INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

**ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]

**“Gonna Die in Coquitlam”: National Identities as Mediated Through Contemporary
English-Canadian Popular Music**

by

Sheila Ross (B.A. Hon.)

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

**Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
September 6, 2001**

**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

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

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

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

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

0-612-66850-9

Canada

The undersigned recommend to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis

**"Gonna Die in Coquitlam": National Identities as Mediated
Through Contemporary English-Canadian Popular Music**

submitted by Sheila Ross, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Thesis Supervisor

Carleton University
October 19, 2001

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of contemporary English-Canadian popular music in the formation of individual national identities. Through a discussion of the existing theory on nations, national identity and popular music, it is suggested that individuals each construct their own national identities from discourses and lived experience. Through interviews with two Canadian musicians and thirty Canadian listeners, these processes of identity formation, as they relate to music, are interrogated. The results of this thesis research indicate that the relationship between musicians and listeners is characterized by both the lived experience of shared community, and discourses of ‘authenticity’ and ‘othering’. This thesis argues, therefore, that contemporary English-Canadian popular music contributes to the creation of individual national identities by way of both ‘authenticity’ and ‘othering’. These two elements are based, in turn, partly in constructed discourses, and partly in constructed realities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincerest gratitude goes to the participants of this particular research. Emm Gryner, Matthew Good, the fans and the music class students — thank you so very much for taking the time to speak with me and share your thoughts. It goes without saying (but I'll say it anyway) that this project would not have been possible without your help. Thank you to Matthew Good also for the song 'I Miss New Wave', a line from which comprises part of the title of this thesis.

Thank you also to my advisory committee. The much-needed guidance I received from my supervisor, Dr. John Shepherd, and input from Dr. Virginia Caputo, made this project far more fulfilling than I ever imagined possible.

To my family and friends, I am forever grateful for your willingness to lend a sympathetic ear, and in the case of my mother-in-law, a couple of tape recorders. Thanks to all of you for enduring what must add up to countless hours of 'thesis talk'.

I save my deepest appreciation for my husband, Andrew. He has had to 'do the most time' with me during the course of this project, and I cannot thank him enough for his unwavering support. Thanks for believing in me even when *I* didn't. "Sometimes you feel like you're getting your butt kicked, when you're actually kicking butt."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
Chapter One	
Introduction.....	1
Emm Gryner.....	5
The Matthew Good Band.....	6
Chapter Two	
Nations and National Identities.....	8
‘We Need to Think Ourselves Beyond the Nation’ - The Nation as Problematic..	8
Theories of Nationalism.....	13
National Identity.....	18
National Identities and Culture.....	22
Chapter Three	
Popular Music.....	28
Identities and Music.....	28
Music and Place.....	31
The Study of Fans and Musicians.....	37
Notions of Authenticity.....	43
Chapter Four	
Canadian Music.....	47
A History and Assessment of Government Intervention.....	47
An English-Canadian Musical Identity?.....	57
Contemporary Canadian Music.....	63
Chapter Five	
The Research Process.....	67
Qualitative Methodology.....	67
Choosing the Subjects.....	70
Making Contacts.....	71

Data Collection and Analysis.....	79
My Position as a Researcher.....	85
Interviewing Public Figures.....	89
Conclusion.....	92
Chapter Six	
Findings and Conclusions.....	94
Music as Shared Community.....	95
Identities as Discourse.....	101
Conclusion: Canadian Music and National Identity; Authenticity and ‘Other’..	115
Directions for Further Research.....	121
Appendix A: Interview Schedules.....	124
Bibliography.....	126

Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

Nationalism and music have been linked since the nation state became a major force in European history, and nationalism and nationality have played a quite prominent role in the development of classical music and its study. On the whole, however, the issue of national identity and its 'expression' through music has been treated quite unproblematically. The phenomenon of nationality has been largely taken for granted, and the exact processes through which nationality and music intersect have remained unexamined. These omissions have become even more noticeable with the development of mass media and popular culture, the increased diffusion of popular music, and the implications of these developments for the nation state.

According to Shuker (1994: 68), there are three interrelated characteristics which can be considered when addressing the issue of the relations between music and national identities. Firstly, one can seek out a local association through a band's name, and the lyrical content, which may involve the use of distinctly local vocabularies, of the band or artist's songs. Secondly, one can survey the presence of local accents or inflections in the vocal delivery of a song. Finally, one can question the evidence of a locally-based style of music. The problem with such a systematic analysis is that one would encounter great difficulty in finding these characteristics in *any* contemporary popular music. Shuker himself states that examples of these features in the popular music of his native New Zealand are 'scarce' (Shuker 1994: 68).

The same could be said for the popular music of English Canada. This nation is a particularly interesting case study for questions of national identity and music given two major factors. First, Canada has traditionally been unable to establish a singular cultural

identity, given its proximity to the culturally-dominant United States and its low population density. Second, Canada has a considerable history of state intervention in the realm of popular music. Regulations requiring exposure to at least thirty percent Canadian music through broadcasting media have been in place since 1971, influencing the listening habits of generations of Canadians.

Current research supports the contention that a 'distinctively Canadian musical sound' does not exist (Berland 1988; Robbins 1994). Yet, this thesis will argue that in spite of this, English Canadian popular music does play a role in how individuals in Canada construct their national identities. While, clearly, Canadian music does not contribute to national identities by way of a unified national 'sound', it may still be capable of doing so through less direct ways, such as how individuals experience it, how it is incorporated into their everyday lives, and how individuals make sense of these experiences and this incorporation. With this in mind, the research question which forms the focus of this thesis is the following: What role does contemporary English-Canadian popular music play in the formation of individuals' national identities?

Numerous scholars have written about the relationship between music and identity (for example Frith 1996; Negus 1996), but the aim of this thesis is to address specifically identities as related to nationality, moreso than, for example, to identities as mediated through processes of gender, ethnicity or class. Issues related to national identity in Canadian music have been dealt with by a number of different writers, be it in the context of industry constraints (Wright 1990; Berland 1990; Lehr 1994), or more generally (Berland 1998; Wright 1988; Robbins 1994). However, most address the issues at a more theoretical level, with at best some evidence from secondary data sources

(Wright 1988; Lehr 1994; Hagerman 2000). Fieldwork-based writings on this topic are quite sparse (but see, for example, Duffett 1993).

Herein lies the rationale for this thesis. The analysis presented in this thesis draws principally from data obtained in semi-structured interviews with two contemporary Canadian rock musicians, ten each of their fans, and ten students from a popular music class at Carleton University. Through these interviews valuable insights were gained into what Canadian music meant for these subjects, and how it in turn served to inform their own national identities. The intent of the research undertaken for this thesis is thus to contribute to the literature on the creation of identities by both consumers and creators of popular music (see for example Weinstein 1991; Cohen 1991), and to add a distinctively Canadian perspective to this body of work.

A grounded theory approach was used throughout the research process, meaning that the research undertaken continually informed the development of the theory underpinning the thesis, rather than a pre-determined body of theory providing a static framework for the research (a more detailed explanation of grounded theory appears in Chapter Five). The dialogue between theory and research was accomplished using a reflexive writing process. While the findings from an earlier consultation of the existing literature informed the research in terms of the general types of questions pursued in the interviews and observation, the theoretical chapters of this thesis (Chapters Two, Three and Four) were formulated largely in response to the findings of the research. This approach necessitated, indeed, an ongoing dialogue between theory and research, and made for a more coherent project.

In the absence of a fixed or established theoretical framework on the relationship between popular music and national identities, the next three chapters of this thesis discuss existing theory on a number of issues related to the subject matter of the thesis. Chapter Two is devoted to a discussion of the nation and national identities. It moves from a review of writers who believe the nation is declining in popularity and relevance in contemporary society, to a discussion of the roles the nation is seen by others to continually serve. From there, Chapter Two introduces the concept of identity, and how it relates specifically to issues of nationality and nationalism. The chapter closes with discussion of work on the role of culture and the arts in the creation and perpetuation of nationalism and national identities.

Chapter Three examines the work in popular music studies that is relevant to the thesis. It begins by discussing some work on the connection between popular music and the creation of identities, and then on how music and conceptions of place intersect. There then follows a discussion of the literature on the study of musicians and fans, with particular attention paid to the formation of communities between artists and audiences, and the significance of the live concert experience in these processes of community formation. Finally, the chapter discusses the concept of ‘authenticity’, this concept underpinning a discourse commonly employed by fans and musicians in making sense of music.

Chapter Four reviews the sociocultural environment specific to Canadian popular music, starting with the advent of the government regulations. In addition to coverage of the events leading up to the implementation of these regulations, the first section of this chapter discusses their impact on artists as recently as the early 1990s. The next section

of the chapter discusses the literature that interrogates the issue of the presence of a Canadian national identity in popular music. The final section contextualizes the situation of contemporary Canadian music by discussing the current profile of Canadian popular music, and the role of the media in the construction of Canadian musical identities.

With these discussions complete, Chapter Five describes the research process involved in the undertaking of this project. Important aspects of the methodology are discussed in relation to the relevant literature. Some of these aspects include the importance of qualitative research and grounded theory, and issues in the interviewing of public figures.

The final chapter presents the results of the field research. Here, the aim is to use the collected data to illustrate how contemporary Canadian music serves both to create a sense of community between artists and audiences through live concerts and through shared experiences, and to constitute discourses of Canadian identity. The discussion concludes that Canadian music mediates national identities through processes relating to authenticity and to 'the other', and that these processes are based partly in discourse, and partly in constructed realities. The thesis closes with some final reflections on possible future directions for further research. In concluding, the Introduction will provide some basic information on the musicians whose fans were interviewed, and who were also themselves interviewed for this research.

Emm Gryner

Emm Gryner was born in Sarnia, Ontario and raised in a nearby small town called Forest. She was trained in classical piano from childhood and by her teenage years was also playing bass and writing songs. She started her own record label, Dead Daisy

Records, and released her first album, *The Original Leap Year*, in 1996 at age twenty. She was later signed to Mercury Records, who released her album *Public* in 1998. She had a minor hit from that album called 'Summerlong' in the summer of 1998, and was nominated later that year for a 'Best New Artist' Juno award.

The merger of Universal Music and Mercury's parent company, Polygram, led to Gryner being dropped from her label. Nevertheless, she released *Science Fair*, a mostly acoustic album recorded in such places as her bedroom and the Sarnia Public Library, in 1999. Her most recent release is *Dead Relatives* (2000), a collection of unreleased tracks, and she is currently recording an album of 'covers'. She continues to tour extensively, playing small clubs and festivals as well as her beloved 'Living Room Shows', wherein she literally plays in a host's living room. She has also gained some international recognition as a member of David Bowie's band, singing backup vocals and playing keyboards and clarinet.

The Matthew Good Band

Matthew Good, born and raised in Coquitlam, British Columbia, had aspirations of becoming a history professor. After an uninspiring two semesters of art school, he began honing his skills as a writer. He was invited by friends in a folk band to write songs for them, and eventually took over the position of lead singer. This arrangement eventually disintegrated and Good decided to write his own album. He got together friends Ian Browne, Geoff Lloyd (who left the band in 1999 and was replaced by Rich Priske) and Dave Genn, and recorded the album in 1995, having never played a live show and thinking no one would buy the album. To their surprise, the song 'Alabama Motel Room' was immediately picked up by radio across Canada and they were headed out on

tour. They had not even thought of a proper name at the time — the Matthew Good Band simply stuck. That album — *Last of the Ghetto Astronauts* — went on to become the most successful Canadian independent rock album ever.

Their second full-length album, *Underdogs* (1997), spawned three hit singles in Canada, and earned them two 1998 Juno nominations plus another four in 1999. They have also received many Muchmusic award nominations for their striking videos. In the fall of 1999, the band released *Beautiful Midnight*, a concept album dealing with Good's adolescence in suburban British Columbia. It, too, featured a number of Canadian hits, and won the 2000 Juno award for Best Rock Album. The band also won the Best Group award that year. Their latest release, *The Audio of Being*, is due in October of 2001.

In 2000 Good attracted some controversy. In addition to receiving criticism over a media-fueled battle of words between him and another well-known Canadian band, he has also been accused by some critics of being 'anti-Canadian'. This was due to his failure to appear at the Juno Awards, and due also to an incident where he burned a toy beaver onstage at a Canada Day show in Winnipeg. Both incidents, however, are open to interpretation. He has said that he does not attend awards shows because he does not agree with the way they 'objectify art'. The 'beaver' incident, placed in the context of him *frequently* burning stuffed animals at shows as a stunt to incite audience participation, might be interpreted as an acknowledgement of Canada Day festivities. Recently, the band toured to support the January 2001 release of *Beautiful Midnight* in the United States.

Chapter Two: NATIONS AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

This thesis' focus on identities specifically related to nationality necessitates a thorough treatment of the issues surrounding the concept of the nation in contemporary society. Such is the rationale for this chapter. To begin, the chapter will address and discuss some contemporary authors who contend that nationalism and the nation are problematic and therefore on the decline, and will then relate the case of Canada specifically to those theories. From there, the discussion will move to some contemporary theories as to why the nation became so prevalent in modern society and why its apparent popularity persists. What follows is an introduction to the concept of identity, and subsequently national identities and how they function. The chapter ends with a review of nationalism and national identities as mediated through culture and the arts. While some believe that clear definitions of the concepts of nationalism and national identity are not necessary (McCrone 1998) (and this chapter will later delve into what is problematic in many existing definitions), it is nonetheless appropriate to explain what is meant by 'nation' and 'nationalism' here. By nation this thesis refers to a territory bonded by a common government, sharing to varying degrees other characteristics such as cultural heritage, and political history. The term nationalism describes, in short, feelings of support for the nation.

'We Need to Think Ourselves Beyond the Nation'¹ - The Nation as Problematic

Numerous writers have recently concerned themselves with the nation's relevance in contemporary society. Some question whether the nation in its present state will be of use to the postmodern world, and others even suggest that the entire concept of 'nation'

¹ Appadurai 1996: 158

should be done away with. As this thesis deals with the formation of identities as related to nationalism, it does not contend that the nation state is currently obsolete. However, it is important to review the viewpoints of these authors to properly contextualize the discussion that follows later of the relations of music to questions of Canadian national identities.

Most agree that nations, at the very least, were historically important *at one time*, especially during the last two hundred years (Hobsbawm 1992). For instance, the nation is frequently identified as an organizational form closely associated with the rise of modernity. Its development is intertwined with that of capitalism, and both the former and the latter were key elements in the acceleration and expansion of modern institutions of industrialism and militarism (Giddens 1990).

Currently, however, many perceive a distinct breaking-down of national barriers around the world. These changes can be clearly observed in the political sphere. Nations, says Giddens, are increasingly concerned with political liaisons between one another. These liaisons break down some aspects of each nation's individual sovereignty, but at the same time bolster their strength within the state system. The more connected different nations become, the more nationalism may get squeezed out: 'Globalization — which is a process of uneven development that fragments as it coordinates — introduces new forms of world interdependence, in which, once again, there are no "others"' (Giddens 1990: 175). Held (1996) goes so far as to point out serious gaps in the relations between the sovereign nation and the current global system. In other words, the recent trend towards globalization emphasizes a number of disjunctures between the theoretical power of the nation to determine its own fate, and the actual institutions and practices of the nation at

the global level. These inconsistencies, asserts Held, have a major effect on nations. Firstly, their formal authority is at odds with how the actual world economic system in fact undermines national political power. Second, the concept of the nation as an autonomous military power does not concur with the developing global network of states, hegemonic powers and power blocs. Thirdly, there are currently numerous organizations dedicated to the management of spaces wherein largely transnational activity takes place — oceans and space, for example. Finally, new systems of international law and regulation undermine the legal systems of national communities. All these issues, according to Held, point out the limitations of national politics, and indicate that we should be moving towards an international political system.

Additionally, and of more direct concern to this thesis, the increased intermingling of nations has an obvious cultural dimension. Appadurai (1996) argues that the contemporary nation is rooted in a fundamental culture or collective imagination. Contemporary nationalism bonds citizens through common cultural experiences of print and electronic media. There is a need, therefore, for a postnational theory of large-scale ethnic mobilization and a move away from the 'tribe'.

The author acknowledges the inception of different postnational social formations such as transnational philanthropic organizations (*Habitat for Humanity* and *World Vision*, for example), international fashion and the Olympic Games, and heralds them as 'both instances and incubators of a postnational global order' (Appadurai 1996: 168). By 'postnational', Appadurai means a movement towards a global order in which the nation becomes obsolete and new forms of identity and allegiance replace it; alternative forms of organizing the global trade of resources and cultures which threaten the nation or serve

as peaceful alternatives; and the weakening of the nation's monopoly on loyalty, thus encouraging the cultivation of nationalisms not bound to geographical territories.

Furthermore, the constantly-changing populations of contemporary nations mean that traditional means of defining what it is to be a certain nationality, such as ethnicity and language, no longer fit. This is evidenced by augmented levels of immigration in the past century — particularly to the nations which make up the New World. The mobility of such individuals as refugees, tourists and guest workers also contributes to the increasingly diasporic character of nationalism (Appadurai 1996: 161).

It is largely because of these cultural implications of globalization that Canada is such an excellent case for studying national identities. Canada clearly reflects what is problematic about traditional views of the nation. Because Canada is an enormous country in terms of surface area, encompassing a variety of different terrain, climates and populations, there are a number of distinct regional cultures associated with it. Examples include the Celtic cultures of the East Coast and the Francophone cultures of Quebec. Not only do cultures vary across the different regions of Canada, but within many of the nation's major cities there are sizeable ethnic minority and immigrant populations. According to the 1996 Census, forty-four percent of Canada's population reported ethnic origins other than British, French or Canadian (Canadian Heritage 1998: 2), and Toronto is well on its way to becoming the most multicultural city in the world (Canadian Heritage 2001).

Canada is also heavily influenced by the increased homogenization of the mass media. Given its proximity to the United States, Canada receives a significant proportion of its popular culture, be it television, movies or music, from the United States. Both

these factors make it virtually impossible to formulate a singular definition of what it is to be 'Canadian'. Conventional criteria do not work. Even so, Canada in particular still commits a great deal of time and resources to supporting some sense of 'national culture'. For example, the Department of Canadian Heritage strives to promote what they believe to be 'Canadian identity' and a sense of 'connectedness' by developing policies for many aspects of Canadians' lives, from language and multiculturalism to sports and the arts. Some of their highest-profile work is with the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission in the regulation of broadcasting in order to promote Canadian content. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four. At this point, however, it is important to clarify that despite the efforts of such government organizations, Canada does not possess a singular national identity. The interest of this thesis is not in uncovering such a mythical entity, but to better understand what role, if any, Canadian music plays in the construction of individual national *identities*.

Canada's plight is similar to that of many New World nations, as Turner (1994) reveals in his discussion of Australian nationalism. European discourses on nationalism, he writes, are typically characterized by notions of cultural purity and common origins. Older nations are, as a result, privileged in these discourses; their identities are granted an implicit natural coherence, while more recently-formed nations suffer. In Turner's words:

The newer nations have to undertake the process of nation formation explicitly, visibly, defensively, and are always being caught in the act — embarrassed in the process of construction. Traditional definitions of nationhood deny the legitimacy of such societies and of such processes. (Turner 1994: 123)

But, in opposition to such scholars as Hobsbawm (1990) and Appadurai, who predict the eventual demise of the nation, Turner proposes not that the entire concept be dismissed.

but that some of its implications be modified so as to be less discriminatory and exclusionist. He suggests examining in greater detail the ways established nationalist discourses function in national cultures, and whose interests they serve. Critics of Australian nationalism, apparently, declare it obsolete because of its intolerance of cultural and political diversity; national character in that particular context is quite narrowly defined. However, Turner disagrees that nationalism is on the decline. Nationalism does not always hold the same meaning, and it serves different interests depending on circumstances. Of key importance is how nationalism is used in different situations. It is important to note that while Turner's discussion is in the context of Australia, even other 'newer nations' *such as* Australia and the United States have a more distinct sense of a singular cultural identity than Canada, as a result of Canada being ethnically diverse, sparsely-populated, and sharing a border with arguably the most dominant force in Western culture.

Theories of Nationalism

While much has been written of late on problematic character of the 'nation', equally as much, if not more, attempts to answer the question, 'Why, then, does the nation persist?' Looking to the context of this particular thesis, why is Canada still concerned with fostering a national culture? Because this thesis deals at length with the relevance of specifically national identities, it is important to discuss those authors who contend that nations are still socially relevant, and will likely be an important part of society for a long time. Perhaps most compelling are those writings which appear to be rooted in people's apparent innate need to feel connected with others. Many such theories

on the significance of the nation and nationalism are based in Ernest Renan's 1882 lecture at the Sorbonne, entitled 'What is a Nation?'

Nations, said Renan (1990), have only existed in relatively recent history. Not until the Germanic invasions of the Roman Empire did the basis for nationalities even begin to materialize. The dynasties and military aristocracies that German peoples imposed upon various parts of the Western empire would ultimately lead to the divisions that constituted France, Germany, Italy, Spain and England, and these nations were characterized by the perceived homogeneity of their populations. Nations took the form imposed on them by their invaders, and 'forgetting' was vitally important to their creation: 'the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things' (Renan 1990: 11).

The modern nation is a product of convergent historical forces. Many nations are dynastic in character (Scotland and France, for example). However others are not (such as the United States and Switzerland). Furthermore, many originally dynastic nations can become detached from their dynasties (France appeared to be headed in that direction at the time). From what, then, does one derive national right? In accordance with the previously-discussed critics of the nation writing one hundred years later, Renan asserted that basing it in ethnicity would be a grave error. After all, there is no truly pure race, and so a politics with an ethnic base would be completely unrealistic and unacceptable. The term 'race' also has different meanings in different academic fields. Similar criticisms could be made of attempts to define the 'nation' through language and religion, so Renan proposed a theory of the nation which was unique at the time. The nation, he said, is a 'moral consciousness' — a soul and a spiritual principle, consisting of both a common

past, a rich legacy of memories and a present day consenting to live together in a common life and to continue to value the heritage that has been received (Renan 1990: 19).

Writing in the same vein as Renan, Anderson (1983) emphasizes the role the nation has played in every successful sociopolitical revolution since World War Two, and refers to nation-ness as 'the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time' (Anderson 1983: 12). Despite nationalism's huge influence on the modern world, however, it is very hard to define nationality. 'Nation-ness' is a certain type of cultural phenomenon and it is necessary to understand its historical origins, its various incarnations and why it has been so recently powerful. Anderson argues that 'nation-ness' resulted from a combination of different historical forces. These forces come together in varying degrees to suit a multitude of different societies. Nationalism, therefore, should be understood not so much in terms of political ideologies, but rather through the greater systems of culture that served as a background to its development.

Anderson notes three major preconditions for the nationalist age, which began for him in the eighteenth century. First of all, at this time, religious modes of thought began to decline in popularity. The absence of religious belief left people needing another source from which to draw their faith in continuity and meaning. Also, dynastic political systems were disintegrating. Finally, the way people saw the world in terms of such concepts of time and simultaneity — the awareness of the actions of others around the world at the same time as one's own — was changing significantly, and this made it possible to conceive of the nation. These three factors meant that human life was increasingly based in the nature of everyday objects, and the everyday aspects of life.

Therefore, a new way of linking affiliation, power and time was necessary. Nationalism was not a direct product of these changes in social life, but was able to rise in popularity as a result of them. The decline of religions and dynasties made room for the nation.

The other key component of Anderson's theory of the nation is the concept of print capitalism: 'capitalism...within the limits imposed by grammars and syntaxes, created mechanically reproduced print-languages capable of dissemination through the market' (Anderson 1983: 47). Its development made it possible for many people to start thinking about themselves and relate to others in new ways:

...the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life . . . fiction seeps quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations. (Anderson 1983: 40)

The 'print languages' which developed out of the rise of print capitalism served to unite the many variants in such languages as French, English and Spanish, thus enabling people previously situated in completely different linguistic fields to be able to communicate with and understand each other. The resulting awareness of and connections between people were, according to Anderson, the seeds of the imagined national consciousness.

While still echoing the need for cultural connections between individuals, Gellner's (1983) nation was highly practical. Gellner saw nationalism as absolutely essential to the proper functioning of modern society. Nationalism is a certain kind of patriotism, pervasive only in the modern world, and it represents a stable connection between state and culture.

Most political power, said Gellner, is in the control of a large, centralized state. This state is associated with one culture and one communication style; cultural homogeneity is vital. The state's economy is contingent on everyone being able to interact or communicate with each other in the same way. In order, then, to perpetuate this culture and communication, a centralized education system is necessary. Furthermore, increased anonymity, and mobility in employment makes a shared culture important as well. As Gellner saw it, nationalism serves this purpose very effectively in modern societies. While Gellner's argument that nationalism is a useful tool in the maintenance of harmony in a society is an interesting and potentially important one, it is easy to call into question the feasibility of 'cultural homogeneity' in modern nations, given the points previously established in this chapter.

Despite the number of theorists who would contend that the nation is on the decline in contemporary society, and the problematic character of the concepts fundamental to traditional forms of national distinction, it seems that some sense of nationalism, of *belonging to* a nation, may remain necessary for the functioning of contemporary societies. Certainly, there is much evidence to suggest that nationalism remains an important force in contemporary society. Many regions' and states' interest in autonomy, as well as ethnic conflicts, and the post-communism situation in Russia, are oft-cited indicators of such relevance (McCrone 1998). Turner (1994) also argues that a lot of the support for predictions of nationalism's demise in the face of multinational capitalism was a product of the commotion surrounding the proposed unification of Europe in the late 1980s. It is important to consider the possibility that a certain level of nationalist sentiment is instrumental in a functioning society, given the findings of this

thesis. Clearly, even though there are certain elements of nationalism which do not stand up to critique, such as cultural singularity, the interviews for this thesis reveal that there is still nationalist sentiment among individuals when they talk about music. The need for a sense of affiliation and belonging as suggested in particular by Renan (1990) and Anderson (1983) may ultimately provide some explanation for the feelings expressed by the respondents.

National Identity

This chapter has up until now been concerned principally with issues facing the concept of nation, and the possible functions of nationalism. However, also key to understanding the processes of nationalism is how individuals identify themselves as being from a particular nation, or how they achieve senses of *national identity*. The research undertaken for this thesis deals specifically with the concept of national identities. It is therefore necessary at this point to discuss the concept of identity so as to make clear what is being referred to in later chapters.

Postmodern conceptions of the term 'identity' reject the Enlightenment notion as the essential centre of a person, emergent at birth and unfolding continuously and consistently as a person lived out their life (Hall 1992a). Instead, identity is now seen as neither stable nor unified, but rather a dynamic and constantly changing process. The postmodern subject is, in fact, fragmented, with *plural identities* which often contradict each other. While this thesis deals in particular with identities as related to the nation, identities are far more complex. Peer groups, gender, ethnicity and class are just some of the levels on which the phenomenon of identity operates. In this context, Hall (1992a) describes identity as a 'moveable feast', adaptable to any circumstance, and therefore

perpetually involved in processes of construction and transformation. Depending on the situation, different levels or dimensions of individuals' identities become more important. Understanding identities necessitates contextualizing them within the historical processes that have destabilized notions of cultural cohesiveness. Globalization, as previously discussed, is the most obvious and important example of this, as Hall indicates:

Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from' so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (Hall 1996: 4)

Hall also makes special note of the importance of exclusion, or 'others' in identity. The meaning of identity, he says, can only be constructed in relation to its 'constitutive outside'. In other words, what we *are not* is just as important as what we are. McCrone, too, reflects on the role of the other in the creation of identities when he speaks of boundaries:

It is the social boundary which defines the group in question, not the cultural stuff which the boundary contains. Where social interaction is defined as taking place within or across these boundaries, then the group's identity will be maintained, reinforced or dissipated. It will not be necessary for the cultural content of two groups to alter significantly— indeed, they may grow more similar. What matters is the interaction across a meaningful boundary (not only geographical, but also social and cultural) which may weaken or strengthen. (McCrone 1998: 28)

Chapter Six will return to the idea of the role of 'others' in creating identities, as the results of this research will reveal that processes of othering are a significant component to the formation of national identities through Canadian music.

McCrone's (1998) discussion of national identity places this concept in a specifically nation-centred context. Identity is more of a process than a singular concept, and it is essential to discuss processes of identification, says McCrone, when studying nationality or ethnicity. Changes in social structures made a substantial impact on national identities, as they have any other forms of social identity. Increasing fragmentation and dislocation of social arrangements have led to more unpredictable and varied identities. Increased globalization and the fall of traditional state ideologies does not, however, mean that all people now possess the same, homogenized global identity resulting from the consumption of similar cultural and material goods. On the contrary, globalization often results in stronger local identities and 'counter ethnicities' that may employ traditional (which is to say, nationalist) discourses, but are deceptively adaptable to new social circumstances. While some of these identities may be attempting to recapture certain histories and traditions to (re)form a unified culture, many modern cultures now recognize the importance of translation, and that identities are greatly influenced by history and difference. Hybridization and constant change also often characterize these identities.

Those who study nationalism and national identity, asserts McCrone, focus far too little on the 'identity' part of the equation, and are frequently preoccupied with the 'nation' element — what a nation is, whether in fact such a thing actually exists. They privilege questioning the existence of the nation over exploring how individuals construct and mobilize national identities through their own lived experiences. This situation reflects the long-standing sociological debates concerning structure and agency. Recent years, however, have seen a growing interest in the concept of 'personal' nationalism.

which has its roots in Renan's 'daily affirmation' of national identity. 'Banal' symbols such as the national flag, for example, have become key to such understandings of national identity. The fact that they are so ubiquitous and taken-for-granted enables citizens to identify with them, and actively make them their own. 'With regard to nationality', says McCrone, 'or "nation"-ness, these are the day-to-day interactions and practices which produce inherent and usually unarticulated feelings of belonging, or being "at home"' (1998: 42). This idea of individuals adapting ubiquitous symbols provided by society in order to mobilize their own sense of nationality echoes the concept of the *habitus*. Pierre Bourdieu's concept is often seen as a resolution to the structure-agency debate. It refers to the way individuals internalize given social arrangements — the tastes, beliefs and behaviours which are associated with their particular location in society. What is important to Bourdieu's concept is that individuals carry out internalization in an active fashion, thus rendering social structures personal. In the words of Bourdieu:

The *habitus*, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices — more history — in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which...tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms...Overriding the spurious opposition between the forces inscribed in an earlier state of the system, outside the body, and the internal forces arising instantaneously as motivations springing from free will, the internal dispositions — the internalization of externality — enable the external forces to exert themselves, but in accordance with the specific logic of the organisms in which they are incorporated, i.e. in a durable, systematic and non-mechanical way. (Bourdieu, 1990: 54-5)

Bourdieu's work highlights the manner in which McCrone's theory represents a much-needed shift away from studying the 'nation' as a whole. His work places more

importance on studying the ways in which individuals construct their own national identities and how outside factors can play a part in these processes of construction. Given that the research of this thesis does not rest in particular on the evidence of the nation's importance in modern society, or on whether or not a singular national identity exists, but rather on how each individual conceives of national identity through popular music, McCrone's work is of great significance.

National Identities and Culture

Culture is the arena of social activity within which messages can be articulated and communicated to societies at large. People draw a great deal of what they know about the world from the cultural products to which they are exposed. Culture, therefore, is the arena of social activity within which societies can perpetuate 'ubiquitous symbols' in the context of national identity. Because this thesis deals specifically with the role of a cultural product, namely popular music, in how people create national identities, it is relevant to discuss the ways in which national identities can be mediated through culture.

Before commencing the discussion, however, it is important to clarify a concept which will be referred to throughout the remainder of the thesis: *discourse*. Hall (1992b) defines discourse in the following way:

A discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about — i.e. a way of representing — a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. (Hall 1992b: 291)

Foucault, with whom the notion of discourse is taken to originate, refers to the idea of the 'discursive formation' — that discourses are, in fact, comprised of a number of statements which are all related and work together as a whole, rather than a single

statement (Foucault 1972: 38). Most importantly, however, Foucault argues that discourses are never neutral. Relations of power are inherent in the production of all discourses. More specifically, with power comes the capacity to produce knowledge and vice versa: 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute...power relations' (Foucault 1980: 27). The concept of the discourse throws into relief the processes through which those in power in a society are able to produce and promote certain popular discourses. For example, when Renan (1990) refers to the role of 'forgetting' in the formation of modern European nations, the power of the Germanic invaders is seen clearly as a major component in the formation of a nationalist discourse. Chapter Four will address the power of media in constructing discourses that relate to popular music.

The concept of the nation, writes Brennan (1990), is both historically determined and general. It at once describes the modern nation, and the more historical idea of the 'natio'—a sense of family, locality and belonging. The distinction between these two very difficult elements is frequently blurred by nationalist attempts to place countries in an 'historical' context wherein the arbitrary nature of the nation cannot be challenged. Brennan uses Foucault's concept of the 'discursive formation' to describe the role of nations and nationalism since World War Two. Nationalism is used by artists to signify ideas such as belonging, bordering and commitment. Fiction and art are also used in an institutional sense by nationalist movements. Cultural studies can, therefore, be useful in interrogating the postcolonial world and its nation-centered character.

Brennan, in concurrence with Anderson's theory, argues that the rise of the modern nation is forever tied to imaginative literature. The nation guided this literature in terms of concepts such as 'folk character' and national language, while the literature helped form nations by way of 'national print media'. The novel was particularly instrumental in defining the 'imagined community' of the nation, as Brennan notes: 'Nations, then, are imaginative constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions in which imaginative literature plays a decisive role' (Brennan 1990: 49).

Hall (1992) points out that our native national cultures are one of our principal sources of cultural identity; while they do not constitute part of our genetic makeup, we consider them to be a natural, essential part of who we are. We are not, however, born with certain national identities. Rather, national identities are created and transformed for and by us by way of cultural representations. In other words, people come to know what it means to be of a certain nationality through how that nationality is represented by a national culture. Hall contends that a nation is not simply a political concept, but also a symbolic one — 'a system of cultural representation' (Hall 1992: 292).

National cultures are discourses; they serve to construct identities. The final chapter of this thesis deals with the discourses employed by Canadian music listeners in the construction of their national identities. Identity construction of this type is often carried on through the production of meanings we can identify with, such as stories, memories and images. Hall identifies five of the main elements constitutive of the national culture narrative. First, there is the *narrative of the nation*, which is told and retold in various representations of experiences of the nation. Examples include stories.

images, national symbols and rituals. People see themselves as part of these narratives, giving them a sense of connection to a common destiny that existed before them and will continue after them. It provides meaning to mundane everyday life. There are also *origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness*. These contribute to the representation of national identity as primordial and unchanging. There is next the *invention of tradition*, which refers to the process of constructing traditions as old when they are, in fact, quite recent. The *foundational myth*, then, describes the use of stories to place a nation's origins and those of its culture in a very early period of time, thus lending a 'mythic' character to them. The final element to this discourse as identified by Hall is the idea of a *pure, original people* or 'folk'. All these components help constitute the discursive formation that, as Hall sees it, informs our own national identities.

Turner (1994) brings the idea of using culture to construct national identities into a more contemporary context, taking into account the increase in cultural diversity which is often believed to contribute to the problematic character of the concept of the nation. He lists a number of recent films (Baz Luhrmann's film *Strictly Ballroom*, for example) which depict Australian cultural identities as plural and hybridized. He argues the possibility that the wave of Australian nationalism in the 1980s, brought on in part by the United States' sudden interest in all things Australian (the movie *Crocodile Dundee*, film actor Mel Gibson, and model Elle MacPherson), may have helped encourage a rethinking of Australian identities present in film. Additionally, Turner identifies the success of the multicultural Australian rock band Yothu Yindi as another sign that Australians are rethinking how they define themselves. Turner comments on the potential of the role of rock and roll in the formation of nationalist culture in the following way:

Textually, rock music is a 'dirty' cultural form, full of excess and cultural appropriations. The task of interpellating (sic) an indigenous musical culture into such a discursive and industrial regime is not to be underestimated. Where it happens at all, it will happen by way of interpretive translation rather than unmediated transmission. (Turner 1994: 136)

The potential for contemporary cultural forms such as popular music to help construct and modify senses of national identity resonates deeply for Canadians. Efforts to maintain a narrative of national culture on the part of government institutions echoes McCrone's idea of 'ubiquitous symbols' of the nation. So, for example, while the Canadian government does regulate the amount of Canadian popular music played by radio stations and video channels, much of the agency still resides within each individual in terms of what kind of role Canadian music plays in their creation of national identities through both discourse and lived experience.

In sum, while the characteristics of the current sociocultural environment, such as increasing cultural hybridity, mass media and political alliances, have revealed much that is problematic about traditional conceptions of the nation, a genuine sense of allegiance and kinship may still exist among many individuals from the same country. The results of this thesis seem to support this argument, developed by those who see nationalism as vital to a healthy society (Renan 1990; Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983). The interest of this particular thesis is not, however, so much about how the nation functions, but rather how individuals each form their own identities as related to their nationality. McCrone (1998) and Hall (1996; 1992a) each provides some direction as to how these processes of identity formation work. The writings on the role of culture in discourses of nationalism and national identities support the contention that culture plays a significant role in the creation of identities, and serves to justify this thesis' focus on popular music.

Chapter Three: POPULAR MUSIC

While the purpose of the first chapter was to provide some theoretical background for one component of this thesis, namely national identity, this chapter continues with an introduction to the other key component. This is the study of popular music. As this thesis addresses specifically the role of popular music in the creation of national identities, it is relevant to review some important work in this area. The chapter begins with a discussion of extant theories on how music helps constitute identities, and then moves to a discussion of music's relationship to place. The final portion of the chapter is dedicated to a review of the current writings on musicians and fans, with considerable focus on some of the key dynamics to the fan-performer relationship, and on some discourses common in popular music.

Identities and Music

This chapter begins with a discussion of the role of popular music in the formation of identities. While the writings discussed do not deal specifically with national identities, their accounts of music and identities in general are nonetheless important to understanding the narrower topic of music and national identities.

Negus (1996) identifies certain dichotomies that have served to separate discourses on the production and consumption of music. These dichotomies manifest themselves particularly in the way that popular music audiences are frequently depicted as creative and active, whereas the music industry is portrayed as conservative and exploitative. It is important, asserts Negus, to break down this separation by acknowledging the social relationships that do, in fact, apply to or exist between both producers and consumers of popular music.

Identities in music, for instance, are not a mere matter of reflection. Songs do not simply mirror the lives of musicians or audiences, and there is no clear link between an artist's identity, the meanings in their music and the lives of fans. Identities are not essential and fixed, but rather actively constructed and potentially dynamic. In the words of Negus, 'A sense of identity is created out of and across the processes whereby people are connected together through and with music' (Negus 1996: 133).

Studying popular music therefore should involve investigating processes of 'articulation'. Sounds must seek out and connect with audiences. Consequently, components that are not necessarily related to each other in any obvious way are, in fact, linked. Processes of production and consumption in music can then be seen as a complex system of mediated connections, rather than a linear series of static, independent phenomena. Music's meanings and its connections to identities and any resulting social phenomena are a product of articulations between the industry, performers and audiences, and with the socio-political and socio-cultural systems around them. In this way, it is not necessary for there to be an obvious relation between a certain type of music and the social categories (whether they pertain to ethnicity, sexual orientation or other phenomena) into which the audience members fall in order to interrogate the nature of connections between certain cultural forms and social identities or political viewpoints.

Frith (1996) concurs with Negus when he emphasizes the importance of understanding music as experience and collaboration, as opposed to trying to decode music's 'meanings'. Music, says Frith, is not representative of certain identities, but constitutive of them. A listener's response to a song, like many forms of popular culture, involves affective alliances, but music is particularly salient because of the way that it is

so thoroughly absorbed into individual lives. The musical experience is intensely emotional and personal.

In a manner that is consistent with the ideas of Stuart Hall, Frith stresses that we must assume that identities are not something we are granted and thus prompted to discover. Rather, we construct and adopt our own identities. Furthermore, identities are idealized; they reveal more about what people would like to be than what they actually are. This point is demonstrated in the analysis of the research for this thesis, when the types of discourses employed by listeners are discussed in light of notions of authenticity and 'otherness'. Music is vital in these processes because it provides us with real, embodied experiences of what the ideal might be. It is transcendent, not in taking the listener out of the social world around them, but by offering an alternative way of experiencing it: 'Music constructs our sense of identity through the experiences it offers of the body, time, and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural imperatives' (Frith 1996: 275). With this in mind, examinations of musical genres helps illustrate how music provides people with different identities and puts them in different social categories. As Middleton puts it: 'popular music has always been concerned, not so much with reflecting social reality, as with offering ways in which people could enjoy and valorize identities they yearned for or believed themselves to possess' (Middleton 1990: 249).

This relatively brief review of some of the literature relevant to issues of music and identity is important to the subject matter of this thesis. What has been presented are some insights on the means by which music helps construct identities. It is crucial to acknowledge that the link between identities and music is not fixed; the listener does not

necessarily have to have anything in common with an artist or the music for there to be a connection. Music's role in processes of identity formation is does not rest solely or explicitly on any material characteristics of the music or on the people who produce it, and has much to do, in fact, with its place in the lives of every single listener. This is relevant to later discussions of the research. The interviews will reveal that Canadians feel attached to music from their own country not only because they are aware that they share the same nationality as the artists, but also because of the experiences that they have had with the music, and the ways in which they employ the music to make sense of the identities they believe themselves to possess.

Music and Place

While important to this thesis, the work just discussed pertains more generally to music's role in the formation of all identities — not just those related to the nation. It is the purpose of this section, therefore, to present some of the recent literature connecting music more specifically to notions of place or locality. The aim of this section and the previous one, then, is to contribute to a better understanding of how music can be linked to ideas of place and locality, and how that link in turn can help mediate senses of national identity.

Kong (1995) points to the usefulness of music in geographical analysis due to its ability to invoke feeling for a certain place as well as to reflect individuals' environmental experiences. However, much of the existing geographical research on popular music, exemplified by such trends as seeking out areas that share musical characteristics or the mapping of artists' birthplaces (see, for example, Carney 1994), is insufficient. According to Kong, such research firstly does not acknowledge the

sociopolitical contexts in which music is produced. Secondly, it takes geographical space as a given, and fails to consider space itself as socially constructed (partly, it could be argued, by music). From that, it subsequently neglects to explore music's role in the social construction of space, as well as identity. Finally, it rarely considers that music, as a consumable cultural form, is transformed further during the process of consumption, so that the meanings the artist intended might not be those received by the audience.

Kong therefore proposes several new directions for the geographical study of music. These directions include, but are not limited to, the analysis of symbolic meanings in music, referring both to music's symbolic role in daily life and to the meanings of symbols in the actual music; and the investigation of music as cultural communication, or an 'ongoing social dialogue' between, for example, fans and artists.

Cohen (1998) argues that music is frequently employed as a reminder of place: an attachment to such places is a means by which many people maintain connections to their past. Place plays an important role in the reification of various social relationships. Music serves as a means through which relationships can be established, maintained and transformed. Music can come to represent a place. Examples of this process include genres that invoke a shared past, or even well-known local musicians who serve as ambassadors and symbols of particular places. Music is an intense experience – it stimulates emotion, and can be powerful in its ability to produce a sense of belonging. Musical activity helps define and shape one's sense of space.

Street (1995) makes reference to the 'rhetoric of locality', exemplified by popular music articles and reviews, which are frequently concerned with where artists come from. This rhetoric, says Street, is also often employed by fans. It consists of a number of

different discourses placing locality within different processes in the course of musical production. The 'locality as industrial base' discourse, for instance, refers to the physical production facilities associated with a certain locality; 'locality as aesthetic perspective' is concerned with an artist's surroundings, and how they potentially serve to inspire; 'locality as community' looks at shared values and perspectives in music from a given locality, or a sense of belonging. These discourses often link musicians, audiences, industry and infrastructure. The rhetoric of locality refers, then, not simply to the music, but also politics, attitudes, and other factors. Street further concludes that, given the interaction of global, international and local interests, as well as political judgements, local factors do influence what is produced and consumed in terms of music:

the consumption and production of music is subject to a complex political network in which the 'local' cannot be reduced to physical geography. It is the consequence of policy processes, political interests and political ideology, which together pattern the consumption and production of music. (Street 1995: 259)

It should be noted, however, that Street was unable to determine conclusively whether local factors made a difference as to the actual sound of the music. Later chapters of this thesis will reveal that Canadian listeners do engage in discourses similar to those Street outlines, despite a lack of evidence to suggest that Canadian popular music has any distinct 'sound' at all.

Cohen (1994) relates ideas about music and the local to the example of Liverpool. Despite a great deal of ethnic, religious and other types of diversity, the people of Liverpool may possess a common sense of themselves. Common history and/or fate, media constructions, and a strong sense of collective memory serve to unite them in one identity. Popular music is frequently a focus in expressions of local identity for the

people of Liverpool, and musicians from the area indicate a strong sense of heritage and tradition when discussing their music. Difficulties abound, however, in defining the Liverpool sound. Descriptions are often contradictory, and so it is highly questionable whether a definitive Liverpool sound actually exists. Liverpool's sound is often discussed in opposition to that of Manchester. Regardless of whether there is in fact such a thing, therefore, 'the notion of a local sound, like the "Liverpool Sound," does reflect the desire to symbolically assert difference and a sense of local identity' (Cohen 1994: 129). Cohen describes many mechanisms people use to construct identities and place in music, by way of both production and consumption. Identities and place may be manifest in the composition of music, record-buying patterns, and even in discussing the music in terms of sound or meaning. Ethnicity, political motivations and ideologies may be reflected in these processes.

Fenster (1995) refers to the local as crucial to the construction and adjustment of 'the social' in music. Individuals' and groups' positions in socio-geographic maps take on meaning within the realm of the local, as do various social determinants. In the struggle over and for a sense of the local, there is much at stake. Those who are a part of the local and try to remain 'different' fight for their ability to acknowledge and represent themselves and control the structures of social space, as well as their position in them. It is important to note, however, that the 'local' in music consists of many different practices, not all of which are sure to oppose global influence, as Fenster observes: 'rather than the encrustation of the past, the rhythms and pace of local, national and transnational taste and style condition the musical practices of the community and, more directly, the scene' (Fenster 1995: 86). Fenster warns that ways of establishing local

difference can run the risk of being racist, sexist or exclusionary in other ways. The local can be exploited. Studying the spaces of musical practice is of great relevance, he writes, but it will only make sense if those spaces are discussed in relation to complex systems of social determinants, and with respect to the way they both contextualize musical practices based in differences, *and* are further produced by them. Fenster's cautions are well founded, as blind nationalism has more than once distorted how music is viewed in the context of national identities. Using the example of a certain classical composer, Hughes (1989) provides an account of this phenomenon.

Sir Edward Elgar became a symbol of English national pride in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was due to a number of factors. German composers, for example, dominated European classical music throughout the nineteenth century, and there was also a great deal of political tension between England and Germany at that time. In achieving success in classical music, then, Elgar was for many people challenging the Germans at their own game; he became a flagship for English music, and a symbol of British greatness. He gave the impression of being representative of the people, and he served the crown. These factors, and his position as the first independent English figure in this type of music, meant that his musical style came to be known as *the* English sound, as Hughes attests: 'Perhaps by now every acknowledged artist was a kind of hero, in the dramatic sense, but Elgar was so in the popular patriotic sense as well. The public could experience through him a higher, almost spiritual, dimension of pride and communion' (Hughes 1989: 58). Unfortunately, however, Elgar's role in the cultural history of modern Britain may have led to distortions in many interpretations of his life and work. Many biographies of Elgar, argues Hughes, are corrupted with zealous

nationalism, and thus fail to take into account such elements as his troubles with class, and his concern with appearances.

Nationalist discourse can also communicate a false sense of homogeneity in a country's popular music. In *Popular Music and Local Identity* Mitchell (1996) addresses issues that arise from conceptualizing relations of music to place. For example, in one chapter, he identifies the 'Oz Rock' discourse. This discourse, he says, is the reproduction of an established mainstream musical lineage, consisting predominantly of white male 'rock' musicians, from Johnny O'Keefe (to whom the first Australian rock n' roll hit, 'The Wild One' is credited), to current bands such as Silverchair. Australian music is frequently depicted as being dependent on acknowledgement by the U.S. music industry in order to feel legitimized, but at the same time it is seen as a sort of 'wayward child', somewhat oppositional to and detached from U.S. culture. Employing this type of discourse, writes Mitchell, absorbs and therefore neglects many other genres of Australian music: music by women, Aborigines, dance music, indie groups, and so forth. Even music from nearby New Zealand is often absorbed. The research for this thesis demonstrates that Canadians, too, employ these types of discourses when talking about music from their own country.

Another of Mitchell's chapters, situated in the context of the U.K., points to the 'nationalistic' British music press as being a major factor in the success of many 'Britpop' acts (Blur, Oasis, for example). Mitchell notes that these bands were also successful because of their ability to juxtapose different British pop music traditions, working in elements from such key British artists as The Beatles and The Clash. He refers to this as 'more like a narrow form of introspective pop nationalism and nostalgia'

(Mitchell 1996: 19). Tendencies towards self definition in British music and the British music press seem connected to general concerns about national identity, particularly in opposition to the United States and the rest of Europe, as well as national pride. Although supporters of British pop have a great sense of pride and superiority, they still place a great deal of importance on American success. This point becomes relevant later in discussing the role of other countries such as the United States in the formation of Canadian national identities through music.

The Study of Fans and Musicians

Because the findings of this thesis are based in large part on interviews with music listeners and musicians, this chapter will now turn to a discussion of the relatively sparse literature on the people who produce and consume music. Guiding this section is the views of Joli Jenson (1992) on conducting research with fans. According to Jenson, the popular media frequently depicts fans as being one of two deviant 'types'. There is firstly the obsessed loner, exemplified by Mark David Chapman, who murdered John Lennon, or John Hinckley, who attempted to assassinate former U.S. president Ronald Reagan in order to impress actress Jodie Foster. Secondly, there is the hysterical crowd, reminiscent of young girls screaming for the Beatles, or rioting soccer fans. Very little attention is paid to the idea of fandom being a normal aspect of contemporary culture, and of being a normal component of identity formation. Fans are therefore frequently viewed as irrational and easily influenced by forces such as mass media. Jenson writes that to portray fans as these two types is a mistake, and is likely reflective of certain unresolved concerns about modern society. The obsessed loner, for example,

represents alienation and loss of identity, while the frenzied crowd signifies vulnerability and the influence of the mass.

Ultimately, Jenson proposes that we study fans in terms of larger social contexts such as 'what it means to desire, cherish, seek, long, admire, envy, celebrate, protect. ally with others. Fandom is an aspect of how we make sense of the world, in relation to mass media and in relation to our historical, social cultural location' (Jenson 1992: 27). It is important to understand this because the intent of this thesis is not to categorize complex individuals with multifaceted identities as mere 'fans' as if that were all they were. Rather, this thesis seeks to explore one aspect of their lives, namely, their interest in Canadian music, and how it relates to the way they each construct their own identities in the context of nationalism or national allegiance.

Creating Community

An important dimension to the study of fans and musicians, and one that will be dealt with in presenting the findings of this thesis, is music's potential to form a sense of community between the two parties. Weinstein (1991) conducted a study of the heavy metal subculture from the perspective of the performers, the fans, and the business. She writes that metal music serves to illustrate the values of the subculture, and provides fans opportunities such as concerts for the creation of memorable experiences. Because of what the performers and the music do for them, members of the metal subculture choose to support them by way of loyalty, thus creating a reciprocal relationship. She also notes the role of pride in this relationship. Performers take pride in themselves, fans take pride in the performers, and the performers in turn praise the fans for their loyalty. According to Weinstein, the musical performer is like a member of the heavy metal subculture, but

on a different level — a higher level, in fact. He or she is viewed as a ‘hero’ of the subculture.

In his study of rock musicians in St. Petersburg, Russia, Cushman (1995) discusses rock music as a means of resistance; new forms of collective identity in the Soviet Union were based upon it. Rock musicians in Petersburg deemed Soviet ‘state culture’ to be not authentic while their music *was*. This was because Soviet officials believed that music was only of value if it ‘contributed to building a socialist society’. Only musicians who worked under the control of the political-economic system had legitimacy in the minds of the officials. In this context rock musicians were seen by their supporters as ‘sacred mediators’ who articulated the truths of Soviet existence.

Essential to the formation of relevant identities for Petersburg rock musicians were alliances with each other, and the creation of a musical community. Cushman discusses the concept of the ‘interpretive community’. It is, by his definition, a community of individuals who define their realities, and consequently interpret cultural texts, in a similar fashion. One of the possible consequences of such a grouping became evident when the author tells of one musician whose band was mistakenly labelled as ‘political’ due to the misinterpretation of some song lyrics (Cushman 1995:114).

Also of interest is Cohen’s study of Liverpool’s local music scene in the 1980s. She observed that the bands taking part in the scene possessed both an intense pride and sense of identity towards the city of Liverpool, and also a burning desire to achieve success outside of it. Cohen suggested that shared socio-cultural experiences serve to strengthen the sense of community between performer and audience. Shared experiences of this type also appeared to be significant for many of the Canadian music listeners

interviewed for this thesis. Cohen also noted the importance of the live performance in maintaining community feeling:

Live performance thus unites participants in common activity. They collectively concentrate upon, contribute to, and experience the production of a spectacle, and the relationship and dialogue between audience and performers can be such that even if they do not know each other a rapport is established, highlighting the social role of the gig. (Cohen 1991: 39)

The Live Concert

The findings of this thesis place particular importance on the live concert, how it specifically creates a sense of community between artist and audience, and what significance that has in the formation of specifically Canadian identities. There have been some writings which have focused specifically on this means of experiencing contemporary music. It is therefore relevant to discuss this work.

In her research on the heavy metal music subculture, Weinstein (1991:213-226) proposed that the concert was comprised of a variety of communicative actions, and that these actions were intended to achieve three ultimate ends that make the concert the ultimate musical experience. The first end is *ecstasy*, or extreme pleasure. This differs from simply having a good time or enjoying oneself in that it is devoid of rationality, and that all sense of time is frequently lost. Weinstein speaks of time standing still, or of getting lost in the moment, and of ecstasy as being a multisensory experience. The second purpose that the concert is intended to serve is *representation of the subculture*, if there is a subculture associated with the music, as is the case with heavy metal. The third and final goal of the heavy metal concert, and the one that is of most concern to this particular analysis, is the *creation of community*, which refers to the bonding of members of the subculture into a sort of temporary community. The performers will often engage in

activities which involve the audience, such as encouraging them to sing along, or saying certain things to elicit cheers. They also work to build solidarity between themselves and the fans by way of devices such as mentioning the city they are playing in, performing 'anthemic' songs, or making statements that place the event in a wider time frame, such as "It's been a long time since we played here!" The audience members also take part in community building activities like dressing the same way, or sharing beer or pot (Weinstein 1991: 223-5).

Shuker argues that both performers and fans place various public performances within a hierarchy. Generally, a greater physical proximity and intimacy between performer and audience is attributed a greater degree of authenticity (Shuker 1994: 198). Performance, in many forms (including rock festivals, the club scene, or even radio or video), serves to mediate between performer and consumer. As Shuker observes: 'Performance in its various guises operates to create audiences, to fuel individual fantasy and pleasure, and to create rock icons and cultural myths' (199). Live performance in particular is often associated by both parties with authenticity, and 'paying one's dues'. Rock concerts, especially large festivals, are key components in creating the myth of rock and roll, and for cementing the community ideology associated with subcultures.

Shuker notes that the concert is for the fan a potentially once-in-a-lifetime chance to see their favourite performer in person — live performance makes artists seem 'accessible'. The author suggests that still more concertgoers seek the pleasures of the physical at a rock show. Classical concerts, he writes, emphasize polite, patient, restrained appreciation of the music — emphasis here is on the cerebral. People remain quiet and still throughout the performance, applauding only at the end. On the other hand,

rock concerts demand a much more physical sort of appreciation. Audiences at these events frequently engage in more physical behaviour to show their appreciation. They may dance, or clap their hands, or stomp their feet throughout the entire performance (1994: 206). The concert becomes a kind of ritual wherein people get ‘pumped’ for the experience. Aspects of this ritual may include standing in line for tickets (sometimes for a very long time, in the case of exceptionally popular acts), talking about the upcoming event with friends, dressing up for the show, or taking drugs right before the concert (1994: 206).

According to Gracyk, live performance strengthens the bond between audience and performer in a way no other medium can. ‘For a little while, at least, the individual is tangibly immersed in a social community with a shared sense of purpose, an experience that often eludes us in modern culture’ (Gracyk 1996: 78). The author quotes Eric Clapton on the ‘uninhibited’, ‘carefree’ nature of live performance, and Robert Plant on the experience of a concert: ‘...really, I think the whole thing about a live gig is to go there, be a part of it, enjoy it, get wild or do whatever...’(Gracyk 1996: 80). Gracyk suggests that there is truly ‘something more’ to attending a rock concert than just the music, and presents the relatively limited success of live albums as evidence of this assertion (1996: 81). These writings on the rock concert are relevant to this thesis in that the topic of the concert was brought up in the overwhelming majority of interviews with music listeners and artists. Observations conducted for this research at live gigs also reflected much of what is being said by these scholars.

Notions of Authenticity

It is necessary to clarify one final concept in this discussion of popular music. The final chapter discusses in detail how interviewees employed discourses of authenticity to help construct English-Canadian musical identities. The term does not really refer to a single discourse. The term, in fact, refers to a number of different issues brought up by fans, musicians, critics and the industry in the context of discussing music's merits as legitimate, 'real' art. Shuker writes that discourses of authenticity are comprised of a number of dichotomies, such as mainstream versus independent, pop versus rock, and commercialism versus creativity (Shuker 1994: 36).

According to Frith (1986), music fans often hold romantic notions that they can come to 'know' artists personally through their music; they believe that they can understand the way these artists feel and think. Furthermore, they believe that artists can represent and articulate the feelings and needs of 'the people.' This belief often translates into one of the key components of notions of authenticity: an opposition to technology. In the context of these beliefs, fans can come to see recording and instrument technology as obstacles to the perceived 'flow' of messages, providing more opportunities for the communication to be falsified (Frith 1986: 265). Another important dimension to authenticity is the juxtaposing of art in opposition to commerce. In this context, artists are praised for their perceived commitment to artistic expression and innovation, to staying connected to their 'roots', and to communicating 'real' feelings and ideas, rather than to making money. Those who are perceived as being motivated more by commercial factors such as selling records, and as merely entertaining the masses, are viewed as 'sellouts' (Shuker 1994: 36-7).

Certain genres of music are therefore privileged in discourses of authenticity. For example, the 1960s saw more credibility assigned to musicians more openly influenced by folk music, black rhythm and blues, and later by psychedelic and progressive rock. Such conventions continue. In comparison, pop and dance music traditionally suffer because of their use of technologies as opposed to acoustic instruments, their perceived unwillingness to experiment and their prevailing interest in appealing to the mass market. Furthermore, certain ways of consuming music are also given more value in these discourses. Live performance, for example, represents the epitome of authenticity for many, as Grossberg argues: 'The importance of live performance lies precisely in the fact that it is only here that one can see the actual production of the sound, and the emotional work carried in the voice. The demand for live performance has always expressed the desire for the visual mark (and proof) of authenticity' (Grossberg 1992: 208).

These discourses of authenticity are, however, largely considered to be problematic. For example, opposition to technology is easily called into question when one observes how, over the decades, new technologies and the musics associated with them were first maligned, and then accepted as legitimate culture. Such technologies range from magnetic tape recording and microphones (Frith 1986) to electric guitars and synthesizers. Thornton (1995) writes about the increasing acceptance of certain types of completely electronic dance and techno music as legitimate, 'authentic' genres of music. The value placed on anti-commercialism is not without its shortcomings, either. It is, for instance, very naïve to believe that musicians do not wish to be paid for their artistic efforts (Shuker 1996: 37). Furthermore, Shuker also argues that an artist who is 'authentic' can be very marketable as well, citing the example of the band R.E.M.

According to Harron (1988), much of the marketability of artists such as Bob Dylan, the Rolling Stones and later psychedelic bands in the 1960s was due to their anticommercial appeal. These sorts of contradictions mean that what is deemed to be authentic is always in a process of change. As Grossberg writes,

Rock must constantly change to survive; it must seek to reproduce its authenticity in new forms, in new places, in new alliances. It must constantly move from one center to another, transforming what had been authentic into the inauthentic, in order to constantly project its claim to authenticity. For it is this claim which enables rock to matter, to make a difference, to empower its fans. (Grossberg 1992: 209)

Nonetheless, despite the problems identified with discourses of authenticity, they still remain prevalent among both those who create and those who consume music, and that makes them relevant, as will be seen in the discussion of the research findings.

The intent of this chapter was to bring together a number of different themes in the study of popular music as they relate to the subject matter of this thesis. Writings on music's role in identity formation emphasize the importance of individual interpretations of music based on personal experiences and affective responses. The same can also be said of how music relates to notions of place and locality; much of the relationship between music and place resides in the agency of the individual, sometimes to the detriment of the music and those who produce it. The findings of this thesis support these emphases, in that they indicate how much value people place on their own experiences with music and how they interpret it, rather than on any sense of the supposedly given significance of its characteristics. Recent studies of musicians and fans present some possibilities for understanding how the connections between music, identity and place can become reified to some extent. For example, music has the capacity to form a feeling

of community between artist and listener through both shared experiences and live concerts, as will be seen through the research presented later in this thesis. There is also, however, a place for discourse in how individuals think and talk about music, as the discourse of authenticity outlined here indicates. All these components come together to illustrate the ways in which individuals create meaning from music, and these processes are important to understand in any study of the role of music in people's lives.

Chapter Four: CANADIAN MUSIC

Having addressed the theoretical issues implicit in the concepts of nation, and nationalism, and in particular national identities, as well as certain aspects of popular music studies and popular music's role in the formation of identities, this thesis will now turn to a review of the history of Canadian popular music as it relates to research undertaken for this thesis. To do this, the chapter will first review Canada's history of government intervention in popular music. Next, it will address the issue of English-Canadian identity in popular music. This chapter will then conclude with a discussion of the present situation of Canadian music, and how it relates to the construction of national identities.

A History and Assessment of Government Intervention

Canada provides a particularly compelling case for the study of popular music, because the history of government intervention in the production, and especially the broadcasting, of Canadian music. Canadians born in the 1970s or later have never known a time when regulations regarding the amount of Canadian music they were exposed to via the mass media were not in place. These regulations have made an impact on the participants in this study in terms of the music they listen to and the role it plays in the construction of their identities. It is useful, therefore, to review this government intervention and what it has meant for Canadian music.

According to 'To Strengthen the Fabric of Canadian Society: Observations on Canadian Broadcast Policy' (1983), Canada is a large, diverse nation with a culturally dominant neighbour to the South. This situation, historically, has worked against building a strong sense of nationalism. Broadcasting is often seen as a useful tool in constructing

national identities. It therefore plays a significant role in creating and nurturing Canadian culture in order to increase Canada's sense of national unity (1983:3). With that in mind, the following is an account of the history of the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)'s Canadian Content regulations.

Canada's history of concerning itself with the welfare of its culture reaches back to the days of confederation. This concern has been particularly visible in relation to the United States. Canadian government policies concerning the culture industries have been in place since the 1920s (Audley 1983). The music industry, however, was generally ignored until relatively recently (Wright 1990: 306). During the 1950s and up until the end of the 1960s, the Canadian music industry was very underdeveloped. Any Canadian record companies that were active during this time were concerned with the pressing and distribution of already recorded music, and with artist-and-repertoire activity. Some of the money earned from these sorts of operations was used to fund new recordings by Canadian performers, which were sometimes picked up for distribution in foreign locales (Straw 1993: 56).

Regulations began in 1964 with the founding of the first Canadian music trade paper, *RPM* magazine. Up until then, Canadian broadcasters were reliant solely upon U.S. trade papers to inform them of what records to play. Interestingly, that same year *RPM* featured a readers' poll on Canadian performers. This poll came to be known as the Gold Leaf Awards, later named the Juno awards, for CRTC president Pierre Juneau. The first official Juno awards were held in 1971 (*RPM* 1994: 2).

In June 1969, *RPM* published an article outlining the Maple Leaf System, a network of radio stations working together to promote Canadian talent in the recording

industry. In 1971, the Canadian Content, or Cancon, regulations went into effect. English AM stations were required to play 30 percent music classified as Canadian Content according to the MAPL system. FM stations were required to play between 10 percent and 30 percent, depending on the type of music the station played. For example, a station that specialized in world music was only required to play 10 percent, whereas a station with a popular music format was required to play the same amount as AM stations (*RPM* 1994: 5-7).

The MAPL system refers to four elements of a song: Music (Composed by a Canadian), Artist (Canadian), Performance (recorded in Canada), and Lyrics (written by a Canadian). It is represented by a circle divided into quarters, one for each element of the song, and is displayed on many Canadian albums and singles. In order for a song to be considered Canadian, it must meet two of the four criteria (CRTC 1997: 1). Private broadcasters are also required to 'actively promote Canadian talent off-air', although what this means precisely has never been clarified (Wright 1990: 30).

In April of 1984, regulations were added to account for the quickly expanding music video industry. It was decided that TV programs playing music videos, like radio stations, must feature 30 percent Canadian Content. There exist 6 criteria for Canadian music videos: the original MAPL points, plus a Canadian director or production company, and video production facilities based in Canada. In order for a music video to be considered Canadian, it must meet three of those six criteria, and two of those three must be included in the original four (*RPM* 1984: 2).

Recently, the CRTC has implemented changes to the regulations. They have increased the minimum percentage of Canadian content on commercial radio to 35

percent, with the exception of 'oldies' - format stations. They remain at 30 percent, due to the lesser availability of Cancon tracks that would be considered 'oldies'. Another high-profile amendment to the Canadian Content regulations materialized in 1993. Due to a very public controversy in which Bryan Adams' *Waking up the Neighbours* album was declared 'insufficiently Canadian' because the songs were co-written by a British producer, all songs written since 1993 can receive one of the two necessary MAPL points if a Canadian songwriter is awarded at least half the writing credit of the song's lyrics and music (Melhuish 1993: 1-5).

The Cancon regulations arguably paved the way for another institution of the Canadian recording industry. In 1982, the Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent on Record, or FACTOR, was created by a number of Canadian private broadcasters, the Canadian Independent Record Producers Association (CIRPA) and the Canadian Music Publishers Association (CMPA). FACTOR provides grants and interest-free loans to Canadian musical artists in order to develop the independent sector of the Canadian recording industry (Wright 1990: 30). The Department of Canadian Heritage has also created the Sound Recording Development Program, which administers FACTOR and its French counterpart MUSICACTION, and serves to assist in all aspects of sound recording, as well as supporting the development of government policy in that area.

With the advent of the Canadian Content regulations, a concern arose among Canadian musicians. Many of them did not want to look as though they had gained popularity because of government intervention. Gordon Lightfoot addressed this issue when he said:

Well, the CRTC did absolutely nothing for me. I didn't want it, I didn't need it, absolutely nothing... and I don't like it. They can ruin

you, man. Canadian content is fine if you're not doing well. But I'm in the music business and I have a huge American audience. I'm going to do Carnegie Hall for the second time. I like to record down there, but I like to live up here. I really dig [Canada], but I'm not going to bring out any flags. (quoted in Wright 1988: 30)

Concern over the legitimacy of an artist's success when government intervenes in what radio stations can play is not the only issue that has arisen over the years in response to Canadian Content regulations. Certain challenges met artists who were Canadian citizens choosing to record songs not written by Canadians in foreign recording studios. The situation left those artists with albums from which few or no songs were considered Canadian (the highest-profile case being that of Bryan Adams, ~~as mentioned previously~~). They were forced to suffer the consequent loss of airplay, or perhaps to re-record the songs in Canadian studios. The latter option placed a significant financial burden on musicians who were struggling to become successful in the first place (*The Record* 1990: 1-5).

The opposite situation has also occurred more than once. Certain songs written by Canadians, but recorded by U.S. artists *have* qualified as Canadian. Examples of this include Pat Benatar's 'Hit Me with Your Best Shot'; the Neville Brothers' cover of Leonard Cohen's 'Bird on a Wire'; Heart's 'What about Love'; and Aerosmith's 'The Other Side' (*The Record* 1990: 4). Laura Bartlett, then the Vice President (promotions) of Virgin Canada, commented that 'a situation such as Aerosmith is completely absurd. If I phone my Los Angeles office and tell them that Colin James is not Canadian content but Aerosmith is, they'll think I lost my mind' (*The Record* 1990: 5).

There has been very little formal research done on the effects of the Canadian Content Regulations. According to John Feihl, a policy analyst for the CRTC, they have

resulted in increased copyright payments to Canadian songwriters and publishers and increased foreign income to Canadian composers, lyricists and publishers. The effects of the Cancon regulations on the Canadian music industry as a whole, says Feihl, are somewhat more difficult to gauge. Statistics Canada data seem to show that the regulations have been beneficial to the industry. The increased exposure of Canadian artists on the radio has generated money from record sales and concert performances, and that money has gone back into the industry. The exposure has helped create genuine recording stars who have been recognized for their talent. Many Canadian stars and managers are recognized internationally. Also, there is an increasing number of internationally-known studio facilities. Feihl continues to make the case for Cancon regulations when he says:

The Canadian recording industry has made an impressive turnaround since the early 80s. Canadians have enjoyed unprecedented record sales both nationally and internationally. Also, artists including Bryan Adams, Loverboy, Corey Hart, Kim Mitchell. . . have attained international star status. Canadian musicians in many ways are privileged in that they live in an extremely vibrant musical environment with radio regulations that ensure that Canadian artists have access to their own airwaves. (Feihl 1990: 35)

A recent statistic indicated that Canadian music accounted for approximately 14.5 percent of total music sales in Canada for 1995-1996. It is a genuine possibility that this percentage has gone up in recent years, due to the phenomenal international, as well as domestic, success of numerous Canadian artists including Alanis Morissette, Shania Twain, Céline Dion and the Barenaked Ladies.

Walt Grealis, founder of *RPM* magazine, important figure in the creation of the Cancon regulations, and therefore somewhat of a pioneer in the world of the Canadian recording industry, has this to say about the importance of Cancon:

Programmers weren't playing Canadian records in the late 60s or the early 70s. They were using American trades and programming their stations from that. The 30 percent regulation basically forced programmers to take a look at Canadian records. Now it was their decision to choose which ones to play because they had to. I'm not taking anything away from our Canadian talent, it was the mentality of the industry that needed a refresher course in nationalism. The Canadian Content ruling was to keep our artists in Canada, to keep some of the spending, that was mostly done in the US, in Canada. It was a sure-fire way to give Canadian artists, producers and songwriters the opportunity to display their talent and be recognized for it. (*RPM* 1993: 11)

When asked if the Cancon regulations, in light of the Bryan Adams controversy, are obsolete now, Grealis continues that it is easy for performers such as Adams or Céline Dion to not concern themselves with the regulations, because they are already established. There are still many, many acts that do not yet have that kind of worldwide recognition and need the ruling very much.

Not all of the research done on Canadian music consumption has proven to be supportive of the CRTC's regulations. A 1997 Angus Reid study sponsored by the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) suggests that Canadians would prefer to listen to 20 to 25 percent Canadian music on the radio, if they were given the choice (McLean 1997: 3). The study consisted of a series of four tests: one for each of (pop) adult, country, rock and contemporary hit formats. The tests were similar to those conducted by radio stations to determine the popularity of certain songs. The results were as follows: that 21 percent of the songs that tested popular enough to achieve heavy rotation were Canadian, and 25 percent of those that would earn secondary rotation were Canadian. One outcome of this study was that there were issues surrounding multitrack showings for certain popular artists. 13 of the 25 Canadian songs that ranked in the high rotation group were by Amanda Marshall, Alanis Morissette, The Tragically Hip and

Shania Twain. In the pop adult category, nine of the thirty top-testing tracks were Canadian, but five of those were by Amanda Marshall. What this suggests, says the study, is that there would be a somewhat lower natural level of Canadian content, given that radio stations can practically only devote a certain amount of airtime to any one artist (McLean 1997: 13).

CAB claims that these results show that there was no good reason for raising Canadian Content quotas. Michael McCabe, president of CAB, says, 'The music industry is suggesting we raise the percentage played when they have no research that shows marketplace support for that position. That is irresponsible. We have to analyze this kind of thing on fact, not emotion' (McLean 1997: 13). Some might argue that these statistics could indicate the need for *more* exposure to Canadian music. The songs used in these tests were taken from airplay charts from *the Record* during the period of July 1995 to July 1997. Of the 596 songs used in the tests, only 170 were Canadian. It could be argued that not enough Canadian songs are charting in Canada, and that stations need to play more Canadian music. In response to the statements made by CAB, the CRTC has accused this research of being inadequate and CAB of distorting the facts (McLean 1997: 13).

According to Wright (1990), CAB has long been known as the principal source of opposition to the Canadian Content Regulations. Their association represents private broadcasters in Canada, and thus communicates the interests of private-sector capital. A survey of FM radio programmers that CAB conducted in 1990 revealed that the vast majority of broadcasters believe that there is not enough Canadian music for a higher Cancon quota to work (Wright 1990: 31). The fact that CAB sponsored this Angus Reid

study is at least cause for caution. The Association has a considerable stake in the research being conducted, because broadcasters make money when radio stations are popular.

Wright (1990) asserts that the late 1960s saw more pressure to develop policy to support Canadian music, due to increasing interest in music about Canada and feelings of shame that Canadian musicians had to move the United States in order to have any kind of musical career. Radio broadcasters in particular were blamed for their reluctance to promote Canadian music if it meant the possible sacrifice of audience shares (and hence advertising revenue). The introduction of the Cancon regulations can be attributed partly to this pressure.

The principle motivating element of all government support for Canadian music, be it Cancon or FACTOR, is not, however, the preservation and enhancement of Canadian culture, according to Wright. Rather, government support is compelled far more by the prospect of finding and developing international markets. The CRTC maintains that the Cancon requirements are driven by, firstly, the desirability of developing a profitable Canadian recording industry, and secondly, by the need to nurture and support a distinctive Canadian musical culture. Wright contends that these twin goals are, in fact, at odds with each other.

An international record contract is traditionally considered by all parties involved in the music industry to be the greatest degree of success for Canadian artists. The most popular acts, therefore, are those signed to large multinational deals. Furthermore, the key to success for Canadian independent record labels is their ability to expand their markets outside of Canada. It is not difficult to identify the paradox in the two aspirations

espoused by the CRTC, therefore: success as a Canadian recording artist or Canadian record company frequently means breaking into international markets. Consequently, artists and companies do better to fit into the transnational norms of Anglo-American popular music. As Wright sees it, Canadian acts qualify for support to the extent that they appeal to international markets. Thus, music that might sound 'distinctively Canadian' would be overlooked because of its limited potential for international success and resulting inability to make commercial radio playlists. In a nutshell, the drive to create a profitable music industry in Canada contradicts the goal of fostering a distinctively Canadian musical culture because, as Wright argues,

Canadian content legislation and government subsidization of the recording industry, rather than preserving whatever is distinctive about Canadian culture or teaching Canadians about each other, are effectively homogenizing Canadian musical culture along lines dictated by the multinational Anglo-American recording industry.
(313)

The purpose of presenting this brief history of broadcasting regulations in Canada was to indicate that this country has a considerable history of concerning itself with questions of national identities in music. Furthermore, there is constant debate among parties representing different interests in broadcasting in Canada as to whether or not the government should be intervening in the cultural arena. As a result, many Canadians have constantly been immersed in an environment that frequently promotes awareness of the nationalities of musical artists, thus possibly instilling individuals with an inherent interest in issues of national identities as they are mediated through music.

An English-Canadian Musical Identity?

Another important issue in recent studies of English-Canadian popular music concerns the question of whether certain musics sound distinctively 'English-Canadian' in terms of music or lyrical content, and whether a definitive 'sound' is necessary in order for popular music to help mediate national identities. It is a question whose consequent discourse is dealt with in discussing the results of the research for this thesis.

Wright (1988) has elsewhere discussed in detail the Canadian public's late 1960s/early 1970s interest in Canadian music. He suggests that it was no accident that Cancon regulations arrived on the scene only a few years after Canada's centennial, in 1967. At this time feelings of Canadian nationalism were high, and a number of Canadian musicians were experiencing considerable success in the United States — Neil Young, Joni Mitchell, and Gordon Lightfoot, for example. There was pride in these artists' success in the United States, but also embarrassment over the fact that they had to move South in order to gain support for their craft, and earn money for it.

At the same time that Canada was celebrating its one-hundredth birthday, there were a number of unpleasant incidents, politically speaking, in the United States. Some examples include the Vietnam War, the Detroit Race Riots, and the shooting of Martin Luther King. As a result there was a feeling among Canadians of intense pride — pride in not being a part of those things. The aforementioned Canadian artists were writing songs in response to the social turmoil in the United States. An obvious example of this phenomenon is the Guess Who's 'American Woman', but there were many others. Neil Young's 'Ohio', for instance, was inspired by the incident at Kent State University, where national guardsmen shot and killed four student protesters, and 'Black Day in July'

by Gordon Lightfoot was about the Detroit Race Riots. Many Canadians, perhaps somewhat overzealous in their patriotism, believed these songs to be ‘anti-American’ and therefore ‘pro-Canadian’. Additionally, ‘pro-Canadian’ values were gleaned by various Canadian listeners from the reverence for space, particularly rural space, featured in other songs such as ‘Helpless’ by Neil Young and even Joni Mitchell’s ‘Big Yellow Taxi.’

The logic of the fans was somewhat flawed. The songwriters felt very differently about their songs, and did not at all support many Canadians’ feelings of superiority. As Bruce Cockburn says:

I’m a Canadian, true, but in a sense it’s more or less by default. Canada is the country I dislike the least at the moment. But I’m not really into nationalism — I prefer to think of myself as being a member of the world...The Canadian music scene is not yet as rotten as the US scene. But it’s showing signs of catching up. (as quoted in Wright 1988: 31)

What is worth noting in Wright’s essay is the way that Canadians, given the motivation, are capable of appropriating certain symbols in music and employing them in the formation of national identities. In other words, what is interpreted by the listener is the more significant component of ‘Canadian-ness’ in music. The results of the research for this thesis appear to indicate a continuing articulation of this discourse.

Other research seems to support the contention that there is no definitive English Canadian sound, at least in mainstream forms of popular music. Lehr (1994) for example, analyzed twenty-four randomly selected hours of music broadcast from two Manitoba country music stations over a period of eleven months. His intent was to assess Canadian content, lyrical content, references to places, environmental inferences and action settings.

According to Lehr's results, approximately forty percent of the material played on both stations fitted the CRTC's definition of Canadian Content. The lyrics, however, depicted images of the United States, especially, and most positively, the South. Different regions of the States were attributed certain characteristics. Texas, for example, represented machoism, whereas Kentucky represented family and stable values. The author provides two explanations for this. Firstly, CRTC regulations *do* dictate that a song written by Americans, but recorded by a Canadian artist in Canada is Canadian content. Secondly, echoing Wright's (1990) sentiments, he cites market forces. In order to become successful, there is pressure on Canadian country songwriters and musicians to create music that is familiar to the majority of country music producers and consumers. Lehr then reflects on the sense of English Canadian identity emerging from the works of songwriters such as Ray Griff and Ian Tyson, and suggests that Canadians have succeeded in creating poignant images of both the United States and Canada in song. However, his study suggests that Canada has a long way to go in establishing a distinctly English Canadian dialogue of images and feelings on the radio, and he proposes that Canadian country music will be limited in its capacity to create a sense of English Canadian identity unless the CRTC begins to take lyrical content into account as a measure of Canadian content (1994). While Lehr's argument is an interesting one, and illustrates further the value some individuals place on obvious Canadian content in music, it is necessary to point out that specific lyrical content is not necessary for Canadian music to contribute to individuals' national identities.

Robbins (1994) argues that Canadians use those colonial powers who previously controlled them, or their culturally-dominant neighbours to the South to legitimize their

own sense of identity. This is potentially destructive, as it serves to distort and sometimes even falsify the way Canadians see themselves. In Canada, interactions between musicians and audiences are affected by the paradoxical relationship that exists between a national cultural policy developed in a context where only foreign models for a mainstream culture exist, and the possibility of an industrial production governed by post-colonial ideals. Robbins therefore suggests that in order to investigate the presence of an English Canadian musical identity, we would do better to explore how the music played by Canadians is influenced by the constraints placed on them exclusive to our nation, rather than attempting to 'identify' a certain sound that belongs uniquely to English Canada (199).

Berland (1998) asserts that, with but a handful of exceptions, it is unlikely that anyone can truly perceive a distinct English Canadian sound in terms of music or lyrics. Often one is not aware that a piece of popular music is Canadian until after being informed of the artist's origin. Any affective attachment to the music, therefore, emerges after the fact. According to Berland we can, if given the proper cognitive tools, perceive in English Canadian music, as with all New World musics, a sense of such elements as foreign past or colonial rule. However, it remains questionable whether this can be equated to an English Canadian sound. Certain musicians identify uniquely Canadian values or landscapes, but there are also many musicians who attempt to construct a sense of difference or uniqueness by exploring the relations between authorship, identity and community. With this production of difference comes a sense that Canada is not a homogeneous, natural space, but rather a deliberately-constructed place, created by activities and values surrounding such concepts as location and community. Because of

the lack of emphasis on Canada as a unified natural space based on common history or ethnicity, there is less need, says Berland, to identify a common Canadian sound. What this demonstrates is the importance of theorizing the way cultural consumption, contradictorily, both creates and is contextualized by location. In other words, our sense of being Canadian may both influence our listening experience, *and* be constructed by it. Berland's point is important. The results of this thesis lend support to the idea that individuals' national identities are partly formed by way of the realities and discourses they associate with listening to Canadian music.

In another essay, Berland (1990) points out that Canadian public culture is characterized by an awareness and resentment of domination by multinational corporations. Political, legal and symbolic discourses depict English Canadian culture, media and identity as delicate and vulnerable to external domination. Yet there does not exist here any sense of unified culture; Aboriginal cultures are the only examples of a Canadian identity independent of Western colonization. Changes in the music industry and its politics in the 1980s left many musicians, label owners and other members of Canada's musical community frustrated with the difficulties of working within Canada's markets. Their frustration did not reflect a lack of interest in international success, but rather a desire to maintain a sense of their own country – a place to which they could refer, a place they could always return to. As Berland explains:

Whether Canadian culture can be identified or defended as a unitary 'national subject' in this picture is of little theoretical interest to a community of musicians and cultural producers who recognize a working oppression which affects them and which they discuss, in contexts related to music-industry issues, in terms of their Canadian nationality. (Berland 1990: 324)

In other words, Canadians are oppressed in terms of territory, labour power and market controls. It is only natural that Canadians want to repossess these things. Autonomy in producing and consuming popular music is a means of coming to terms with that oppression and overcoming it.

Hagerman (2000) points to what he sees as a very poignant, albeit less mainstream, exception to English Canada's lack of a unique musical identity. The music of Stompin' Tom Connors, it appears, has come to hold a special significance for many Canadians as representative of their country. It is easy to see why, given that many songs throughout his more than 30-year career prominently feature Canadiana such as place names, symbols such as the maple leaf, and even Canadian personalities. Additionally, he sings songs in regional accents such as that of Newfoundland, and sings in French. What these gestures serve to do is 'present regional and national culture side by side.'

Hagerman quotes Connors on his role in forming and maintaining Canadian identities:

It's not that Canadians aren't proud of their country. We pretend that we're not patriotic but I think most of us just have a different way of expressing our patriotism. We're too close to the States and we hear them brag so much that we can't hear our own braggin'. I think one reason all these people buy my records is because I'm not afraid to express my patriotism. (quoted in Hagerman 2000, R2)

In spite of Hagerman's compelling point, however, the literature reviewed thus far seems to advocate overwhelmingly that there is no discernable English-Canadian 'sound' in most of Canada's contemporary popular music. This is not surprising, as Cohen (1994) indicates that one cannot even discern a distinct musical sound in as specific a locality as the city of Liverpool. This is not to suggest, however, that Canadian music does not possess any potential to help create national identities. Wright (1987) makes this point, as does Berland (1998). As Berland (1990) argues, the absence of an identifiable sound does

not imply, either, that Canadian musicians are content to simply become part of the more international mainstream and forget where they came from. Drawing from the discussion of Chapter Three, understanding Canadian music's role in identity formation involves the understanding of more complex processes of interpretation and experience, as will be seen in Chapter Six's discussion of the research findings.

Contemporary Canadian Music

In order to contextualize the fieldwork for this thesis, it is necessary to not only provide the historical background of the situation for Canadian music, but also to briefly review the current Canadian musical environment. Most of the writings considered previously were published at least ten years ago, and therefore cannot take into account more recent phenomena in Canadian music.

A consultation of current Soundscan charts reveals that while Canadian music is very much a presence in both airplay and sales across all genres, one would still be hard-pressed to identify anything specifically English Canadian about the sound of this country's popular music. This is not to suggest, however, that nothing exists in English Canada's popular music scene that helps to construct national identities. Some of these components found their way into the discourses employed by many of the individuals interviewed for this thesis.

There are more obvious, traditional examples of contemporary mainstream popular music's role in creating and maintaining English Canadian identities. For over a decade, the Kingston Ontario rock quintet, The Tragically Hip, have represented Canadian culture to many listeners. Their songs have frequently dealt with Canadian places, issues and historical events. Recently, they won the 2000 Best Single Juno award

for *Bobcaygeon*, named for an Ontario town. The impact that The Tragically Hip has had on Canadian culture is significant. For example, they frequently sell out arenas from coast to coast, and their 'New Orleans is Sinking' was named the fifth greatest Canadian rock song of all time in a 2000 poll conducted by Canoe.ca, the Canadian internet news network. Perhaps most telling, however, is that at two of the band's live appearances last summer, the crowd spontaneously began singing 'O Canada'.

One still encounters the odd lyrical reference to Canadiana in songs by other artists, too — in *The Old Apartment* the Barenaked Ladies sing 'we bought an old house on the Danforth', referring to Toronto's Danforth Avenue. Music videos also betray references to Canada from time to time. For example, the Scotiabank tower in downtown Vancouver is clearly visible in a scene from the Matthew Good Band's *Hello Time Bomb* video. Another scene in that same video takes place in a Radio Shack store plastered with posters saying, 'Canada's telephone store'. Live concerts provide another opportunity for artists to build a sense of specifically Canadian solidarity between themselves and their fans. Audiences have been urged by Our Lady Peace's Raine Maida to 'sing along like proud Canadians', and have been treated to Jeff Martin of The Tea Party's stories of 'performing abroad, representing this fine country of ours'.

Furthermore, Canada's increasingly-developed music media have played a major role in making connections between popular music and Canadian identities. Muchmusic, Canada's music video television station provides one ubiquitous instance of this. In addition to regularly featuring Canadian videos according to the CRTC's regulations, it airs weekly episodes of *Going Coastal*, covering musical happenings on each of Canada's coasts, presumably to help alleviate the potentially Toronto-centric nature of their other

programming. Muchmusic recently provided their own coverage of Canada's 2000 federal election, and often provides special programming honouring such events as Canada Day and Heritage Day. One particularly compelling example of the Heritage Day programming in 1999 featured Vancouver musician Matthew Good visiting historical sites in Newfoundland and Halifax musician Chris Murphy (of the band Sloan) doing the same in British Columbia, suggesting an attempt at unifying two regions of Canada which are geographically far apart. *Chart*, a Toronto-based music magazine with a decidedly Canadian slant, has also contributed to discourses on Canadian music since its inception in 1990. In 2000 they published a tenth-anniversary issue, featuring three different covers that together form a tableau of ten contemporary Canadian musicians. with the headline, 'celebrating ten years of Canadian music'. They also have printed two lists, one in 1996 and one in 2000, of the 'top 50 Canadian albums and songs of all time'. The following is an excerpt from the Introduction to the most recent list, and exemplifies the use of discourse in constructing Canadian musical identities:

. . . music puts the blurry Canadian identity into a bit clearer of a focus. If a nation's art is a reflection of it's (sic) culture, then looking at *Chart's* Top 50 Canadian Albums and Songs Of All Time reveals much: We're a proudly patriotic culture, but also one that's just as content to display that patriotism with subdued pride, as opposed to grandiose bombast. We celebrate being different. Much of our identity is based on proving we can do things that nobody else is doing at the time. The music we like is moody, introspective and sprinkled liberally with sad, thoughtful tales. And finally, stories that make us think of home get us every time. (Brophy 2000: 25)

What this suggests is that even in the absence of a singular, definitive Canadian identity in contemporary popular music, there is at very least an *interest* in creating a link between Canada's popular music and national identities, on the part of popular media

such as Muchmusic and Chart Magazine. The nature of this link is a major concern of this thesis.

To review the content of this chapter is to briefly interrogate the state of Canada's musical environment. Canada has a long history of state intervention in its cultural affairs, particularly music, which may account for an intrinsic awareness of issues of national identity on the part of many Canadians. In spite of government attempts to promote a sense of 'Canadian identity' through cultural products, however, it is impossible to pinpoint what Canadian music definitively 'sounds like'. Nevertheless, Canadian music has the potential to play a meaningful role in how individuals form their own national identities. This process of formation can in some part be influenced by more obvious cues such as lyrical content and video content, but may also be affected by the types of discourse promoted by popular music media. For these reasons, the question of how exactly Canadian music helps mediate national identities is a pertinent one, and is the basis for the research of this thesis.

Chapter Five: THE RESEARCH PROCESS

This chapter deals with the processes and approaches undertaken in researching this thesis. In so doing it first offers a review of some of the key dimensions to the process and what is said about them in the sociological literature. Next, the chapter describes how this particular research project was carried out, from choosing the respondents to analyzing the data. The final section discusses a unique element to this research — the interviewing of public figures. This chapter as a whole provides an explanation of how the results discussed in Chapter Six were obtained, and some guidance as to how someone else might conduct a similar study in the future.

Qualitative Methodology

While quantitative social research is concerned with producing statistical results applicable to large populations of individuals, qualitative research, appropriately, focuses on the ‘qualities’ of each individual experience. Qualitative method does not seek to interpret percentages and numbers, but rather words, feelings and interaction. This means that comparatively fewer cases can be analyzed in qualitative research. However, what qualitative research may lack in terms of broader generalizability, it can make up for in terms of its ability to capture valuable insights into the human social experience.

Gubrium and Holstein (1997) enumerate several common concerns shared by all qualitative research paradigms. There is skepticism of things known as ‘common knowledge’, or a desire to better understand the nuances of the social world. Close scrutiny of details is key; qualitative research is, as previously mentioned, less interested in broad generalizations and more interested in the particulars of experience. Social life is regarded as a constantly unfolding process, in which individuals are active in the

creation, shaping and experience of their lives. There is also a concern with subjectivity, or the appreciation of different perspectives.

Given the nature of the questions being asked in this thesis, qualitative research seemed the most appropriate avenue. It, for instance, can accommodate more variability in experiences than quantitative research. Music can mean significantly different things to different people, and the nature of fans' attachment to certain musical artists can vary considerably. The same can be said for issues of national identity; what it means to be Canadian varies from person to person, and the degree of importance one places on nationality in one's sense of identity is equally variable. Qualitative research allowed for these sorts of questions to be examined in greater detail with each individual subject. Furthermore, because little field research has been done on this particular topic, it is difficult to formulate in advance more quantitative questions relevant to the issues. Perhaps, after identifying some themes and issues that came up in the course of this project, a more quantitative, representative approach may be possible in the future. In the meantime, a qualitative approach was very valuable in moving towards some insight into the issues at hand.

There is a great deal of variation in the ways qualitative research can be carried out. All have their strengths and weaknesses, but certain popular strategies and traditions have proven more useful to this project than others. In particular, this thesis made use of grounded theory.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) contend that sociology often places too much focus on the verification of theories. The interest of grounded theory is, then, not to develop the research for the theory, but rather to develop the theory from the research. This approach

can help researchers arrive at a theory that is better-suited for its intended uses. Grounded theory, as a result, is far better at enduring attempts to refute it with other data, and it is far more difficult to replace it with another theory. In the words of the authors, 'Since it is intimately linked to data, it is destined to last despite its inevitable modification and reformulation' (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 4). Approaching qualitative research in this manner also aids in the avoidance of opportunistic uses of theory, such as employing a theory to explain results that does not fit the subject matter well, and the abuse of examples, like using one example to misrepresent the views of a number of respondents.

Applying grounded theory to this project was very helpful in that it provided more freedom as to the questions asked in the course of the field research. A certain amount of flexibility is necessary when one enters the field, and a grounded approach to the theoretical basis of this project allowed for that. It was also a wise approach because of the scarcity of work done in the area of music and national identity, especially Canadian identity. Given this situation, it was very difficult to formulate in advance a hypothesis. Grounded theory allowed me to pursue the field research with a few general questions in mind that I had formulated from earlier consultations of the relevant literature, but at the same time much of the theory discussed in Chapters Two through Three was developed following the data analysis, when I had a much clearer idea of the arguments I was going to make.

Choosing the Subjects

While an in-depth case study of one Canadian artist would have been an interesting exercise, I decided to study two artists. Choosing two different bands or artists made the highlighting of any common interest in Canadian identity that much more

telling. The striking contrast between the band and the performer in terms of such factors as their cities of origin, their positions in the music industry and their styles of music also made it easier to isolate and examine any sense of collective identity. At the same time, focusing my research on just one band and one solo artist enabled my investigation to be conducted from several different angles. However, if I were to study several performers, I might have encountered too much variation, and might have been limited as to how deeply I could research each particular performer.

I embarked on my search for these artists with a few general criteria in mind. I focused my research on English-Canadian performers, as I feel that there would be completely different identity issues involved with French-Canadian performers that should be researched separately. I also wanted to research musicians who are not hugely popular in the United States, because I wanted to ask respondents how they would feel *if* the performer in question was to achieve a great deal of success there. More practically, I wanted to find artists who were active, in terms of having recently released an album, and who were touring a significant amount at the time of my research. This was for two reasons: firstly, I was interested in conducting some observation at live gigs, and secondly, because it is my experience that fan activity such as message boards and mailing lists is far greater for bands who are 'out there'. The final criteria was that the artists had to have an active fan community that could be easily accessed. It would also be to my benefit if they were artists with whose music I was familiar, as I felt that being somewhat of an insider might make the fans more accessible and easier to talk to. I chose the two artists, a female singer-songwriter and an all-male rock band, with these factors in mind. Interestingly, Straw notes that the rock and singer-songwriter genres have long

been touted as the ‘typical’ musical styles in which Canadians have had significant success:

‘The normal longevity of these styles and of performer careers within them...has contributed to the sense that the recent history of popular music in Canada is best explored in auteurist terms, as the unfolding of a number of distinct careers- those of Gordon Lightfoot, Murray McLaughlin, the group Rush, and so on.’ (Straw 1993: 59)

Making Contacts

I came to know the Matthew Good Band fans through message boards. Without going into technical details, Internet message boards work somewhat like bulletin boards; a participant can ‘post’ a topic under a certain heading, while others can read it and respond to it by posting a follow-up message under the heading, or under a new one. Entire conversations are frequently carried out in this fashion, as people read the messages at their leisure.

The majority of Emm Gryner fans I spoke to were people I encountered on an e-mail mailing list. Mailing lists operate in a similar manner to message boards, but instead of posting messages to a board at a webpage, members of a mailing list communicate through private email. If a person sends a message to a mailing list, it is sent to all the participants through their email. A person can then either reply to the mailing list, or privately to the originator of the message. Many of these participants were very close to each other, and had met in person on several occasions. They would frequently meet up at Gryner’s shows, or at other musical events. I also accumulated some interview contacts from a less-used message board at Gryner’s official site, but many of them were also on the list.

For both the message boards and the mailing list, my technique for recruiting participants was generally the same. I sent out a message clearly explaining who I was and what I was doing, and that I was interested in interviewing people on the subject of Canadian music. Interested individuals then emailed me and I responded by asking their age and their location. I asked these questions to determine whether parental consent was necessary (I had drawn up parental consent forms for any participants under the age of sixteen), and whether they were close enough to meet in person. The majority of participants were located outside of the Ottawa area, and I proposed to them that I interview them by telephone. No one objected to a telephone interview, and everyone readily revealed their phone number when I made an appointment to speak with them.

To possibly compare for differences between those who actively participate in discussion of a particular artist, and those who may have a more general, casual interest in music, I also conducted interviews with students from a second-year popular music class at Carleton University. I established contact with these participants by attending one of their classes and making an announcement before the start of the lecture. Again, I explained clearly who I was, what I was doing, and who I was looking for. I passed a sign-up sheet around the class which included my name and contact information for those who perhaps didn't want to decide immediately. The sheet was returned to me with sixteen names on it. Of those names, I was never able to contact three. Their e-mail addresses failed, and they did not include their phone numbers. Another two later told me they were sorry, but due to various circumstances they were now not able to participate. One more cancelled one appointment, then failed to show up for another, and then never

answered any of my other correspondence. I was still grateful, though, for the more than half of the list who did participate.

Using the Internet

At this time, very little has been written specifically about the usefulness of the Internet in qualitative research. Mann and Stewart (2000) are the most notable exception to the general absence of literature on the topic. The Internet was used in this research project specifically as a means to obtain contacts for telephone and in-person interviews; my analysis made use of almost none of the data from my online communications. Nonetheless, my use of the Internet had a significant influence on the research that I conducted for this thesis, and it is therefore relevant to present a brief discussion of conducting social research online, drawing particularly on Mann and Stewart.

The authors point out a number of advantages to using the Internet, or computer-mediated communication (CMC), in qualitative research (Mann and Stewart 2000: 17-20). Doing so can expand one's access to participants. The Internet eliminates geographical constraints, for example, and therefore many travel and time expenses. Furthermore, the Internet renders far easier the task of accessing hard-to-reach populations such as the disabled, or others who are often restricted to staying at home, making face-to-face interviews difficult. It also becomes much easier to access people with very specific interests. My experience, albeit rather limited, certainly supports these contentions. Through the Internet I was able to interview individuals as far away as Alberta and British Columbia, whom I would not likely have been able to talk to if I had used more traditional means of making contacts. I can also say that the Internet was, indeed, immensely helpful in finding individuals with specific interests — fans are

simply far easier to access in the age of the Internet. Unlike more structured groups of people such as support organizations or even communities or subcultures, music fans are rarely in regular contact with one another. Many artists do not even have official fan clubs. The Internet has made it far easier for music fans to come together and communicate with one another. It comes as no surprise, then, that an increasing number of studies of fan communities have materialized since the Internet has gained popularity (see for example Watson 1997 and Baym 1994).

In relation to my methods, the authors briefly discuss online communication as a convenient means to make initial contact with participants, regardless of how the subsequent interview is conducted. There are, in fact, a number of researchers who have used email and the Internet to make contacts for more traditional kinds of interviews. Employing Internet communication in making first contacts with potential interview subjects can be less intimidating for shy researchers, or those who have troubles with self-presentation (Mann and Stewart 2000: 83). There is a sense of more control over the image one projects via email, because one can edit and revise an email message before it goes out. Also, email is often seen as less intrusive. With email, individuals can read messages at their leisure, and so there is less concern with possibly interrupting the intended recipient. In sum, 'It could be argued that email messages at least hold their own with the phone and the letter as a means of projecting an ideal introductory style...' (Mann and Stewart 2000: 83).

Mann and Stewart also list advantages to, specifically, conducting interviews online. While again, my preference in this thesis was for using more traditional means of interviewing, it is relevant to mention some of these points. The view of these authors is

that computer-mediated interviewing is a legitimate means of gathering data — they devote two chapters in the book to it. The authors point out that online interviewing eliminates many problems with transcription, such as the cost of tapes, the time it takes to transcribe the interviews, as well as the bias associated with eliminating and paraphrasing, two practices commonly employed in the transcription process (Mann and Stewart 2000: 21-22). Additionally, they argue that people may feel more comfortable disclosing sensitive information in what they perceive as a more ‘anonymous’ setting such as computer-mediated communication (18). There are, however, ethical issues associated with this situation, such as ensuring that interview data is stored somewhere where it cannot be accessed by anyone but the researcher (40-7).

Mann and Stewart also identify some challenges in using the Internet for social research. Firstly, recruiting participants is always a significant obstacle. As is the case with much social research, one has to capture interest. For example, a posting to a newsgroup, message board or mailing list needs to attract the attention of the participants (Mann and Stewart 2000: 26-7). Email addresses can also present difficulties to researchers. Not only are there no comprehensive email directories on a global or even national level yet, but there is room for error even when one does obtain email addresses. Spelling errors and fake addresses can make email communication frustrating for researchers (27). As mentioned previously, I lost three potential interview subjects from the music class due to what I believe to be errors in their addresses (or perhaps they gave me fake addresses). There are also more traditional concerns with getting people to cooperate in the project. In the earlier days of online groups, this was somewhat easier, as the Net was about sharing information among a relatively small community of people

(often academics). However, the rise of commercial networks and the increase in the number of users has led to the same problems of compliance that face researchers doing their fieldwork in the real world (Mann and Stewart 2000: 28). Ensuring that people will cooperate in one's research online does not differ that greatly from doing so offline, however; the key is for the subject matter to be of interest to participants. One final challenge the authors discuss is that of interactive skills. It is important to all forms of qualitative research to establish rapport, and one way that online research differs from more traditional forms is that one only has access to words when making an impression. The authors, therefore, advise that the Internet might be problematic for individuals who are heavily dependent on nonverbal cues to develop rapport (Mann and Stewart 2000: 30). In the context of using online groups to recruit participants, they had this to say: 'Messages that are most frequently rewarded by responses tend to be witty, controversial, intriguing and relevant to an ongoing discussion' (30).

Unfortunately, I did not accumulate as many interview contacts as I had hoped. This may have been due, as Mann and Stewart point out, to the types of messages I posted in order to attract interested parties. I felt that the way I had worded them was appropriate, given the conventions of the group. However, perhaps there was not enough of, as the authors describe it, a 'hook'. Perhaps many of the group participants did not find the subject matter interesting. While these factors are certainly possible, I also consider two other factors as potentially contributing to my disappointing sample. Firstly, as Jones (1997: 17) writes, while Internet communities can provide a sense of connection, that connection is often somewhat 'aimless'. While these communities can reassure participants that they have something in common with others, people nevertheless often

avoid getting too close. Internet communities therefore tend to be in the background and have a predominantly peripheral role in most people's lives. Watson, for example, argues that in spite of the active communication taking place in the online group for the band Phish, 'the relationship between an individual and other individuals remains devoid of commitment or stake' (Watson 1997: 105). It is perhaps for this reason that some people appeared somewhat apathetic to the cause of my thesis, despite the fact that I was for months a regular participant in all manner of discussion on the board, and had also spoken up from time-to-time on the mailing list. Additionally, however, reluctance to participate in such activity (especially when it involves more conventional modes of communication, as my project did), may have to do with the sense of control over one's image previously identified as an advantage to researchers. The Internet offers participants control over their identities; they are able to present themselves however they wish (Tsang 2000: 433). To approach someone about participating in something outside of the online community is perhaps an intimidating prospect, because people lose that sense of control over their identity. Conversely, there may be an inherent suspicion of other people participating in the communities. As Argyle (1996: 134) says, 'Never assume that anything is as it first appears on the net'. Perhaps some of the participants on the message boards and mailing lists were concerned that I was not what I seemed.

A very important issue in using the Internet for research that Mann and Stewart discuss in detail is access. In theory, participants in traditional research can be drawn from anywhere. In the case of the Internet, the population *is inherently limited from the start*. These limits pertain to, for example, who has access to computers, as only 0.01% of the world's population is online (Mann and Stewart 2000: 31) and speaks English. the

language in which 90% of all online communication is conducted (32). The authors also discuss such diverse factors as ethnicity, gender, age and socioeconomic status, and how they influence the face of Internet use. While they do not completely dismiss using the Internet to research any particular group, the consensus is that the success one has in online research depends largely on the group one is trying to access (Mann and Stewart 2000: 33-7). I felt that the Internet was an appropriate means of amassing my interview contacts. One main reason for this is that Canada is a relatively 'wired' country; approximately 42% of all Canadian households had one member who used the Internet regularly from home, work, school or another location in 1999 (Statistics Canada 2000). I was also fairly comfortable with using the Internet this way because, although Mann and Stewart argue that issues of access can limit the possibility of representative samples (2000: 80), it was never my intent to have an absolutely representative sample.

Qualitative research, as I have argued before, makes this quite difficult. In light of the aforementioned challenges that using the Internet for social research poses, I would perhaps reconsider using the Internet in future projects of this nature. While it would be wise to rethink my Internet strategies and determine whether it was simply a matter of approaching the participants in a different manner, it would also be prudent to consider alternative means of obtaining interview contacts which do not involve the Internet.

Data Collection and Analysis

The bulk of the data for this thesis was obtained from the one-on-one interviews. I conducted twenty interviews with what might be described 'serious' fans, ten for each of two contemporary Canadian artists. These interviews, as previously mentioned, were all conducted by telephone except for two, which were with people in the Ottawa area. In

each of these cases, I met the subjects for coffee and interviewed them in person. The subjects were all Canadian, residing in a variety of cities from Ottawa to Vancouver (no one from Eastern Canada expressed interest in participating). However, I also spoke to an American fan of both Emm Gryner and the Matthew Good Band, who had expressed interest in speaking to me because she had such a strong preference for music by Canadian artists. I interviewed her in addition to the core thirty participants out of interest in what an 'outsider' might have to say about Canadian identities in music. Of the ten music class students, all but two interviews were conducted in person at my office on campus. The remaining two were done by telephone, due to the students' inability to come to campus for an interview. These participants ranged in age from sixteen to thirty years of age, reflecting a generally 'young adult' age group. The opinions of both genders were investigated as the split was completely even. Of the thirty core interviews, fifteen (50%) were female and fifteen (50%) were male. While all those interviewees I met in person appeared to be Caucasian, they only accounted for one third of my interviews. The other two thirds were conducted by phone, and I did not ask them questions pertaining to ethnicity. Additionally, I had the opportunity to conduct interviews with the two musicians whose fans I studied. I interviewed Emm Gryner at a club in downtown Ottawa prior to a live gig, and spoke with band frontman Matthew Good by telephone. My experiences specific to these two interviews will be addressed in the latter section of this chapter, devoted to studying public figures. All the interviews lasted, on average, twenty-five minutes, and were all tape recorded and later transcribed. I supplemented these interviews with some e-mail conversations I had with a Matthew Good Band fan from France, and three individuals I met through the Usenet newsgroup alt.music.canada.

All interviews were semi-structured; in other words, while I asked subjects some pre-formulated open-ended questions, I did allow the discussion to move toward other issues that arose, provided they still followed the same general theme of my research.

McCracken (1988) describes this type of interview as having a 'special place in the qualitative methodology':

It departs from the unstructured "ethnographic" interview insofar as it adopts a deliberately more efficient and less obtrusive format. It is a sharply focused, rapid, highly intensive interview process that seeks to diminish the redundancy that attends more unstructured research processes. (McCracken 1988: 7)

I felt this was the direction to take, as while my research question was qualitative in nature, I was interested in very specific issues that I felt could be covered in a more focused format than, for example a life-history style of interview or other less structured format. The pre-formulated questions were largely informed by the existing writings on Canadian music, and music and identity discussed in the earlier chapters of this thesis, as well as some journalistic pieces on various Canadian musicians (interview schedules for both musicians and listeners are included in appendix A). I always ended each interview by asking if the respondents had any other thoughts on Canadian music that we had not discussed. I thought that this was a potentially important question to ask as I wanted participants to feel that I did not have all the control in these interviews; that what they thought I should know was as important as what I thought.

Finally, I engaged in some observation at two live concerts of each artist. One of each was in a smaller club setting, and one of each at a large outdoor festival. These experiences provided me with a valuable opportunity to observe interactions between fans and performers and I made special note of whether the artists engaged in any

activities to help maintain the relationship while performing live. In the beginning I had also intended to use the concerts as a source for other potential interview contacts, but the loudness of the music and the behaviour of the crowd made this impractical. Instead, I focused on the data from the interviews and used my observations at concerts to further support the results from that data. The concert observations were most useful in the section of Chapter Five which discusses the role of live concerts in creating community and authenticity.

An interesting question that arises from this research plan is, did the responses of the music class students differ from those of the ‘fans’? For the most part, I did not see a great deal of difference between these fans and the music class students in my interviews. This could be in part because some of the students I interviewed may have *been* hardcore fans of artists I simply did not study in depth in this thesis. I did note, however, some interesting points of comparison.

In speaking to the students, I had to opportunity to discuss more varied genres of Canadian music. Because I spoke to fans of artists in the rock and singer-songwriter genres, many of the fans’ tastes tended to be more concentrated in those particular areas of music. On the other hand, among the music class population, there were fans of more top-40 style music, country, hip-hop, ‘oldies’, and even experimental and world music. I had a particularly interesting conversation with someone who listened to a lot of Canadian hip hop. This was music with which, admittedly, I was not overly familiar. I also spoke to two students who sang in choirs, and were able to speak of Canadian music in a less popular context. They said that their choirs often performed Canadian pieces.

and that made up a good part of their support for Canadian music. Speaking on this topic,

one interviewee reflected on the emotional power of music:

...we make a big point of including Canadian composers in all of our repertoire. So I've done Canada Day celebrations on Parliament Hill, and we do something called 'Unisong' every year, and so songs like that if they're sung on Canada Day and have the word 'Canada' in them, or patriotic songs that don't mention Canada but are about Canada- 'The Maple Leaf Forever'- you hear music like that and your heart soars. You think, 'that's my home' and listen to this beautiful music. Music has the ability to create this emotion in you that words often can't...I don't think that a Celine Dion song could affect me that way, but when I hear a song that I know is Canadian— there's a lot of songs that to me remind me of home and I think of Canada Day and being with my friends.

In my group of music class students I also encountered a number of people who said that they in fact listen to very little Canadian music at all. Many of the fans said they actively supported Canadian music, and that a large portion of the music they listened to was Canadian. One Emm Gryner fan stated that she only purchased music by Canadian artists. On the other hand, there were four music class students that said that of all the music they listened to, less than ten percent was Canadian. At first I thought this would be a setback to talking with them about Canadian music, but this turned out to be far from the case. It would seem that a deep attachment to and reverence for Canadian music does not automatically stem from an interest in many Canadian artists. In other words, when it comes to supporting Canadian music and feeling sentimental about it, quality does not necessarily translate into quantity. One person I spoke to was only interested in a few Canadian artists, but just the same felt he identified closely with one of his favourites. Neil Young. Another felt that, coming from the West, listening to the songs of Gordon Lightfoot and Stompin' Tom Connors really helped him to learn about Eastern Canada, and became a major part of his understanding of this part of the country. These findings

are interesting because they may to an extent indicate whether the feelings associated with fans are, in fact, also common to the general population. To fully determine this, however, would require a broader study. In general, though, there were few differences of consequence between the two populations. Most of the music students' responses were quite comparable to those of the fans, and the data from their interviews provided just as much material to support these results as the interviews with the fans.

Because my sample of interviewees was relatively small and the questions I asked were qualitative in nature, I did not employ any formal scientific techniques in my data analysis. I was able to sit down with my interview transcripts and distill from them the issues that more interviewees brought up. In fact, this process began for me even before examining the transcripts because in the process of transcription I was obligated to listen to each interview a number of times, making me very familiar with the content of each interview by the end of the process. Lofland and Lofland (1984) acknowledge the value of transcribing interviews in this manner: 'It *requires* you to study each interview. Listening to the tape piece by piece forces you to consider, piece by piece, whether you have accomplished anything in the interview or not. It stimulates *analysis*' (Lofland and Lofland 1984: 61). This technique worked very well for finding most of the information presented in the following chapter. I must point out, however, that the discussion pertaining to people's attempts at describing a so-called 'English Canadian Musical Identity' did not emerge in quite so organic a matter. I did, in my interviews, question people directly about this because I felt it was important to the research question all along. This was not because I wanted to find out if there is anything identifiably Canadian in contemporary popular music — I have maintained throughout this thesis that

nothing of the sort exists. I wanted to find out, however, the types of discourse people employed in their national identities as mediated through music, because, discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the work of Stuart Hall, identities are based significantly in discursive practices.

What is presented in the following chapter is just a portion of the data gathered in this research process. Each interviewee offered new and interesting insights on the issues at hand, and a major dilemma was deciding what could and should be included, and what had to be left out. I wanted to include everything of interest that people said! Ultimately, I decided to present those things that were brought up most often, and organized them in the fashion seen in the following chapter. This is not to say that I deliberately left things out that did not agree with my argument; relatively little data was in direct conflict with the points I have raised. Rather, because so many of these issues were very diverse and brought up by relatively few respondents, I decided they could not be dealt with properly in this thesis.

My Position as a Researcher

I was aware of how I appeared in the process of gathering interview contacts and later conducting the interviews. The way that interviewers present themselves can have a considerable impact on how the interview is carried out, and ultimately what responses one might get. In the words of Shaffir, 'Persons cooperate less because of their evaluation of our work's scientific merits than their judgement of us as human beings' (Shaffir 1998: 60-1). My aim in this particular study was to appear as non-threatening as possible, so as not to intimidate the subjects into saying what they might *think* I wanted to hear when all I wanted to hear were their honest opinions. My hope was for these interviews to carry

out more like conversations than strict surveys. As I said earlier, I specifically chose bands with which I was fairly familiar because I felt it was an advantage for me to reveal from the start to the Matthew Good Band and Emm Gryner fans that I, too, was interested in these artists' music. I was, in that situation, coming to them as not simply a research figure, but as more of a fellow fan in need of some help. In other words, I was an *insider* as much as an *outsider*. Furthermore, they did not have to explain to me each album or song or video to which they referred. This may have made them feel more free to talk about other things. I believe I may also have benefited from my age. I also had this type of advantage when interviewing the music class students, as I was, to them, a fellow student at the University. The fact that there was less than ten years age difference between myself and even the extremes in the age range may have also made me an easier person to talk to.

Another useful tool for helping the interviews go more smoothly is the interviewer's appearance. When I met individuals in person or made the announcement in front of the music class, I made the effort to look somewhat casual. I wore jeans or casual pants and styled myself so as not to look too severe or serious, wearing my long hair loose and using only a moderate amount of cosmetics. It is important to note, however, that my aim was not to look exactly 'like' my subjects. Lofland and Lofland (1988: 38) argue that this can make both the interviewer and the subjects look foolish, and McCracken suggests that looking *too* casual can potentially have a negative effect on respondents, suggesting to them that the interviewer is not a professional, but is merely asking questions out of personal curiosity. He calls for a 'balance between formality and informality' (1988: 26).

For the first interview I conducted with a student on campus, I suggested that we meet in my office and then go down to a café on campus to talk. My thinking was that the subject might not have felt comfortable in the ‘institutional’ setting of an office. However, this did not prove entirely successful as the café was quite loud, and people were watching. At one point, an acquaintance of the subject spotted her in the café and approached her during the interview, leading to some confusion and embarrassment. I decided at this point that I would try meeting the participants in my office. This arrangement turned out to be the more successful one, as people seemed to feel less self conscious when no one could see them being interviewed. One could say that this is where I ultimately found my balance between formality and informality. The one interview (besides the one with Gryner) that took place off-campus *and* in person worked out well, as we met in a larger, quieter coffee shop at a less busy time of day (around 7 o’clock in the evening).

Because the majority of the interviews were conducted by telephone, I was unable to use my appearance or other visual cues to make participants feel more at ease. For the most part in those interviews, I could only rely on the power of my voice and my words. I tried to sound as friendly and cordial as possible when speaking to them, but I also tried engaging them in some innocuous conversation before proceeding with the interview questions. I did not ask probing questions about how they were and what they were doing, but I would often reveal some information about myself. For example, I had changed residences during the course of the interviewing stage of the research, and I would tell subjects that things were a little hectic around my place as a result. Shaffir agrees that providing some biographical information to people about oneself helps make

for a more effective encounter (Shaffir 1998: 61). People tended to really warm up to my sharing of such things, as it likely made me sound more 'human.' One memorable incident occurred when I was unable to phone a subject at the time we had scheduled because I had accidentally locked myself out of the house! When I was finally able to phone her and explain what happened, she and I both had a good laugh about it and the interview continued very successfully after that. People's ease with how I presented myself also showed when they in turn would ask me questions. For instance, one of my subjects had just completed her B.A. in sociology and when the interview was completed to our satisfaction she asked me for some advice on careers. The subject I interviewed at the coffee shop had to wait for her ride, and so chose to stay and chat with me about other things after the interview was over. I felt these sorts of events spoke volumes about the impression I had made.

I was acutely aware of how I appeared to the artists as well. I had debated for a little while whether I should mention in the letters that I wrote to the artists and their management that I was somewhat of a 'fan' of theirs myself. I was concerned that doing so would perhaps suggest that I was simply starstruck, and that the interview was merely a ruse to meet the artist in question. Ultimately, I was advised to do so, because appearing as someone who respected them and their art, rather than an anonymous figure only looking to get something from them, might be more intriguing to the artists. Regardless, the letters worked, and I had fruitful interviews with both Emm Gryner and Matthew Good. In my interview with Good, he brought up one aspect of my persona that I had previously believed to be relatively unimportant: my position as a University student. After I had gotten over my initial surprise that Good himself had phoned and not an

employee of his management or record label (reflecting, of course, *my* preconceived assumptions about established recording artists), he explained to me that he made it a point to read all the fan 'snail mail' sent to him. He lightheartedly continued that while he normally did not reply to fan letters, he decided that since I was paying for my education, he would not be difficult about the matter. This was interesting because it led me to consider how he perceived me. Did he see me as a charity case, in need of his input to pass? Or rather, did he call me out of respect for what I was doing? The following section deals in greater detail with the study of media figures.

Interviewing Public Figures

As mentioned earlier, I had the opportunity to interview two Canadian musical performers for this thesis. Both artists, as is so often the case with performers, had a great deal of experience with being interviewed by the media and being objects of public scrutiny. Matthew Good in particular is a favourite personality of the Canadian music media, due in part to the considerable commercial success of his band, and also for his public reputation for being outspoken and opinionated. As a result, I found myself in a situation not many others in the social sciences have. Speaking to these people arguably gave rise to certain methodological issues that would not exist with other research subjects, and so I have decided to present my experiences in relation to those of one other researcher so as to shed light on those particular issues.

Spector (1980) found himself interviewing some recognizable public figures during the course of his research on social controversy, and points out that in studying public figures with qualitative methodology, practical issues such as gaining access were as important as theoretical questions.

There are three ways, says Spector, that research can be affected when the subject possesses some form of public notoriety (1980: 99). Firstly, if they are people in the media, there can be data on the subject available in popular media that would not otherwise exist. I had this experience in being able to watch television programs featuring the artists giving interviews, and while I was able to listen for issues related to my research, this practice was not an integral part of the project. Secondly, Spector states that with public figures, interviews and observation can become 'elite' practices. He later gives three reasons for calling them elite: first, his informants were very powerful people and ultimately were well within their rights to refuse an interview; second, some had already given public statements to the press and had had many experiences both positive and negative, with being in print; third, they held positions in Spector's research setting which were very unique (Spector 1980:102). Throughout the course of my research I worked on the assumption that I was *not* going to be able to speak to the artists for these very reasons. Finally, Spector advises that it is awkward and frequently impossible to analyze the data without using the names of the subjects. As a result it is not wise to guarantee confidentiality or anonymity.

Spector also presents a number of other things to consider when conducting research on public personalities. He emphasizes the importance of 'doing one's homework' prior to approaching the subjects in question. This refers not only to a more traditional literature review, but also to what is known as documentary research. Spector mentions things such as professional associations of which the subject is a member, as well as honours or awards they have received. Public figures expect this, and frequently are irritated with questions that could have easily been answered by a review of the

aforementioned resources. They may also have trouble respecting a researcher who has not done their homework (1980: 100-01). Dave Bidini, seasoned Canadian musician and author, echoes this observation in the following passage:

. . .when this jockey asks, “Now tell me, fellas, what’s it *really* like touring with the Tragically Hip?” I feel my stomach sink. Every jockey since our first show in Vancouver has asked us this question, and there’s nothing worse than hearing the same one over and over again, especially if you didn’t feel like answering it the first time. (Bidini 1998: 119)

Spector says that the interviews he conducted served to supplement the bulk of his data, which he obtained from the aforementioned documental sources. Interviews allowed him to address specific questions raised during the exploratory phase of his documentary research, and also served such purposes as clarification, or the testing of hypotheses (Spector 1980: 101). While I did not employ documentary research in my thesis, the interviews I did with the musicians served a similar purpose in my thesis as Spector’s did in his research. The majority of my data was obtained from my conversations with fans, but the interviews I did with the musicians provided me with the opportunity to raise questions encountered during those conversations, as well as to further my research by looking at the fan-performer relationship from the other side. As a result, those two interviews served as a worthwhile addition to the rest of the data.

Spector reports having little difficulty in scheduling interviews with public figures; to his surprise, he was never required to ask permission, and he was never turned down. In fact, *he* had to turn down some interviews because he was unable to travel to see some of the subjects. It was simply a matter of writing a letter wherein he identified himself as a researcher and expressed interest in conducting an interview. Follow-up calls several weeks later led to a schedule of interviews (Spector 1980: 101). People were

generally flattered that he wanted to interview them and were happy to participate in the research. He was praised for wanting to hear their views on the subject at hand before judging them or criticizing them. Happily, this was my experience, also. As I mentioned before, I was fully prepared to carry out the research without interviewing the musicians. but in both cases it took a simple letter, and in the case of Emm Gryner a follow-up email to her management. In her case I simply contacted her record company about the possibility of interviewing her when she was in Ottawa for an upcoming concert date. In the case of the Matthew Good Band, there may have been an element of luck involved. They were not coming to Ottawa in the near future, but I expressed interest in the possibility of a telephone interview and included my phone number. Sure enough, about a month later the phone rang and it was Good himself. He told me he had been in Vancouver doing interviews for the press all day, and had gone across the street to empty out the band's fan mail box, where he came across my letter. To an extent, public figures are likely used to being asked to interviews on countless topics. As a result, it is possibly not a big deal to them, whereas I did at times encounter some surprise from fans that I was interested in hearing what they had to say. Having interview subjects who are used to the interview process can therefore be an advantage. However, on the other hand, it can prove somewhat problematic. Spector reflects that he was sometimes treated like 'just another journalist or writer' because many informants had already given interviews on the same topic (1980: 102-3). I had this experience somewhat with Good, as he would occasionally make comments I had heard before in the media which were not really related to my thesis. In his defense, he is likely asked the same questions all the time. and

has simply come to know what most journalists want. It meant for me, however, that I had to be a bit more persistent in my line of questioning.

Conclusion

This chapter has explained in detail the process by which I conducted the research for this thesis, including discussion of the qualitative method and the grounded theory approach. It also provided some background and my own personal experiences in using the Internet for social research, as well as dealing with public figures in social research. With this framework and context firmly in place, this thesis now turns to the chapter devoted to my findings, and what they mean for the question of Canadian identities as mediated through popular music.

Chapter Six: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Earlier chapters of this thesis were devoted to a discussion of existing theory relevant to the subject matter. Chapter Two argued that despite the problems associated with the concept of the nation, it still continues to function, and that national identities are alive and well, as actively constructed by each individual through discourses and experiences. Chapter Three presented a discussion of aspects of popular music studies important to this thesis, indicating the ways in which individuals incorporate their own interpretations and experiences of the music into their identities and senses of place, while providing concrete examples of how this process takes place through the creation of communities, as well as through live concerts and discourses. Chapter Four discussed the specifically Canadian context for this study, describing the sociopolitical background from which Canadian music emerges, with the intent of demonstrating Canadians' long-standing awareness of issues of national identity, the general lack of a distinctive Canadian musical sound, and ultimately how these factors make Canada an important environment in which to study questions of music and national identity. After an explanation of the research methods employed in this particular study, this thesis now turns to the heart of the project — the research findings.

Although each interview was a source of new and sometimes surprising discoveries, many of the respondents' further reflections on such issues as identity, patriotism, and the nature of their support of and attachment to Canadian musical artists revealed some recurring themes. In other words, certain topics were discussed more often than others, and were sources of particularly interesting insights. The first part of this chapter will present the two themes that recurred most often. They pertain to music as

shared community, referring specifically to live performances and senses of shared experiences; and identities as created discursively in the context of 'defining' English-Canadian music and the role of other nations in helping Canadians attain this definition. This chapter will conclude with an analysis of these findings, showing that notions of authenticity and othering play a significant role in how music helps form identities by way of both constructed realities and constructed discourses, and will close with some reflections on future points of inquiry.

Music as Shared Community

Current research (Weinstein 1991; Cohen 1991) suggests that senses of shared community constitute a significant component of how identities are mediated through music. Therefore, it becomes important to understand how audiences and performers construct and make sense of mutually mediated identities. The first aspect of musical practices constituting a type of shared community is the live concert. Earlier, this thesis discussed in some detail the role that the live performance plays in building community between artist and audience. The results of this study emphasize in a concrete manner the importance of this role. In twenty-five of the interviews the respondents raised the topic of live concerts. Though the role the concert played in the musical experience varied from person to person, its value as a part of that experience cannot be understated in the broader context of music in Canada.

Four fans (two of each artist) cited a live performance as their first experience with Emm Gryner or the Matthew Good Band. Gryner's appearances at Lilith Fair and Canadian Music week, as well as the Matthew Good Band's billings at Edgefest and their numerous tours with other Canadian artists were for some the reason they became

interested in the artists' music. Five interviewees praised the Lilith Fair (a mostly-female concert tour organized by Canadian Sarah McLachlan), Edgefest (an annual tour of current rock bands often headlined by artists from the United States, but consisting largely of Canadian acts) or other festivals for exposing the public to Canadian music, and for 'bringing Canadian musicians together.'

Three respondents attached great sentimental meaning to certain Canadian concert experiences, relating them specifically to their own sense of Canadian identity. One person I spoke to said that the band Our Lady Peace connected closely with her memories of Canada because she had followed them for so long, attending even their early club dates. She also reminisced about the Tragically Hip's set at Woodstock 1999, where the crowd was obscured by all the Canadian flags. Another respondent related a story of two separate Edgefest incidents to illustrate both good and bad celebrations of Canadian heritage:

I remember last year when we went to Edgefest, and Hole was the headliner. And I don't like Hole at all, I absolutely do not like Courtney Love. So, we left, but when we were waiting for the ride home we heard one of her songs up on the hill. She was playing 'Summer of '69'. And that pissed me off! 'Cause this was Canada Day, and here's an American up here. She probably thought it was some great tribute, but . . . maybe it was because of the fact that I don't like her, but here's an American up here playing a Canadian song on Canada Day. Her stock went down about as much as it could . . . But by the same token, the year before, when the Tea Party was the headliner, and we heard on the radio on the way up, 'the Tea Party are bringing with them a surprise.' The last song that they did Edwin came out, and they sang 'I'm Afraid of Americans' (a song by David Bowie). That was great. I was like, "Oh yeah! 'I'm afraid of Americans' on Canada Day!" That was something else. But here was the American covering the Canadian artist and it just pissed me off, and then this Anti-American Canadian-ness was like, 'yeah, right on.'

Yet another respondent told me about a somewhat different Canada Day concert experience which nonetheless echoed some similar sentiments:

When Anne Murray, about five or ten years ago, came to Parliament Hill, she was singing that song 'Snowbird', and everyone on the hill- there must have been fifty thousand of us- was singing along. And that was a really great feeling, and I can't really explain it in words, but it's stuff like that — it's that everybody knows it, we know it's ours and we're proud of it . . . and I don't think it would be the same if Whitney Houston came to town and was up there and everyone was singing.

In contrast to the more emotional attachment the above respondents felt towards live concerts, eleven stated that, more practically, the frequency of live performances was a major advantage to listening to Canadian music. In other words, outside of major metropolitan areas such as Toronto or Vancouver, Canadian musicians often provide the only opportunities for Canadians to enjoy live music. In the words of one Emm Gryner fan, 'It's all well and good to like someone like Tori Amos, but you might see them once a year. And there was once I got to see Emm, like ten or fifteen times (in a short period of time).' Four people brought up the value of supporting local music in this context also. I spoke to some fans in smaller cities and towns, and they in particular frequently had a deep reverence for artists who played their hometowns. A Matthew Good Band fan I spoke to from Sault Ste. Marie reflected that it was 'such a thrill' when they came to her town, because 'nothing ever happens here.' I heard praise for the Tragically Hip for their commitment to touring extensively in Canada. Not only do Canadian acts play far more Canadian cities, but according to many of my interviewees, in general they tend to play much smaller venues as well. Canadian artists, even those with considerable commercial success such as Our Lady Peace, are known to frequently play dates in small pubs and on

University campuses. Even so-called larger concerts by Canadian artists often are not *that* big, as this Matthew Good Band fan suggests:

It's funny, like when you think of a big Canadian concert, out here in Winnipeg, anyway, if you sell out a place like the Rendez-Vous, that's a big deal. Like, that's the last place the Matthew Good Band played, and it holds maybe a thousand, fifteen hundred people. That's a big show in Winnipeg, and everybody talks about it.

Conversely, failure to tour was often considered problematic in the context of Canadian artists. Ten of the respondents, when asked how they felt about artists experiencing significant American and international success, expressed apprehension over the possibility that they might not get to see them as often, or in as intimate settings. Artists who had not been touring as frequently in Canada of late were even criticized in four interviews. For example, one respondent noted with dismay that as time passed, Lilith Fair did less and less Canadian dates. Also, the Barenaked Ladies were more than once attacked for their apparent five-year hiatus from touring in Canada, particularly because they had toured *extensively* in the United States to support their last two albums. Finally, Matthew Good himself spoke on the role of touring the country as a Canadian artist:

I think the only thing that binds Canadian bands together is definitely touring this country. Because it's definitely one of the most difficult countries in the world to tour.

S.R.: Oh. Why do you say that?

Because it's fourteen hours between cities. People from Europe come here, and . . . they can't handle it. When you tour Europe, it's an hour and a half to two hours between cities. Unless of course, in America, if you're touring in the States if you're going across the Midwest or the continental divide you're looking at some drives. But, New York to Philadelphia isn't exactly all that far, and Philadelphia to Pittsburgh isn't all that far, or to Washington and subsequently on to Charlotte or to Raleigh, or wherever, right? So when you leave Vancouver and you're a major touring act, and you

don't stop and play in Kelowna, which is still 5 and a half hours away, you're going to Calgary and that's fourteen. Right? Calgary to Edmonton is only three, but Edmonton to Saskatoon is eight and a half. So, driving through Northern Ontario in February — no one else does that.

When asked if they felt they related more to Canadian artists, 21 interviewees replied 'yes'. Matthew Good said that it was to be expected that his Canadian fans would naturally relate more to him because he and his bandmates, too, were Canadian. This point was one I attempted to pursue further in interviews, and while most people had difficulty putting this 'bond' into words, eight interviewees revealed senses of shared experiences with the artists.

The reality that Canadian musical artists and audiences have had common experiences, be they cultural, political, environmental or otherwise, is the second aspect of music as shared community. Three people, for example, said that lyrical references in songs by artists like the Tragically Hip served to remind them that they had experienced some of the same things. Songs about things like hockey and news events in Canada were things with which these people could identify, and felt that they shared with other people across Canada. One person described this connection in the context of a song the Tragically Hip had written about David Milgaard, who was jailed for twenty years for a murder he did not commit:

. . . *Wheat Kings*, you know. Unless you're Canadian, you're not going to know what that story's about, because it was of no effect to you. But because we are Canadians we know what it's about, we watched it on the news, we've lived it.

Another spoke of the song *Fifty-Mission Cap*, written about late hockey player Bill Barilko:

The hockey culture, if you're a male between the ages of twenty and forty, there is that shared experience of them not winning the cup. The songs like that, and also the place songs, the exposure to the Group of Seven is very much a part of the cultural experience of Canadians . . .

One of the music class students liked listening to Canadian hip hop music and offered some interesting insights. Hip hop culture in general has a tradition of staying loyal to hometowns, and naming places and things connected to local identities in the songs. Canadian hip hop, it seems, is no exception to this rule. This person mentioned songs such as Maestro's '416/905- Toronto Party Anthem' which refers to Toronto's area codes, and the fact that Choclaire voiced his support for Canadian hockey during an appearance on the Muchmusic Video Awards, as signs that these artists respect where they are from. Another person pointed out that even when Canadian artists sang about less specific things she felt closer to them: 'You hear a lot of Canadian bands talk about like they're from Vancouver, and they might mention something about the ocean, or something about the snow. And you can relate better to that than if they're talking about "it's so hot in the summer."' One Emm Gryner fan said that these sorts of things helped make her feel as though she was a more active participant in the music, or 'a part of it.'

There did not even have to be any obvious lyrical references for the respondents, though. It could be something far more implicit. Three people said the attachment stemmed from simply knowing the artists were coming from the same place, both literally and figuratively: 'I think it's because maybe they've had the same experiences as you have. And that might lead them to write certain things.' Two said that they often knew more personally about where the artist was from, and may have actually been there. One suggested that Canadian artists would be more likely to have the same values and

beliefs as they would, and they might better understand the Canadian way of life. Another fan suggested that Canadian artists might have been to the same places and seen the same things in Canada as them. Still another said that the artists went to similar schools and grew up in similar neighbourhoods. Finally, one person said she felt she could relate to the experiences Canadian artists had in other countries. In sum, these people felt that just knowing that they had certain things in common with Canadian artists, or even simply perceiving certain commonalities, seemed to increase the sense of affiliation they felt towards them. Emm Gryner reflects on this idea in describing an experience with another Canadian band:

In a lot of ways I feel like after you've traveled around a lot, around Europe and America, you just feel a certain sense of home with your (Canadian) fans, even if they're from, like, Saskatoon or somewhere that you don't know. But just because it's like the Canadian thing, you know. I know it was a breath of fresh air to go on the road with a Canadian band earlier this year, Wide Mouth Mason. And all we did was talk about all the silly Canadian TV shows we used to watch . . . And that's something I couldn't do, like when I go on the road with David Bowie.

Identities as Discourse

Discourses of Identity

The previous section indicates that live performances and shared experiences among Canadian musical artists and their Canadian audiences, when seen as instances of music as a shared community, are constitutive of certain realities which play a significant role in the formation of national identities and allegiances. However, individuals also often construct discourses in the process of making sense of their realities. Some interesting discourses of Canadian identity were revealed in my interviews with Canadian music listeners. When one of the interviewees reflected that Canadian music was 'the

best' or at least better than music from other countries, particularly the United States, I began to consider the importance of asking if Canadian music sounded inherently different from other musics; in other words, was there an identifiable Canadian sound in popular music. Although only two others shared this young woman's sentiment, the question yielded many interesting responses. One Matthew Good Band fan I spoke to reflected that 'American and Canadian culture's basically the same', and therefore Canadian music did not possess a distinct sound, and eight others agreed. However, all but three of the other respondents tried to identify at least some sorts of distinctly Canadian musical characteristics.

In this process, five subjects identified particular styles of music frequently associated with Canada. Celtic-influenced popular music (commonly associated with the East coast of Canada) was mentioned by four of those subjects in this context. Bands such as Great Big Sea were frequently connected to Canadian culture because the Celtic influence was identified as something particular to Canada. The remaining respondent mentioned folk music and rock music, probably due in part to the fact that Canada's past successes in these genres have influenced the way English-Canadian popular music is viewed (Straw 1993: 59). Furthermore, five named specific artists as being a part of their senses of Canadian identity in music. One person revealed that singer-songwriter Jann Arden and the band Blue Rodeo seemed to her to symbolize Canadian music. When I asked her to elaborate further about what was so Canadian-sounding about them, she described them as being more 'folk-oriented'. Another respondent agreed that Blue Rodeo's music had a distinctly 'Canadian flavour'. The other three said that the Tragically Hip were a very Canadian-sounding band. While only these three brought up

this band in that specific context, the band was mentioned by the respondents in a total of ten interviews — more than any other single artist or band besides the two focused on in this thesis. As one respondent put it, ‘they’re a band so associated with Canada’. One respondent said that he could think of no other artist who is as popular as the Tragically Hip in Canada, yet who is not enjoying comparable success in the United States and in other countries. Therefore, the Tragically Hip are seen as playing a major part in the popular culture of this country, without becoming part of the popular culture of others. Popular media often fuel this association of the Tragically Hip with Canada — for example Muchmusic, as a part of the 2001 Canada Day festivities, chose to air a special on the Tragically Hip and only the Tragically Hip even though similar specials had been taped with other Canadian bands. No one could really explain how the music of ‘the Hip’ was Canadian-sounding, but what seems to be taking place is that the band is becoming part of a discourse of Canadian identity.

Four people cited lyrics as being indicative of Canadian musical identity. Some meant by lyrics specific references to Canadian subject matter. Aside from the aforementioned Tragically Hip, respondents mentioned the Rheostatics, Neil Young and Gordon Lightfoot as contributing to the Canadian musical ‘sound’ through their lyrics. Neither artist I spoke to makes more than one or two overt references to Canadian subject matter in any of their songs. However, ‘Canadian-sounding’ lyrics did not necessarily mean specifically Canadian content for many. I heard from people that Canadian lyrics were simply more socially conscious, making more obvious social commentary, or being more ‘thought-provoking’, as one Matthew Good Band fan stated:

I think that Canadians put more thought into their songwriting, really and that they’re respected more here for doing it. Look at the

big acts coming from the States . . . Just teen bubble gum pop and anger. Nothing is really focused in an intelligent way. Our top bands, like Tragically Hip, Our Lady Peace, Matthew Good Band, Jet Set Satellite, et cetera — they all have interesting lyrics, and they know how to focus their songwriting so that their music isn't just about emotion. It's actually thought-provoking music.

Another Matthew Good Band fan remarked that Canadian artists were often more likely to sing about the places around them: 'I find that Canadian musicians find it less hard to write about places they're from. Where in the U.S. you're not going to hear them talking about the store where they used to buy bubble gum where they were as a child. You can get that a lot more in Canadian music.' This statement reflects the 'reverence for space' patriotic Canadians, according to Wright (1988), identified in the music of artists like Joni Mitchell and Neil Young in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

Rurality, directness and simplicity, were, indeed, the cornerstones of Canadian folk music; but these qualities were also evident in much of the pop and rock music written by Canadians who had crossed over from folk in the late 1960s . . . For musicians like Gordon Lightfoot, Bruce Cockburn, Neil Young, and Joni Mitchell, folk was a medium perfectly suited to express what they, as Canadians, were seeing in the world around them. (Wright 1988: 35)

Wright then quotes Cockburn on the subject: 'Space may be a misleading word because it is so vague in relation to music, but maybe it has to do with Canadians being more involved with the space around them rather than trying to fill it up as Americans do' (Wright 1988: 35). While lyrics certainly do not contribute to the actual sound of music, it is relevant to mention them because a number of people associated the lyrics with what they perceived as an English-Canadian musical identity.

People also pointed to somewhat less tangible factors that betrayed an English-Canadian identity in music. For example, Canadian music was three times described as

more 'real' — less produced, less glossed over than American or British music: 'It's just not as techno-ey awful and it just seems so real and well thought-out. 'Cause lots of the artists aren't quite into going for the million-dollar market. They just want to produce what they feel, and we can latch onto that, and it's great.' Two people mentioned limited monetary funds as being a factor that might explain such characteristics, meaning that Canadian artists had less to spend on fancy production in the studio. One person noted that there was a less obvious division between genres of music in Canada. In other words, Canada's musical mainstream encompassed a broader range of musical styles. Three people described Canadian popular music as being less mainstream-sounding, and sometimes even more experimental. Two people pointed to the success of Windsor's the Tea Party (who often experiment with exotic instruments) and another two to that of Saskatoon's Wide Mouth Mason (whose music is heavily influenced by blues and funk) in their home country as indicative of the more open-minded mainstream musical environment in Canada. Three times this was attributed in part to the Canadian musical audience. The fan from the United States in particular said she noticed that Canadians seemed far more open to different kinds of music. Two people I spoke to on this topic referred to the successes of even some non-Canadian mainstream acts who got their start in Canada, or had relatively more success here. One of the music class students I interviewed had his own theory as to why a willingness to take musical risks could help 'define' an English-Canadian sound:

You're not gonna make much money here. So I think that people, artists are left to — we sort of have to make a name for ourselves and we have to try and get our music out. And we're so deluged by American culture that we're not gonna get heard unless we do something different. Other than that, since you're not making so much money, you don't really care about the commercial element of

it in the States, and you just sort of make music that you want to do. Like, you're free in that regard. But there's also a drive to make something different so you can be heard and appreciated for it. I've noticed a lot more Canadian bands are getting looked at by the American underground rock critics . . . I think that a lot more Canadian artists, especially the new generation of Canadian artists are doing stuff that is worthy of taking a look at. A nice escape from the Linkin Parks and Limp Bizkits of the world.

One interviewee, a fan of Emm Gryner, said that there was something identifiably Canadian in the delivery of the music. He had this to say about her performance style:

There's more of a passion, there's more of an honesty and of a truth that I find with the Canadian musicians. People like Emm, and Tara McLean, and even Sarah McLachlan. There's always been that passion you sort of feel, you sort of know that it's what they've written, what they've gone through. And you can just tell, in live performances, that they're giving it their all. Performing a song that they wrote from the heart, and it's fantastic — all the time.

'Honesty' was also a word used by both of the respondents from outside Canada. Also related to delivery, the practice of singing a song in French in acknowledgement of Canada's bilingualism was once mentioned as a distinctly Canadian practice. Emm Gryner revealed to me that whenever she sang a French song it was particularly well-received in Quebec. Finally, three people pointed to the various regional differences as contributing to a sense of Canadian musical identity. In addition to the Celtic-influenced East coast sound, others mentioned Francophone music and aboriginal music. Good also explained the potential for differences in sound between Toronto and further West due to the fact that Canada's music industry centre is located in the former. He said that while in Toronto industry people are often in the audience by the time a band has played its fourth show, out West there is more time to grow and develop because one is not under nearly as much scrutiny.

Discourses of Authenticity/Anti-commercialism

The results presented here may appear at first glance to be a rather scattered collection of characteristics. However, if one considers not only what the respondents say ‘Canadian music is’, but also what they imply it is *not*, again highlighting the importance of positive and negative processes in forming identities, a more distinct discursive pattern emerges. It becomes clear that the respondents are employing discourses of authenticity and anti-commercialism in their constructions of an English Canadian musical identity. The most obvious examples of this include the description of the music as less technologically-processed, and as having more socially-conscious, thoughtful lyrics. More indirectly, though, if we also take characteristics such as ‘more experimental’ and ‘more diverse’, and flip them around to understand what respondents are saying Canadian music *is not* (i.e. not homogeneous, not remaining true to the mainstream), the theme of anti-commercialism, and therefore authenticity, resonates again. Much of the literature on local and national identity in popular music (Berland 1998; Robbins 1994) suggests that to define what is identifiably Canadian in this country’s contemporary popular music is an impossible task. Certainly my research has uncovered nothing that refutes this. What is presented here are discourses constructed and employed by audiences to help flesh out their senses of national identity and allegiance. Furthermore, both artists I spoke with did not really know of any overt influences their nationality had on their music. This indicates that the discourses frequently employed by audiences are not shared by the artists, and that further highlights the discrepancy between the discourses and the constructed realities of ‘Canadian musical identity’. Gryner suggested that perhaps only the ‘Canadian work ethic’ may come into play in her songwriting and performing:

I find the Canadian work ethic in general, is, you know, we're all really hard working. And, in terms of an identity sometimes I feel like we're a little bit scattered, because a lot of us come from so many different places, but that's the one thing that stands out to me as being a common thread, is that people are really willing to work hard for things I guess that I'm maybe not too aware of any other Canadian influences. Other than, like, some of the Canadian music I've listened to- like Joni Mitchell and the Guess Who, and all those Canadian eighties rock bands. And I don't know how much that really figures into my songwriting. It's hard for me to tell.

Good revealed that his local background was probably far more of a presence in his music than any sense of nationalism, and quickly dismissed the possibility of there being any real national influence on music from Canada:

I don't know that I would really think of any kind of influence on music has anything to do any kind of nationalism whatsoever. I think that this country is too big and too diverse and too sparsely populated to have any kind of national influence influence its art at all. I'm a British Columbian, and inside that obviously a Vancouverite. So, that would probably influence what I do far more than any kind of sense of nationalism that I would have with, say, someone who also lives in Ontario, or Montreal for that matter. I don't think bands in this country are products of any kind of national perspective. I don't think they have any kind of forethought when they put their music together, except where they come from. Which is why bands like the Tragically Hip per se are a complete mystery to me. And, bands like 54-40 aren't, because I come from the same place as 54-40. Whereas, the Tragically Hip, to me, have always sounded like a very Eastern-Canadian band.

Finally, one person I spoke to may have come up with the closest thing English Canada has to a singular musical identity by invoking this idea of diversity: '...but maybe that is an identity in itself. Like Canada itself, perhaps the music is searching for its own identity, but finds one in its lack of one- the mosaic, if you will.'

Discourses of the 'Other'

This thesis has discussed a number of times the role of the 'constitutive outside' in the formation of identities. A significant part of identity construction relates to defining 'what we are not' in the process of finding out 'what we are'. Accordingly, five respondents tried to define Canadian music directly in opposition to that of other countries, particularly the United States. They might say, for example, that Canadian music was more stripped-down, less polished, and less commercial than U.S. music. However, the United States also came up in other points of discussion as well.

In my interviews I always asked people how they felt about Canadian artists becoming successful in the United States or internationally. Three people I spoke to expressed feelings of immense pride over artists who saw such success:

You want to see them go all the way. Like Mr. Bryan Adams there, he's doing pretty well for himself. Céline Dion too, even though she's just the most horrible spectacle, at least she says 'I am Canadian.' And that's kind of good, you know? Same with little Miss Alanis (Morrissette) there, from Ottawa. She's a show and a half. But at least they're doing it, and they're making it, and people are noticing.

These respondents, along with five other respondents, drew a sense of validation from those Canadian artists who could achieve considerable success outside of the country — a feeling that 'they could do it too'. Another person I spoke to saw the benefit in recognition from not just consumers in the United States, but artists. He mentioned the example of Canadian rapper Kardinal Offishall being invited to appear on a prominent U.S. rapper's album as being a means to expose a more international audience to Canadian music. For a number of others, success in music and other arts had the potential to help put Canada on the map — that is to say, Canada could benefit from the resulting

recognition. I encountered two respondents who complained about how Canada was viewed by other countries such as the United States. Matthew Good revealed that many members of the press in the United States held very stereotypical ideas about Canadians: 'In every article about me in every major magazine in America, the words 'Great White North' are used. That's just a typical thing to say about bands from Canada. I hate that. Like, 'Great White North'.... They expect us to show up and be goofy, and wear Toronto Maple Leaf Jerseys.' A fan I spoke to echoed this sentiment when she said that many people outside of Canada think Canadian artists 'recorded their album in an igloo' and that Canadian music had the potential to show the world more of 'what we're all about'.

Twelve of the fans of the two artists suggested that U.S. or international success would be a nice thing for the artists. One Emm Gryner fan put it very simply, 'I think that would be great. I think it would be wonderful for Emm, and good for Canada too.' In general, they felt the artists deserved any recognition they received because the music was good and they worked hard to get where they were. As long as it was about getting the music to more people who would appreciate it, the fans mostly said they would be happy for Gryner or the band, and that they would still support them. Only six of these interviewees, however, said this unequivocally. Adding that to the remaining eight of the total of fans demonstrates that the majority of fans had serious reservations of some kind about their preferred artists 'making it big'. There were for many some practical concerns regarding this situation. I previously mentioned, for example, that fans often expressed concern that more success for the artists would mean less Canadian tour dates, and less intimate concert settings. In the words of a Matthew Good Band fan from a small town in Ontario:

That's gonna bug me, because it's going to be harder to get into a concert, which I haven't been to yet. If that would happen, if they're going to be internationally successful, I doubt they'll be coming back to Thunder Bay, Ontario, which is the nearest major city to where I live. That'll be a real disappointment for that to happen.

Additionally, two respondents were apprehensive about the effects increased fame and notoriety would have on the artists' sound. For instance, one Gryner fan reflected on the pressures of a larger mainstream audience: 'the artist would probably have to gear it more. It's really hard to keep your artistic expression when you get that big.' Another person argued that fame and fortune has the potential to change people, and that the honest and real quality of the artists' lyrics might suffer as a result of more material wealth. Four fans said that the quaint, small, accessible qualities many artists in Canada possess was something they found attractive, and that that would be lost in the face of major international success. Two were worried that Canadian artists might 'forget where they came from'. At the same time, I spoke to a music class student who said he did not consider Bryan Adams and Céline Dion to be Canadian any more because they were 'too international'. Perhaps then increased international success means an artist's connections to Canadian culture might be understood as becoming more tenuous. As a consequence, people might have anxieties surrounding not only the possibility that Canadian artists may forget where they come from, but also that they might in fact forget where *the artists* came from. Five fans admitted to being a little bit possessive of their favourite artists, as can be observed in what this Emm Gryner fan had to say:

Well, you always feel of course if you've been following them for a long time, 'oh, now I've got to share my secret with everybody.' You want to keep them to yourself, and be in the front row, and you get to email them and stuff. And suddenly, they're all over the place.

Therefore, they felt that more success might be an intrusion on that. This admission came however with some guilt, and these fans said that, in spite of their reservations, they would still be happy for artists that could 'make it' outside of Canada. The music class students, as opposed to the fans, praised American success for Canadian artists with very little of these types of reservation. The difference may have to do with the more intimate attachment the 'fans' feel toward their favourite artists and the feelings of possessiveness that seem to come with it. It is perhaps more important to the fans to see the artists live more often, and to be able to access the artists more easily.

The role of other countries also manifested itself in the way three of the people I spoke to used Canadian music as a means to communicate with people from other countries. For example, one person I spoke to said that 'I have a friend that is from Boston, and he brought his girlfriend up here and she was really into the sort of Canadian woman thing, like Sarah Harmer, Nelly Furtado, Sarah Slean, Sarah McLachlan. I thought that was pretty cool. She thinks we have all this great music.' Furthermore, the Matthew Good Band fan from France I spoke to said that she was familiar with so much Canadian music because she had an email friend in Canada, and that was all they talked about. She said, 'I have to say — don't laugh at me, I'm ashamed to say it — that I was really surprised to see that Canadian music has such good acts. I mean, Canadian music isn't popular at all here, except for any Quebec French acts and it's often a lot better than any American bands.'

The artists I spoke to both revealed a new appreciation for where they were from after touring in other countries. Gryner, in her travels with David Bowie and during her own tours, has now seen a great deal of other countries, and said she came to realize after

those experiences that Canada was one of best places in the world to live. Good expressed similar feelings toward Canada, adding that he has discovered that, with few exceptions, it is far better to be a Canadian when travelling in foreign countries than an American:

I remember the first time I went to England. I was in London at a pub, and two blocks away we were mixing *Underdogs* . . . My dad's from London, I've got something like 50 relatives between there and Brighton, and of course I'd heard stories — my dad grew up in postwar London, blah-blah-blah, and I was reared on football as a sport, not hockey, so I had this mass connection, hell I was a dual citizen... So I'm sitting here, and I would go there every day for a couple of hours, and shoot pool by myself, and I would just watch all the locals... one afternoon about a week and a half later, this guy looks at me 'cause obviously he doesn't want to shoot pool by himself, he says, 'hey yank — do you wanna have a game of pool?' and I looked at him and I said, 'I'm not American, I'm from Canada.' Next thing you know, the bartender's talking to me, they're signing me up for the pool tournament, everybody's my best friend, it was unbelievable. I couldn't believe it. As soon as I told them I wasn't from America, they were nicer to me than — and then when they found out not only was I Canadian, but the son of an Englishman — well, then, that's okay. So, you kind of have to do that. You have to go to Holland, and have old people look at you, I remember I was wearing a Canadian Airforce Jacket — a bomber jacket, and the way people treat you, just because they know that.

Presented here is another component of the kinds of discourse these respondents were employing in the formation of their identities. In addition to using musical characteristics in this process of definition, subjects were employing 'others', more specifically other nations such as the United States, as a means of distinguishing themselves. Obviously, attempts to define Canadian music in opposition to that of the United States is a clear example, but it is not the only one. Consider, for instance, the value a number of respondents placed on international success for Canadian artists. People drew validation from recognition by other countries, and saw it as a way to make

others more aware of Canada. These feelings can be seen in the responses from fans, but are also even reflected somewhat in Good's stories of how he was treated in other countries. There is, however, no evidence to support the idea that international recognition contributes at all to Canadian cultures. In fact, there is nothing to suggest that foreigners, particularly Americans, are even aware of, or at all concerned with the nationalities of such artists as Bryan Adams or the Barenaked Ladies. Therefore, this idea that international success for Canadian artists is somehow good for Canadians and their identities may be an entirely discursive construction with little or no basis in reality. Good, again disagreeing with the discourse of some of the respondents, made a compelling case for what role American success should have in Canadians' sense of cultural identity. He contended that Canadians tend to have a very defeatist attitude about their art; that they naturally assume that because an artist is Canadian, they are automatically not as good as an artist from the United States or Great Britain. He explained that this attitude is why so many great Canadian bands have 'floundered into obscurity' even in their own country. At the same time, he pointed out that while Canadian cultural products would do well to gain the same amount of popularity as their foreign counterparts, this does not mean that recognition from the United States is necessary for Canadians to feel validated:

You see, that's where the battle is always lost. Like, if *Beautiful Midnight* doesn't do very well in America, what will people say? That I'm not very good? Or will it just be because I had the fact that I was Canadian against me down there. 'Cause Americans will always be more prone to backing their own bands, than they will be people from other countries. Radiohead are a huge phenomenon, but let's face it, *OK Computer* only barely went platinum in America. For the amount of attention that that band got in the press, hell, as far as I'm concerned that record should have done ten million copies. But it didn't, right? And that's because they're English. Had

that band been American, I'm sure far more many people would have bought it. But, you see, they're not an American band. And that's why bands like Creed can exist. Because when you're selling Americana to Americans, you'll always succeed.

It is more important, he said, for Canadians themselves to see their art as being on par with that of other countries such as the U.S., rather than waiting for those other countries to tell them it is.

Conclusion: Canadian Music and National Identity; Authenticity and 'Other'

This thesis has discussed how national identity is actively created and modified in the minds of individuals through discourses and in experience, based in part on ubiquitous symbols provided by those in political or cultural power. Furthermore, it has shown how popular music can be employed in identity formation, and how shared experiences such as concerts, as well as constructed discourses, play a role in this process. In Canada, there is most definitely a system of national culture in place which is, to an extent, administered by the state. The situation for contemporary English-Canadian popular music exemplifies this. The Canadian government requires that radio stations and music video channels and programs expose Canadian listeners to a quota of music deemed 'sufficiently Canadian' on a regular basis. The results of this fieldwork demonstrate, however, that there is still plenty of room for appropriation and modification of this distributed material. The participants in this study revealed in their interviews that their own experiences with Canadian music have played a significant role in the construction of their identities as Canadians, and that the way they talk about Canadian music reflects the way they identify themselves. I propose that two types of

processes prevail in the formation of these identities: those that pertain to authenticity or anti-commercialism, and those that pertain to 'othering'.

The frequent discussion of live concerts lends support to the idea that the notion of authenticity in music plays an important role in listener's senses of national identity. Live performance is often associated with increased authenticity in the minds of both musicians and fans (Shuker 1994, Grossberg 1992). Many Canadian artists tour extensively across Canada, and Canadian music is often the only option for those in smaller cities and towns interested in experiencing live music. Additionally, Canadian acts often play smaller venues, allowing for a more intimate connection between musicians and audience. My observations at live gigs revealed that musicians and fans engage in community-creating behaviours such as singing along and interacting. For example, at one Matthew Good Band concert I attended, the band encountered some technical troubles with a guitar amplifier during one of their more popular songs. When the crowd let out a disappointed 'Awww!', Good proceeded to reassure them that the problem would be fixed, and that these sorts of troubles happened from time to time. He then launched into a discussion of the amp in question, explaining where it had been in his travels, and concluded by getting the audience to encouragingly chant the name of the technician who had been repairing it the whole time. The two Emm Gryner shows I attended also featured some interaction between artist and audience. Fans would frequently shout praises to her, and she always acknowledged them. At one show, she asked the audience to pick one of two songs for her to play next. Certainly, one can experience these sorts of events at music concerts all over the world, and therefore the concert experience in itself is not exclusive to Canada. What makes this notable.

however, is that Canadian audiences are offered far more opportunities to share these experiences with Canadian artists, because they tend to tour Canada far more frequently, and play far more Canadian cities than non-Canadian acts. All these factors associated with the live concert make for a stronger relationship between artists and their fans in Canada, thus contributing to a more 'authentic', 'real' experience with Canadian music, which they have experienced live and in person, than with large mainstream international acts whom they may only encounter in prerecorded form, or in video form on television.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence in the case for the role played by authenticity in the formation of Canadian musical identities came from people's attempts to define the Canadian musical sound. There was, indeed, a wide variety of responses I received to the question of whether one can actually define what Canadian music is. The general consensus in the literature (Berland 1998; Robbins 1994) tends to be that there is no such thing as a singular definition of Canadian popular music, but what is most important here is not so much whether one can validate the interviewees' views with regard to the differences between Canadian and non-Canadian music, but rather what the discourses the respondents employ seem to say about these people's senses of Canadian identity. The thread of a discourse of authenticity and anti-commercialism runs through most of the characteristics cited in the interviews. The most obvious examples include describing Canadian music as more 'socially conscious' in terms of lyrical content, less electronically processed and more 'stripped-down'. However, authenticity also resonates in less direct ways, for example, when associating certain genres of music such as folk, rock and traditional regional musics with Canada, and when referring to more honest, passionate delivery of the music. Heterogeneity, seen in people's discussions of diversity

in the music, and willingness to experiment also stand in opposition to the 'homogeneous, commercial' mainstream as less commercial, and more authentic. Interestingly, little mention was made of Canadian musical acts that did not meet any 'authentic' criteria, despite the obvious presence of contemporary artists who would easily fit into the more international explosion of 'pop' music in the industry. This suggests that, in the context of the formation of a sense of Canadian national identity through music, there can be a noticeable difference between discourse and constructed reality. This difference may again highlight the role of an individual perspective in the construction of identities.

According to Shuker (1994:60-2) the cultural imperialism thesis, which refers to the infiltration of local cultures by mainstream Western (particularly U.S.) culture, tends to attach more authenticity to local artists. Given that many interviewees raised concerns related to cultural imperialism, it makes sense that they would employ a discourse of authenticity to distinguish Canadian music from others, particularly music from the United States. This brings the analysis to the other component of Canadian music and national identity: processes of othering.

This thesis has established the way that people use outside groups to help form and make sense of their own identities. Many people I spoke to felt it was important to separate Canadian music and culture from that of other countries, particularly the United States. One respondent, for example, asserted, 'I don't want to be an American!' The arts, particularly music, had for them the potential to distinguish Canada from other countries. For some of the respondents, describing Canadian music meant attributing the aforementioned 'authentic' characteristics to the music while describing American music

as 'overprocessed', thus creating an opposition. When respondents attributed their sense of affiliation towards Canadian artists to potential shared experiences, they were engaging in 'othering'. They were suggesting that they might have more in common with fellow Canadians, implying that non-Canadians *have not* experienced the same things. An obvious example would be the young man who talked about the song written for David Milgaard. In stating that only Canadians know about and were affected by that murder case, he was creating an important distinction. Finally, the discourse that was vehemently opposed to international, particularly U.S. success for Canadian artists, reflects processes of othering as well. The use of the term 'sellout' may again reflect notions of cultural imperialism which place local music in opposition to the U.S.-dominated popular mainstream in a dichotomy of the authentic versus the inauthentic or commercial. Artists who come from the 'authentic' musical environment of Canada may be seen as 'going to the dark side' by seeking success in the 'inauthentic, commercial' United States. Certainly, Canada has succeeded to an extent in creating some sense of insularity in music. Through the CRTC's regulations, Canadians are exposed to many musical acts that they would likely never hear of in the United States, and many more Canadian musicians are available in a live concert setting than non-Canadian artists. As a result, the Canadian musical experience is somewhat distinct from that of the United States, and when Canadian artists become popular elsewhere, that sense of distinctness is threatened.

While there was plenty of evidence of the use of this discourse of 'othering' in its more traditional form, that is to say, using 'what we are not' to better understand 'what we are', the 'other' was also employed in a different manner in a number of interviews.

Interviewees also attributed value to recognition of Canadian music by other countries. For some the international, particularly U.S., success of Canadian musical artists was helping to make Canada a stronger cultural presence in the world. Increased success of Canadian music in a broader market represented for these respondents the potential for more awareness of what Canada is like, and what the country has to offer the world. They saw this as being of some benefit to Canada's cultural identity, even though there is little reason to believe that it actually would be. What can be observed here, therefore, is some contradiction in Canadians' attitude towards the 'other'. On the one hand, Canadians do not want to be Americans; there is a desire to be somewhat detached from the cultural influence of the United States, and when Canadian musical artists become successful in the United States, that detachment is more difficult to maintain. On the other hand, American success and recognition for Canadian artists is for some a means of validating Canadian culture. This contradiction may simply be symptomatic of a country which is less powerful, or for whatever reason has a sense of identity that is still very problematic. The difficulty in defining what it is to be Canadian translates into a difficulty in summing up the role that other countries, be they the United States or any other, play in the nation's identity.

As a final point, it is compelling to note that while the processes behind the formation of national identities as mediated through Canadian music are characterized by elements of both authenticity or anti-commercialism and othering, both of those elements are, in turn, not completely homogeneous. Authenticity in Canadian music is revealed in both the reality of the live concert experience and the discourses offered up in respondents' attempts to define the English-Canadian sound. Othering emerged both in

people's discursive constructions of the role of other countries in defining Canadian identities, as well as the very real element of their shared experiences with artists from this country. It is evident, therefore, that these two components of Canadian identities are based partly in constructed reality and partly in discourse. From that, one can conclude that these results support the idea, as discussed in the chapter on nationalism, that both lived experience and discourse are important components to the constitution of identities, national or otherwise.

Directions for Further Research

The aim of this thesis was to help explain what role Canadian music plays in the formation of individual national identities. While this research has uncovered some ideas as to how these processes of national identity formation function in the context of music, the study was still exploratory in nature. Because this thesis was conducted with a relatively small sample, the issues raised and the analyses that have resulted would benefit from interviews with a larger, more representative group. The views of more listeners and more musicians would broaden and enrich the analyses made in this thesis. Also, however, this thesis raises a number of questions that would benefit from separate research projects in the future. The final section of this project addresses these matters.

Because of the frequency with which live concerts were mentioned during the course of the interviews, it seems relevant to explore Canadian music concerts in particular. How, exactly, do individuals in Canada experience live concerts? In addition to investigating the question of whether Canadian concert experiences differ from those of other nations, an interesting point of comparison might be to explore possible differences from region to region in Canada, differences by genre, or the type of concert

(local club settings, large festival settings, for example). Putting these issues into a broader context, further research might provide insight into what it is about live music to which so many people assign value. An ethnographic study of this phenomenon might provide some interesting perspectives.

This project focused primarily on only two main genres of Canadian popular music. To obtain a fuller picture of the Canadian musical landscape and how it relates to national identities, it will be necessary to explore different styles of music, and open up the analysis to less-attended-to genres. Urban music, country music, and all other genres are each bound up with their own issues of identity, and while it would be informative to research each of these genres separately, particularly valuable results might come from comparisons across genres. What sorts of issues are relevant to all genres, and which are exclusive to only some or one?

While this thesis investigated the concept of national identities, there are clearly other elements to individual identities which may be of equal, if not more, relevance. Further research might do well to explore how different levels of identity interact in the process of listening to music. For example, does listening to certain Canadian artists connect more with an individual's senses of national identity, or more with identities as mediated by ethnicity, class, or gender? As was discussed in the chapter on nations and national identity, identities are fragmented and multiple, and as such, research into these different dimensions of identity may provide a clearer picture of the dialogue between music and identity.

Another idea that was introduced but not fully explored in this thesis was the role of popular media in discourses of Canadian national identities and music. While Chapter

Four briefly discussed the role of such media as Muchmusic and Chart Magazine in the construction of such discourses, it would be useful to investigate this more thoroughly and perhaps relate it to the reflections of the listeners, in order to see what influence Canadian media has on the process of identity construction through music.

While it was necessary to briefly review Canada's history of government policy and music in order to contextualize the subject matter of this thesis, little attention was paid to how these results might relate to specific issues of broadcasting and music policy in Canada. Good government policy benefits from the input of regular citizens, and therefore it might be of some use to analyze the issues discussed in this thesis in relation to government policy, and reflect on what they might mean for future policy. How might the audiences' and artists' reflections affect the aims of the CRTC's Canadian Content Regulations, for example? Did this research or future research of its kind uncover any inconsistencies or gaps in current policy?

The purpose of this thesis was to take some initial steps in the exploration of how music helps constitute national identities, and, specifically, what being Canadian means to individuals in the context of contemporary popular music. Immense importance was placed on the opinions of actual individuals, which are key to truly understanding the way social concepts function. If the results of this research are any indication of the feelings of the Canadian public, there is most definitely a genuine concern for national identities on the part of both Canadian musicians and music listeners.

Appendix A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

The following are the schedules of questions asked during the interviews for this thesis. They do not account for variations in delivery and order of questions as influenced by each individual interviews. These schedules were not used in a strict, questionnaire-like manner, but rather worked more as general guidelines for each interview. Although these were the questions that were fundamental to the project, and I made sure that these were all answered in each interview, other questions that arose over the course of each conversation were also asked. In the case where two options are listed for a question (characterized by 'OR'), the second option was employed in interviewing the music class students, whose musical preferences I did not know in advance.

The Listeners

1. So, tell me about how you got into The Matthew Good Band's/ Emm Gryner's music.
OR
Who are some of the Canadian artists you like to listen to?
2. Did you know that they were Canadian when you first started listening to them?
3. If yes, was it a factor in your interest in their music? If no, what was your reaction when you found out they were?
4. How much of a proportion of the music that you listen to would you say Canadian music constitutes?
5. Would you say you actively support Canadian music?
6. How important do you think it is for others to do so?
7. Why is that?
8. Do you think that Canadian music has a distinctive sound?
9. Do you think that it has to, in order to contribute to Canadian culture?
10. Do you consider yourself to be patriotic?
11. If so, how much of a role does listening to Canadian music play in your sense of patriotism?
12. Do you feel like you relate more to Canadian artists? How so?
13. How would you feel about the Matthew Good Band/ Emm Gryner/ other artists becoming very internationally successful?

14. Can you think of any advantages to listening to Canadian music?

15. Do you have any other thoughts about Canadian music you'd like to discuss? Was there anything you think we missed?

The Musicians

1. In what ways do you think your experiences as a Canadian have influenced your music?
2. How important is it for you that you be recognized by the public as a Canadian artist, as opposed to being grouped with artists from other countries?
3. Do you consider yourself to be patriotic?
4. Do you think that you relate differently to your fans from Canada, as opposed to those from other countries?
5. Do you think that Canadian music has a distinctive sound?
6. Do you think that it has to, in order to contribute to Canadian culture?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Benedict (1983). Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin And Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.
- Appadurai, Arjun (1996). Modernity at Large. Minneapolis: Minnesota.
- Argyle, Katie (1996). 'Life After Death'. In Rob Shields (ed.), Cultures of Internet: Virtual Spaces, Real Histories, Living Bodies. London: Sage.
- Audley, Paul (1983). Canada's Cultural Industries. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company
- Baym, Nancy K. (1994). Communication, Interpretation, and Relationships: A Study of a Computer-Mediated Fan Community. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- Berland, Jody (1990). 'Free Trade and Canadian Music: Level Playing Field or Scorched Earth?' Cultural Studies, 5 (3): 317-26
- Berland, Jody (1998). 'Locating Listening: Technological Space, Popular Music, and Canadian Meditations'. In Andrew Leyshon, David Matless and George Revill (eds.), The Place of Music. New York: Guilford.
- Bhaba, Homi K. (1990). Nation and Narration. London: Routledge.
- Bidini, Dave (1998). On a Cold Road: Tales of Adventure in Canadian Rock. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart
- Brennan, Timothy (1990). 'The National Longing for Form', in Homi K. Bhaba (ed.), Nation and Narration. London: Routledge.
- Brophy, Aaron (2000). 'The Top 50 Canadian Albums and Songs of All Time'. Chart: 11 (1): 25
- Canadian Heritage (1998). Multicultural Canada: a Demographic Overview.
- Canadian Heritage (2001). What is Multiculturalism? Web document: http://www.pch.gc.ca/multi/what-multi_e.shtml
- Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (1983). To Strengthen the Fabric of Canadian Society: Observations on Canadian Broadcast Policy: Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Communications and Culture.
- Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (1997). Fact Sheet: The MAPL System. Web document: <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/info/Fsht/rle.htm>

- Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (1998). CRTC Changes Regulations for Commercial Radio. Web document:
:<http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/news/releases/1998/r981217e.htm>
- Carney, George O. (1994). The Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Folk and Popular Music. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Cohen, Sara (1991). Rock Culture in Liverpool. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Cohen, Sara (1994). 'Identity, Place and the "Liverpool Sound"'. In Martin Stokes (ed.), Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place. Oxford: Berg
- Cohen, Sara (1998). 'Sounding out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place', in Andrew Leyshon et al (eds.), The Place of Music. New York: Guilford.
- Cushman, Thomas (1995). Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia. Albany: State University of New York.
- Denzin, Norman K. And Lincoln, Yvonna S. (1994). 'Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research', in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Duffett, Mark (1993). The Music Industry and Canadian National Identity, MA Thesis. University of British Columbia.
- Foucault, Michel (1972). The Archaeology of Knowledge. London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, Michel (1980). Power/Knowledge. Brighton: Harvester.
- Frith, Simon (1986). 'Art Versus Technology: The Strange Case of Popular Music'. Media, Culture and Society 8(3): 263-80.
- Frith, Simon (1996). Performing Rights: on the Value of Popular Music. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Gellner, Ernest (1983). Nations and Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Giddens, Anthony (1990). The Consequences of Modernity. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. New York: Oxford University.
- Gracyk, Theodore (1996). Rhythm and Noise: an Aesthetics of Rock. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Grills, Scott (1998). Doing Ethnographic Research: Fieldwork Settings. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Grossberg, Lawrence (1992). We Gotta Get Out of this Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture. New York: Routledge.
- Gubrium, Jaber F. and Holstein, James A. (1997). The New Language of Qualitative Method. New York: Oxford University.
- Hagerman, Brent (2000). 'There's No Place Like Home! Just Ask Stompin' Tom'. The Globe and Mail; October 16, 2000: R1-2
- Hall, Stuart (1992a). 'The Question of Cultural Identity', in Stuart Hall et al (eds.). Modernity and its Futures. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Hall, Stuart (1992b). 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power', in Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (eds.), Formations of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Hall, Stuart (1996). 'Introduction', in Stuart Hall (ed.), Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage
- Hall, Stuart (1996). Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage
- Hall, Stuart et al (1992). Modernity and its Futures. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hall, Stuart and Gieben, Bram (1992). Formations of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Harron, Mary (1988). 'McRock: Pop as Commodity', in Simon Frith (ed.), Facing the Music: Essays on Pop, Rock and Culture. London: Mandarin.
- Held, David (1996). 'The Decline of the Nation State', in G. Eley and R.G. Suny (eds.). Becoming National. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric (1990). Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hughes, Meirion (1989). "'The Duc d'Elgar': Making a Composer Gentleman", in Christopher Norris (ed.), Music and the Politics of Culture. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Jenson Joli (1992). 'Fandom as Pathology: The Consequences of Characterization'. In Lisa A. Lewis (ed.), The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, Steven G. (1997). 'The Internet and Its Social Landscape'. In Steven G. Jones (ed.), Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety. Thousand

- Oaks: Sage.
- Jones, Steven G. (1997). Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Kong, Lily (1995). 'Popular Music in Geographic Analyses'. Progress in Human Geography 19: 183-98.
- Lewis, Lisa A. (1992). The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media. New York: Routledge.
- Leyshon, Andrew et al (1998). The Place of Music. New York: Guilford.
- Lehr, John (1994). "'Texas (When I Die)': National Identity and Images of Place in Canadian Country Music Broadcasts'. In Beverly Diamond and Robert Witmer (eds.), Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Lofland, John, and Lofland, Lyn H. (1984). Analyzing Social Settings. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Longhurst, Brian (1995). Popular Music and Society. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Mann, Chris and Stewart, Fiona (2000). Internet Communication and Qualitative Research: a Handbook for Researching Online. London: Sage.
- McCracken, Grant (1988). The Long Interview. Sage University Paper Series on Qualitative Research Methods, Vol. 13. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- McCrone, David (1998). The Sociology of Nationalism. London: Routledge.
- McLean, Steve (1997). 'Cancon Fight Heats Up'. The Record; 17 (16): 3, 13
- Melhuish, Martin (1993). 'CRTC Modifies Cancon Regs for Songwriters'. The Record : 12 (26): 1-5
- Middleton, Richard (1990). Studying Popular Music. Milton Keynes: Open University.
- Mitchell, Tony (1996). Popular Music and Local Identity. London: Leicester University Press.
- Negus, Keith (1996). Popular Music In Theory. Hanover: Wesleyan University.
- Norris, Christopher (1989). Music and the Politics of Culture. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

- Record, The (1990). 'Cancon reg has industry seeing red'; 23 July 1990
- Record, The (1998). 18 (9): 6
- Renan, Ernest (1990). 'What is a Nation?', in Homi K. Bhaba (ed.), Nation and Narration. London: Routledge.
- Robbins, James (1994). 'What Can We Learn When They Sing, Eh? Ethnomusicology in The American State of Canada'. In Beverly Diamond and Robert Witmer (eds.), Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- RPM (1994). 'Celebrating 30 years of RPM and Cancon'; 59 (6): 5-7
- RPM (1984). 'Cancon Rules Apply to Music Videos'; 40 (4): 2
- Shaffir, William (1998). 'Doing Ethnographic Research in Jewish Orthodox Communities: the Neglected Role of Sociability', in Scott Grills (ed.), Doing Ethnographic Research: Fieldwork Settings. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Shuker, Roy (1994). Understanding Popular Music. New York: Routledge.
- Spector, Malcolm (1980). 'Learning to Study Public Figures', in William B. Shaffir, Robert A. Stebbins and Allan Turowetz (eds.), Fieldwork Experience: Qualitative Approaches to Social Research. New York: St. Martin's.
- Statistics Canada (2000). 'Plugging in: Household Internet use'. Online: <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/001204/d001204a.htm>
- Stokes, Martin (1994). Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place. Oxford: Berg.
- Straw, Will (1993). 'The English-Canadian Recording Industry Since 1970', in Tony Bennett et al (eds.), Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies and Institutions. London: Routledge.
- Straw, Will et al (1995). Popular Music: Style and Identity. Montreal: Dufferin.
- Street, John (1995). '(Dis)located? Rhetoric, Politics, Meaning and the Locality'. In Will Straw et al. (eds.), Popular Music: Style and Identity. Montreal: Dufferin.
- Thornton, Sara (1995). Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital. London: Polity.
- Tsang (2000). In Thomas Swiss and Andrew Herman (eds.), The World Wide Web and

Contemporary Cultural Theory. New York: Routledge

Turner, Graeme (1994). Making it National: Nationalism and Australian Popular Culture. St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Watson, Nessim (1997). 'Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.net Fan Community'. In Steven G. Jones, (ed.), Virtual Culture: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Weinstein, Deena (1991). Heavy Metal: A Cultural Sociology. New York: Lexington.

Wright, Robert (1988). "'Dream, Comfort, Memory, Despair': Canadian Popular Musicians and the Dilemma of Nationalism, 1968-1972". Journal of Canadian Studies, 22 (4): 27-42

Wright, Robert (1990). "'Gimme Shelter': Observations on Cultural Protectionism and The Recording Industry in Canada". Cultural Studies, 5 (3): 306-16