help to create a communal feeling of the end of the working day. Usually by four in the afternoon, the home-bound traffic reports were well under way. Disc jockey patter turned to talk about leisure-time activities, particularly on Friday afternoons when the end of the working week usually became a protracted and highly celebrated issue.

While weekday programming revolved around work, radio during weekday evenings and weekends promoted ideas of leisure and relaxation. These became acknowledged times to escape from work. Thus we would find that after the dinner-hour news was broadcast less frequently, information features took on a lighter, less serious character and programming tended to focus upon more relaxing music and entertainment features. Friday and Saturday evenings often found party or dance music on radio stations that would not regularly feature this type of music. Saturdays and Sundays were times for gardening shows, children's specials and special music programs or features. At these times, there was a shift in feeling from life in the public to life in the private sphere, as if the rest of the world had been turned off for the weekend break.

These work time/leisure time programming presentations were repeated week in and week out in a continuous process which approximated modern working life. Johnson (1981) has expanded on this time-structuring role of radio in everyday life with respect to its place in the capitalist processes of production and consumption. In reference to the

earlier days of radio (but applicable to the modern era), she argues that "...(t)he structuring of time through radio promoted a sense that the rigid measurement and standardization of time was somehow natural, a biological necessity. And in so doing radio stepped in to normalize the very changes entailed in the increasing rationalization and scientific management of the labour process....concepts of time and rhythms of life needed to be readjusted, to be further tuned, to the requirements of industry. Radio assisted this process through its adoption of the values of precision, predictability and regularity central to the operation of a scientifically managed factory or office" (p.171). Bringing this argument to the contemporary phase of commercial radio, it is evident that radio programming has changed in subtle ways to reflect the new requirements of industry in the post-Fordist era. As work structures have been altered in terms of increasing part-time work, flexible hours, cottage industries, etc., radio programming has also changed. For instance, traffic reports on major stations no longer run in just select morning and afternoon time periods. With changing work hours, traffic reports are given throughout the entire day, as well as on weekends.

It is not possible, without the appropriate type of audience research (which has yet to be undertaken) to determine the actual effects the medium has had in terms of the production and consumption ideologies of listeners. One must account for the contradictions between radio time structures and the real life demands of those who do not lead the conventional working life (i.e., women at home, those who are alone and are not satisfied with the illusory sense of community transmitted, those who cannot afford to purchase products and services advertised over-the-air, etc.). What is of

importance is that the time-structuring of commercial programming, which may or may not aid in facilitating and co-ordinating productive and consumptive activity, is the effect of economic decisions based on the aim of routinely reaching the maximum number of listeners in the most informative and entertaining way.

ENDNOTES: APPENDIX 1

1. In developing 'flow' and the aural illusions it helps to create, technical perfection in the production and broadcasting processes grew to be imperative. When one listens to the radio, especially in an habitual way, it is not difficult to forget that the emanating sound is not some celestial voice from above, but rather a living being operating under the control and manipulation of technological gadgetry. Technical perfection has been crucial in the preservation of this continuous illusion. No technical sounds - such as the clicking of buttons turning on tape machines - were to be carried over the air. Similarly, DJs were provided 'cough buttons' at their broadcasting posts in order to cut out any remotely human sounds. As more sophisticated formatting processes developed in the 1970s and 1980s, many stations began to rely on various mechanized or computerized systems for controlling the starting and stopping of different programming sources (ie., commercial cartridges, musical selectors, etc.) in order to help reduce "the potential for foul-ups, bleeps and blunders" (Careless; 1989, p.4) and preserve continuity in sound. In the same vein, what is known in the business as 'dead air', a period of time in which nothing is transmitted for some technical or human reason, has long been considered one of the cardinal sins of radio broadcasting. Silence on the airwaves has two negative effects. First, it helps to shatter the aural illusion created by the regular 'flow' of programming. Second, it provides listeners with the motivation to turn the dial, an opportunity which could potentially spark interest in a new station. This sense of technical perfection, then, highlights how the creation of 'flow' has played a significant role in the illusion of radio and how the level of professionalism which grew out of these techniques became standard practice for the highly competitive commercial radio market.

APPENDIX TWO

Women and the Commercial Radio Broadcasting Industry

"Broadcaster (magazine) is happy to announce a new award to be made either annually or when it seems called for. The first 'OINK' for the biggest Male Chauvinist Pig, will have to be shared by Broadcast Executives Society, Radio Bureau of Canada and Canadian Association of Broadcast Representatives, all of whom would have taken it 1978 and 1979 if we'd had it then. The three associations recently held their annual Radio Day bash and invited a head table of 27 men and one woman. If that ratio looks bad remember that in 1978 and 1979 there weren't any women at head table."

(Broadcaster; April, 1980)

While this is not the proper forum for a full detailed discussion of women in the broadcasting field, it is impossible to ignore the historic marginalization women have experienced throughout most of radio history. The sexism which has characterized the business of radio since it began, has taken two main forms. First, as with television, commercial radio has a long history of sexism in its broadcast content, particularly in advertising. In recent years, after much criticism, and following the Task Force Report on Sex Stereotyping in 1985, the industry and advertisers have been making an attempt to correct this, primarily with the intent of not offending potential listeners and consumers.¹ Second, there is the formal or structural sexism within the commercial broadcast working environment. The private broadcasting industry has demonstrated over time a systematic gender bias. By 1991, women still only made up 1% of upper management (Globe & Mail; October 28, 1991, p.B3). In the country's radio stations, women have generally held secretarial and assistant-type positions. Similarly, women

have played very little role in the larger representation of the industry, such as the Canadian Association of Broadcasters which has historically been, with few exceptions, a men's club. In fact, it was not until the 1980s that the first woman joined the Association.

Both stemming from, and causing this kind of structural sexism, is the pervasiveness of sexist and chauvinistic attitudes amongst the predominantly male participants in the radio business who, through industry legends and myths, also manage to perpetuate these attitudes. In light of the contextual limitations of this discussion on women, rather than elaborating on statistical data or providing systematic analysis of the sexual divisions in the industry (for which very little information exists), some anecdotal evidence will be used to simply try to convey the nature and extent of discrimination and the general climate that the women working in this business have had to operate within.

In 1977, Claude and Barbara Hall published a book entitled This Business of Radio Programming as a practical guide to programming and as an inspiration to those (men) who work as radio programmers. Throughout a long series of interviews with many of America's more successful radio programmers, the references made to the nature of programming and the lifestyles that accompany this type of career are revealing in not only what they have to say about the work of radio programmers, but about the place of women in relation to this work. For example, one interviewee's advice runs as follows...."it helps if a program director has nerves of steel, guts wired to exist on black coffee and french fries for days on end, plus a wife who likes to spend her evenings alone...and this type of woman is hard to find" (p.14). In reference to Bill Drake, the

famous originator of the Top 40 format, another reports that "(a)s in the cases of many dedicated radio men, (Bill Drake's) personal life has suffered somewhat, to which his ex-wives can testify" (p.15). Finally, this assesment from an insider summing up the industry.... "radio from the middle 50s to the present was made up of devotees who lived, ate, breathed and slept radio. Aside from radio, they didn't like much, unless you include women and drinking" (18). The pervasiveness of both male dominance and sexist attitudes within the industry makes itself quite apparent, even in the context of an instructional guide.

Broadcaster (formerly Canadian Broadcaster) has long been the premier trade journal of private broadcasters. A perusal through the magazine over a twenty-five year period is also revealing in what it shows to be a male-centred perspective and general lack of attention to women in broadcasting. Throughout a content analysis of over 250 issues of the magazine, only a handful of stories featuring women were found. Further, of those stories about women in the industry, it was the novelty of women in certain positions which tended to be focused upon, rather than reports or features on the work itself, or pieces on the non-gender based qualities of an exceptional person in a particular job. The stories that centred around men in the business dealt with issues and successes and failures in relation to the whole radio industry. The lack of women in such positions, and the attitudes towards women in other positions were often evident in these select articles. "The Exception to The Rule: Female Morning De-jay Beats the Odds", for example, tells of a Nova Scotia woman who is the country's only female morning announcer² and the difficulties that she has faced as an "oddity" within the business. The

subject of the article, the female announcer herself, suggests that while management was not very comfortable giving her the job (following the resignation of the 'morning man'), it was a "bold step to put a woman permanently on the all-important morning drive show" (Ibid.). The author then concludes that "(t)he old maxim, which insists that listeners don't want to hear, exclusively, a female voice in the morning, apparently still prevails" (Pond;1989,p.31). What is most shocking about this story, however, is the fact that it was written only five years ago.

Another piece called "Where Are All The Women: One is Doing a 'Man's Work' on an ENG crew at CBC" (Blashill;1979) does not focus on the commercial radio industry specifically, but is highly representative of the attitude of Broadcaster and its supporters. After elaborating on the unique case of a female technician in broadcasting (according to the article, the CBC in 1979 employed about two percent of its technical staff from the female workforce), the author profiles one woman working on a technical news crew. The stories relayed by the female technician help illustrate the attitudes prevalent in this line of work. "I've found that I am entering a world occupied primarily by males"... "One of the first assignments I was on...had a display with people sitting around it. I had to crawl under a table to get a mike on the Mayor. As I got up I banged my head on the table. The Mayor asked me if I jump out of cakes too. They all had a good chuckle" (Ibid.,p.38). "Woman in a Man's Domain" (Stone;1982) written for the magazine by a man begins..."Gloria Steinem, Doris Lessing and the other high-decibel advocates of women's liberation would not be enchanted with Jean Caine. Mrs. Caine is one of only six radio station presidents and is happy, indeed thrilled, with her male

counterparts" (p.27). The tone throughout this article is that this woman has adopted male attitudes and has thus managed to survive in the business. We also learn from the story that, of the six female station presidents in the country (as of 1982), most are in these positions "because the family owned the business...There aren't many women who have come up straight from the ranks without having any ownership connection with the station" (Ibid.).

One of the most telling accounts of the gender divisions at the operations level can be found in a 1981 article entitled "An Hour in The Life of a Broadcast Receptionist", an autobiographical account written by a female radio station receptionist. This work related self-description is most interesting in terms of the gender pronouns used in her discussion of the various positions in the station. The sexual division of labour is clear. Explaining some of the frustrations and challenges involved in working as a broadcast receptionist, as well as the lack of recognition given to this work, the woman writes...

"after all, who else but the receptionist is expected to know which **salesmen** are in and which are out...Who else but the receptionist has to explain to the announcer waiting for an important call that, when **he** didn't answer **his** page within three minutes, you assumed **he** was out and the caller didn't leave a phone number. Who else but the receptionist has to convince a **female** fan that she can't have **her** favourite announcer's home phone number, even though she says she's an old friend...And, who else but the receptionist has to be unfailingly pleasant to every telephone caller because if not, it's guaranteed the caller will turn out to be either the general manager or **his** wife" (my emphasis) (Bickle;1981,p.58).

What is also striking about the features on these women, is that they were all (with the exception of one) written by women. Men in the industry appear to have expressed little interest in women's concerns and inequality. Even when Bill C-62, the employment equity program of 1986, was formally introduced to delegates at a Canadian

Association of Broadcasters conference, it was female Senator Lorna Marsden who clarified for the members what the ramifications for the broadcasting sector were (Lavers & Ashley;1986,p.8). Although there are many other examples of this type of sexism within commercial broadcasting, the point is made that, while men are the heroes of the industry - the owners, the deal-makers, the general managers, the lobbying powers, the all-important morning drive announcers - women in radio have historically been the assistants, support staff and the 'oddities'.

One bright note in this sad song of gender inequality was the recent (1991) formation of the Canadian Women in Radio and Television (CWRT), created to secure a larger presence for women in creative and managerial positions. While this non-profit association is not dedicated exclusively to the radio industry - but to the advancement of women in a wide variety of communications fields including music, film, cable and telecommunications - it nonetheless represents an authoritative voice to help legitimize the claims and complaints of women in the business and to hopefully represent them in the long struggle towards equality. What is further required, is representation for the women in lower-level positions that are neither managerial nor especially creative.

ENDNOTES: APPENDIX 2

1. As audiences have become more fragmented and as targeting practices have become more refined, programming aimed specifically at women has become more common. CKLW-AM in Windsor is highly-focused on a female listening audience with programming on health and social issues affecting women. However, the mainstream tendencies of commercial radio are evident even in this seemingly progressive context. Far from offering radical programming for women, the station sticks to the middle-road, offering discussions on inter-personal relationships, rather than inequality. In an almost insulting tone, the station's general manager, Al Pervin, states..."we're doing things that we feel a 40 year-old woman would want to hear. CKLW has dropped all sports broadcasts and has become 'fairly non-political'" (Sutton;1993,p.9).
2. This was written in 1989 and since that time, women have become more frequently heard during 'the morning drive', although they almost always work as part of a morning announcer team with men. In a similar vein, an ACTRA study in the mid-1980s revealed that in the area of announcer voice-overs, women had made virtually no progress. Male voices were overwhelmingly used in radio and television as the advertising industry continued to cling to the belief that male voices represented voices of authority.

APPENDIX THREE

Further Considerations on 'Property'

Macpherson (1985) provides a more detailed definition of property as the 'rights of access to some use or benefit of some thing, and the rights to exclude others from that use or benefit' (p.87). Property rights of access are socially determined and rooted in economic rights which provide the property 'owner' with the privilege of generating income exclusively. With these rights also come certain state-negotiated and defined conditions in exchange for this access, conditions which may or may not impact upon the income arising from use of this property. Although these rights imply exclusivity, different types of rights with varying terms and conditions may be granted with respect to the same property. Such is the case in broadcasting, where each of the private and public sectors is constrained in a particular way by the conditions associated with the concepts of 'public' and 'national' interest.

The socially determined and relative nature of "property" as it pertains to the natural resource - the airwaves - is evident in the fact that it can be understood simultaneously as three different types - public, private and state property. In theory and in policy discourse, the Canadian airwaves are 'public property' (Broadcasting Act;1968,Pt.1, Section2(a)). 'Public' or common property implies "an individual right not to be excluded" from some use or benefit of something (Macpherson;1973,p.123). Theoretically, the state creates this 'right' to not be excluded from the use or benefit of public property. In reality, this type of property does not concretely exist in Canada with respect to radio broadcasting, despite its discursive presence. Individual Canadian citizens have historically been excluded - through the complex and biased licensing

process - from the use or benefit of the radio airwaves. Instead, the state has transformed and separated 'public/common property' into private property and state property - two, not necessarily opposed, structures of 'rights of access'. This stands in contrast to the private/public dichotomy presented in state policy and rhetoric.

The 'official' private/public dichotomy has the effect of suggesting that private broadcasting is not available to most Canadians, leaving the implication that 'public' airwaves are. This is a myth. 'Public property' in broadcasting is in actual fact 'state property' and 'state property' is not the same as 'public/common property' in terms of its rights and goals. As Clement suggests, the essential contradiction does not lie between state and private property - both hold exclusive rights. The contradiction instead lies "between these two types of property and common property" which embodies the right not to be excluded (1983;p.214). Since, as established above, public or common property does not exist with respect to Canadian broadcasting, we are then looking at two sides of a single coin when discussing the mixed broadcasting system in this country. It is this confusion over the existence or non-existence of 'public property' that lies at the heart of much of the conflict and misunderstanding in the broadcasting environment, particularly with respect to issues of access.

With reference again to Macpherson; "'private property' is the right of an individual (or a corporate entity) to exclude others from some use or benefit of something" (1973,p.123). This is one of the two forms state-created access/rights to the airwaves has taken, wherein Canadian private interests have largely monopolized the resource from the balance of society, thus eclipsing the rights of individuals not to be

excluded. Private access requires entitlement to this property through licensing which, in the Canadian case, is conditional licensing granting control and access to particular private companies who may then sell these rights to advertisers. This state-mediated "ownership" allows employers to create structures for the operation of labour power in commodity production, thus facilitating the transformation of public or common property into potential means of production to be laboured upon in the interest of capital.

Similarly, 'state property' is "a right of a corporate entity - the state or the government or one of its agencies - to exclude others" (Ibid.). This describes the state-created CBC. It also highlights the lack of access of individuals (the excluded "others"), despite the fact that the CBC is 'the public broadcaster'. The federal state created, and grants access to and control over, a portion of the electromagnetic spectrum for its own self-interests which are presented as the interests of the Canadian public and of the nation-state. Macpherson suggests that this form of property is created "because the capitalist market fails to meet the necessary conditions of allocation. "He points, for example, to transportation and communications 'facilities necessary for, but not profitable to, private enterprise'" (Clement;1983,p.213), as was the case with the creation of the CBC ('state property') in the 1930s, when the strategy of the economic and political leadership was focused on creating national unity and identity through broadcasting, necessitating communications reach into underpopulated (and unprofitable in terms of advertising revenue) areas of the country.

Ultimately, these various types of property' are not discrete nor monolithic forms. They overlap in the complexity of the social relations that lie behind them. The historic

central tension within the state/broadcasting policy environment, though, lies within the favouring of one or the other of these forms over time - that is, in representing one and subordinating the other through juridical rights and conditions of access.

ENDNOTES: APPENDIX 3

1. Another "property" issue with respect to the broadcasting system is the existence of 'copyright' which is a form of property created by the state for purposes of protecting the creators and creations of musical works. The state (through the lobbying efforts of publishing organizations) has determined that private broadcasters must contribute a part of their revenue to musicians and songwriters in payment for the use of or access to their "property". It should also be noted that just as the Canadian state defines "property" and access rights, the airwaves are also under the larger socio-political determination of the international World Administration Radio Conferences (WARC) of the International Telecommunications Union. WARC assigns frequencies to various countries. On this scale, the Canadian airwaves are again 'common property', for which the powerful WARC grants rights to both the orbit and the spectrum which are "limited natural resources" (Magdelenat & Rouselle;1987,p.280).

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