

POLICY FOR CULTURE'S SAKE?  
CULTURAL THEORY, POPULAR MUSIC,  
AND THE CANADIAN STATE

by

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Policy for Culture's Sake? Cultural Theory, Popular Music, and the Canadian State

Dissertation directed by Professor Andrew Calabrese

At the conclusion of his seminal essay, "Culture is Ordinary," cultural theorist Raymond Williams intones that "the ordinary people should govern; that culture and education are ordinary; that there are no masses to save, to capture, or to direct."

Williams's passage captures the heart of his intellectual project and the central conflict in the development of cultural policy: the hierarchical separation of culture seen as a "whole way of life" and as "arts and learning." Within cultural policy, this split is constructed at times as the democratization of culture (culture as civilizing) or cultural democracy (better access to the means of cultural production and distribution).

This dissertation addresses these tensions by undertaking a case study of Canadian cultural policy in its support of the country's independent popular music industry. Due in part to Canada's geography and demographics, the country has developed a rich history of cultural policy that captures the historical tensions in understanding culture by attempting to adequately support both "serious" music and "music of a light or popular nature."

Moving beyond policy review, this study explores the impact of government-supported popular music subventions on the ground through interviews with policymakers, music industry personnel, and popular music artists.

The results demonstrate the continual need of the state to redefine and reimagine the underlying intent of its policy interventions. Distinguishing an act of policy as either "cultural" or "industrial" fails to reveal how state political choices in matters of culture and democracy come to shape and inform their intrinsic value.

For all those who choose to dedicate their lives to creating our songs. In the words of ABBA,  
“Thank You for the Music.”

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### Politics and Popular Music

Martin Cloonan (2007) begins his book, *Popular Music and the State in the UK*, with the sentence, “This book is about politics and popular music” (p. 1). I cite Cloonan here because reflectively I also would also like to matter-of-factly remark at the outset that this dissertation is plainly about politics and popular music. In fact, such a straightforward framing might be a wiser reply to friends, family, and the unduly curious. It limits the explanative talking points and keeps expectations to a minimum. However, it obscures the fact that this dissertation primarily makes use of politics and popular music as a convergent site of discourse for the political means with which governments endeavor to shape their cultural and economic affairs. Cultural policy, both as a field of inquiry (cultural policy studies) and a field of practice (cultural management and the arts), represents a collision between less germane theoretical pronouncements and more pragmatic policy initiatives. It is that collision, between the theoretical and pragmatic, that most draws me to the study of cultural policy. In addressing the direct relationship between “culture” and “policy,” significant issues relevant to examinations of media and government must be addressed including, but not limited to, the cultural industries, national identity, place, globalization, democracy, the public sphere, and the arts. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, I argue for a progressive cultural policy framework driven to eclipse technocratic and reformist iterations subsumed with bureaucratic efficiency. It is only through such a conceptualization of cultural policy that a vibrant cultural democracy can be imagined, enabling

better access to the means of cultural production and distribution, while correspondingly enriching cultural citizenship.

To understand and frame the concept of culture in this analysis, beyond recognizing the development of the cultural turn in the humanities and social sciences, it is significant to recognize its inextricable link to communications and media. Michael Denning (2004) argues that “communications” represents the most pervasive and common study of contemporary culture due to the new autonomous social reality of “the culture industries, the mass media, [and] mass communications” (p. 4). Political theorist John Keane (2009) situates the communication industries, specifically as they relate to technological advances, to be at the heart of what he labels monitory democracy—signifying a normative shift in democratic culture. Arising following World War II, monitory democracy represents “a new historical form of democracy,” in which “the language, ideals, and institutions of democracy” become widely familiar to most of the earth’s population (pp. 676, 688). Keane argues, “no account of monitory democracy would be credible without taking into consideration the way that power and conflict are shaped by new media institutions...a new galaxy of media defined by the ethos of communicative abundance” (p. 737). One way to conceive of and understand these contemporary changes in culture is through developing a cultural theory based upon a “discovery of patterns,” an idea argued by Raymond Williams (1961) in *The Long Revolution*:

I would then define the theory of culture as the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life. The analysis of culture is the attempt to discover the nature of the organization which is the complex of these relationships. Analysis of particular works or institutions is, in this context, analysis of their essential kind of organization, the

relationships which works or institutions embody as parts of the organization as a whole.

A key-word, in such analysis, is pattern: it is with the discovery of patterns of a characteristic kind that any useful cultural analysis begins...(p. 63).

Alan Stanbridge (2002) critiques the relationship between cultural policy and cultural theory by identifying three key themes: “[1] the rise of the economic perspective on art and culture; [2] the persistence of paternalist views on cultural policy; [3] and the continuing uneasiness of the relationship between ‘high art’ and ‘popular culture.’” (p. 122). A supplement to these key themes would also include the relationship of cultural policy to the rise and relative fall of the welfare state. State cultural policies in Western democracies (there are a range of cultural policies based upon different political systems) have principally been born out of an understanding and conceptualization of the social welfare state (see Zimmer & Toepler, 1996). These closely related themes of cultural policy and cultural theory are particularly acute in addressing cultural policy vis-à-vis the cultural industries, and more specifically in this case, popular music. If an underlying goal in the work of Williams and the ensuing development of British cultural studies was to recognize an expansion of culture in the twentieth century, beyond that of elite and official culture, it would be easy to conclude from examining the majority of cultural policies that British cultural studies never succeeded. Paternalist views of what should constitute culture are especially virulent toward public funding of popular music, which is one reason the preponderance of cultural policies addressing music continue to strictly be concerned with the funding of classical and traditional music. In these respects, culture is conceived and understood as a source of power (see Mitchell, 2000). As Dick Stanley (2005) further argues with respect to culture and power, “...culture is not just about artistic creation and performance,

or about museums and art galleries, it is also about what we believe are proper actions and choices” (p. 21). One of the most well-known examples of a narrow paternalist view toward what should constitute music of cultural value is Charles De Gaulle’s often paraphrased remark that rock fans appear to have so much energy they should be put to doing something more productive like building roads (Hoffman & Leduc, 1978, p. 39; as cited in Loosley, 2003). De Gaulle’s attitude toward commercial, popular music, implicit in his characterization of its fans, is all too typical, especially in the majority of cultural policy circles that question the necessity of supporting popular music that is understood and constructed primarily as a commercial enterprise.

Popular music is defined by its economic basis, with the primary characterization often distinguishing between major and independent labels. Major labels are seen rather crudely as being concerned to a fault with commercial success. Thus, major labels are seen to embody the underlying motive that connects the popular music industry writ large: profit-making. By contrast, independent labels are often set apart from that which they are inextricably bound, as demonstrated by Ricardo Baca (2009), popular music critic for *The Denver Post*, who argues that indie rock “emphasizes individual musical passion over commercial viability” (p. E2). Not all musicians or critics agree on such a clear delineation. Political rapper Boots Riley (2003) puts it bluntly: “I’ve recorded for major and independent labels, indies are just little capitalists that just want to get big, they’re not any better than the major labels, they just have less money” (Media Reform Conference). The extent to which either argument is accurate varies widely on a case-by-case (or artist-by-artist) basis, but it is unmistakably true that both major and independent popular music labels operate within a capitalist market—raising the specter of paternalist cultural

policy conceptions that would challenge market forces. Whether it is Stuart Cunningham's (1992) notion of the "cultural mandate" or Toby Miller & George Yúdice's (2002) idea of "ethical incompleteness," there is undoubtedly administration found in most models of cultural policy. In the opening remarks of his essay "Culture and Administration," Frankfurt School theorist Theodor Adorno (2001) staunchly addresses the paternalist aspect of culture through an administrative lens:

Whoever speaks of culture speaks of administration as well, whether this is his intention or not. The combination of so many things lacking a common denominator—such as philosophy and religion, science and art, forms of conduct and mores—and finally the inclusion of the objective spirit of an age in the single word 'culture' betrays from the outset the administrative view, the task of which, looking down from on high, is to assemble, distribute, evaluate and organize (p. 107).<sup>1</sup>

Popular music, perhaps more than any other form of mass communication, also captures the contentious relationship between popular culture and "high art." Beginning with Adorno's (1936) prominent essay, "On Jazz," in which jazz is understood as synonymous with popular music, to contemporary criticisms, the value of popular forms of music continue to be questioned in comparison to classical and traditional musical forms.

In this introductory chapter, in addition to defining key terms, the field of cultural policy studies will be briefly illuminated and positioned in relation to the case study undertaken on cultural policies addressing the Canadian independent music industry. When I have meandered too deeply in answering the questions of others concerning my dissertation topic, I have often

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<sup>1</sup>Adorno's argument is later extended and framed as a core, constitutive aspect in the definition of culture by Tony Bennett in his explicit use of Michele Foucault's idea of governmentality, which is a common point of contention in any explication of cultural policy.

attempted to reconcile my own deeply felt commitment to addressing practical, real world conditions in which we all live and the quagmire of theoretical arguments for how that world should be governed, or put more pessimistically, structured. It is in where these two paths, the practical and theoretical, converge that scholarship is most needed and popular music and cultural policy is one such critical juncture.

*Subsidizing the Cultural Industries: From Hollywood to Halifax*

“[Cultural industries] operate within a for-profit framework, whereas most performing arts, and heritage organizations tend to operate within a not-for-profit framework.”

(Standing Committee, 1999, Chapter 4, npn)

During the first half of my doctoral program I took a graduate course on media and cultural policy in which the class read Tyler Cowen’s (2002) love letter to globalization, *Creative Destruction: How Globalization Is Changing the World's Cultures*. Cowen, an economist at George Mason University, an institution well-known for its public utilitarian approach to economics, argues that globalization has always served as a successive catalyst for creative developments through cultural exchange. While it is easy to take issue with many aspects of Cowen’s reasoning or lack thereof, one notable remark he makes on the public funding of culture struck a lasting chord toward shaping my research project: “Subsidies encourage producers to service domestic demand and the wishes of politicians and cinematic bureaucrats, rather than produce movies for international export” (p. 81). Cowen is hardly alone in making such pronouncements of the negative role subsidies play in the cultural industries; he is unique in supporting such a position while simultaneously arguing for the critical significance of heterogeneous cultural traditions to spurring creativity. In addition to his right-wing economic



views, Cowen is a well-established blogger known for his *Ethnic Dining Guide* to the Washington, D.C. metro area, which proudly features the motto that “All food is ethnic food.” In his celebration of divergent cultural traditions, it would undoubtedly appear that Cowen supports the notion that culture and creativity extend beyond an economic totality, yet he concomitantly believes that an untouched, laissez-faire market is most proficient at bringing about the best heterogeneous aspects of global culture—a notion fundamentally at odds with the logic and reasoning behind the vast majority of cultural policy frameworks.

My initial reaction and disagreement with Cowen’s statement was, at the time, almost singularly prompted by the Canadian independent music industry, although there are many contemporary examples of subsidized cultural industries that have succeeded in the international market. The film musical *Once* (2006), funded through the Irish Film Board, grossed over \$10 million at the U.S. box office (Kearns, 2008) and its two stars and principal songwriters, Glen Hansard and Marketa Irglova, each captured Academy Awards in 2008 for “Best Original Song” for the film’s centerpiece song, “Falling Slowly.” The film *Valkyrie* (2008), produced by and starring Tom Cruise, received \$7 million from the German government. Moreover, even films that have not received direct government funding, such as *The Lord of the Rings* series, have often benefited from highly generous tax breaks. Film incentives in the form of tax breaks have become increasingly common in the United States. The film *Public Enemies* (2009), directed by Michael Mann and starring Johnny Depp, received \$4.6 million in tax breaks from Wisconsin to film exclusively in the state (Dudek, 2009). In 2008, Michigan passed an ambitious 16-bill bipartisan film incentives program offering a 40 percent refundable tax credit—the highest in the nation—and doubling its previous film incentive program passed late during its 2006 legislative

session (Eggert, 2008; Muttalib, 2008). The new program has succeeded in bringing increased film production to the economically struggling state, with over 70 projects totaling more than \$164.4 million in tax credits in its first ten months (Behnan, 2009). Whether Michigan has struck the right balance between its generous tax credits, compared to less openhanded programs in such states as Idaho, Connecticut, Louisiana, and Florida, and the increased economic activity that accompanies film production remains to be seen (Behnan).

Since its early beginnings, the Canadian music industry has relied on federal and provincial cultural policies to develop a framework of regulatory and financial support. The critical and commercial success of its independent music scene during the 2000s, especially internationally, represents a reality fundamentally at odds with arguments by Cowen (2002) and others that subsidized cultural industries produce insular art, less successful in global markets. There have also been assertions that subsidized culture will not be supported domestically by consumers. Christopher Maule (2003) argues that “Canadian consumers often choose not to watch the content that is the result of subsidies and tax incentives, especially Canadian films and television programs” (p. 122). Such sentiment was common at one time, including with Canadian music, but has fallen away as Canadian cultural industries have matured. The global media attention paid in the last several years to Canadian independent music reflects both its widespread critical acclaim and relative commercial success. Montreal’s newspaper, *The Gazette*, wrote in 2005 of its much talked about music scene: “This year in music in Montreal was all about – Montreal. This was the year our city went from being a perennial best-kept secret to indie music mecca, with all the glamour and nauseating hyperbole that implies” (Dunlevy, 2005, p. E1). *The Gazette* was responding to much-discussed stories praising the

Montreal music scene, released throughout 2005, in *Spin*, *The New York Times*, BBC's Radio One, among others. All the media platitudes were not limited to Montreal, as Toronto-based musicians will quickly attest. In February 2006, *The New York Times* magazine published a lengthy article on the Toronto music scene and its most respected independent label, Arts & Crafts, and likened Toronto to Seattle's grunge scene of the early 1990s: "Musically, you could say that Toronto has become a nicer but less aesthetically coherent version of Seattle in the early days of grunge" (Quart, 2006, A Very Crowded House section, para. 4). Much of the over the moon press coverage though has addressed the success of the Canadian independent music scene through broad strokes—capturing the success of artists from throughout Canada. *The Daily Yomiuri* of Tokyo declared, "But for the first time, Canadian bands are leading the way in the independent rock scene" with "uplifting, intricate and intellectual pop music. This is pop at its best, music that is catchy and singable, but also complex and powerful" (Hilson, 2005, p. 13). As recently as 2009, Bob Lefsetz, noted industry commentator and critic, opened one of his *Lefsetz Letter* pieces, "Why does all the good music come from Canada? Used to be we looked across the pond, now if we want to see who's testing the limits, who's satiating us while expanding our horizons, we look up north." While the critical acclaim of the Canadian independent scene has been, according to Sutherland and Straw (2007), "without precedent" its overall sales traction falls well below its mainstream successes, especially in its largest international export market, the United States. In 2005, the top-selling Canadian acts of the year, with each completing the year with an album on the *Billboard Top 100*, included mainstream artists Shania Twain, Simple Plan, Nickelback, and Avril Lavigne.

Not only have Canadian artists attained immense success at home and abroad, but they have done so while steadfastly maintaining their identities as Canadian bands and musicians, a point not lost on writers and historians of Canadian music. Michael Barclay, co-author of *Have Not Been the Same: The CanRock Renaissance 1985-1995*, the first book-length history on the emergence of Canadian rock, remarked of the Canadian scene and its collective approach, “It’s textbook Canadian identity politics—the expression of individual will through community” (as cited in Quart, 2006, Why Labels Do Matter section, para. 9). In 2006, an in-depth news report on National Public Radio (NPR) in the United States opined of the relationship between hip Canadian acts, who often share a strong sense of co-operative values, and governmental support:

Last year the Canadian government invested nearly \$14 million in the rock music industry, with 40 percent of the funding going to French-language music. The rest is allotted for music produced in other languages, including English. Arcade Fire, The New Pornographers, Feist, Metric and Broken Social Scene are all bands that did well commercially at home and abroad in the past year. All received some form of grant or loan from the Canadian government. Government funding of rock music may be anathema to U.S. listeners, but there is something else that sets the Canadian music scene apart. Musicians seem to have a different attitude toward competition. They’re not really into it.” (Ebeid, 2006).

Broken Social Scene, The Constantines, Woodpigeon, and Godspeed You! Black Emperor are four noteworthy bands known either for their unusually large lineups or collective sharing of songwriting royalties (Ladouceur, 2004). The collective approach of bands within Canadian independent music is often a direct outgrowth of their

respective record labels. The Constantines formed in Guelph, Ontario, in 1999 as part of the Three Gut Records family, an indie label that developed in a shared housing complex and carried over many of its housing practices to running a record label. Kevin Drew, co-founder of Toronto-based Broken Social Scene, helped found the Arts & Crafts record label with former EMI label employees Jeffery Remedios and Daniel Cutler in 2000. Arts & Crafts' collectivist approach was itself influenced significantly by the Montreal-based label Constellation Records, home of anarchist-influenced group Godspeed You! Black Emperor, founded in 1994. Godspeed You! Black Emperor has at times swelled to as many as fifteen members. Remedios comments on how the name for the record label originated: "I named it Arts & Crafts as I was trying to show that we mixed art and commerce, and that commerce was going to hold up its end of the promise. I had witnessed the machine [while working at EMI], I wanted to rebel well" (as cited in Quart, 2006, All in the Family section, para. 7).

In online music forum discussions, NPR's characterization of such a relationship between government and popular music as "anathema" to American music fans is evident. On the busy Metacritic popular music message boards, one American music listener muses, "how IS it that the Canadian government gives money to rock bands? I mean, I honestly have no clue why they would ("Canadian," 2006)." Nearly on cue, a forum member from Canada retorts, "Because in our country we think it is important to support art, and we consider up and coming musicians and filmmakers etc. to be an important part of Canadian culture" ("Canadian"). The response by the Canadian forum member is representative of many common ideals expressed in Canadian policy

documents on the critical importance of maintaining its national identity through a common culture, especially amid the continued growth of global culture, often dominated by popular culture from the United States. Moreover, the comment demonstrates the importance of such policies within a national Canadian context intertwined with society and politics, extending well beyond Cowen's (2002) limited economic framework of whether such culture, seen purely in the form of commodities, succeeds in the international market. While the case study presented here will highlight the success, economically and otherwise, that the government-subsidized Canadian music industry has had internationally, it is more paramount to recognize the value of culture as a critical, sustentative component of a democratic public sphere grounded in a cultural citizenship framework, which allows the full capacity of citizens to be realized through membership in a community.

### Cultural Policy Studies

Our biggest problem in cultural policy is not...lack of resources, lack of will, lack of commitment or even lack of policy co-ordination to date. It is, rather, a misconstrual or only partial formulation and recognition of the policy object itself: culture. (Colin Mercer, as cited in de Cuellar, 1996, p. 40)

The academic field of cultural policy studies constitutes longstanding issues inherent in the expansion and commodification of culture in the twentieth century and its subsequent institutional relationships. Drawing on a range of assorted scholarly disciplines and research traditions, the field has only recently begun to reflect any measure of coalescence. This

coalescence is minimal though, seen in conferences and journals, such as the biennial International Conference on Cultural Policy Research and its sponsoring journal, the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. In a review of two books from different sides of the field's primary division, "The Torn Halves of Cultural Policy Research," Oliver Bennett (2004), director of the Centre for Cultural Policy at Warwick University, reflects on this essential split:

In these two volumes, the reader will encounter two very different worlds, both, in effect, staking claims to the ownership of cultural policy research, yet each largely oblivious to the preoccupations of the other. At the same time, in attempting to define the field in this way, these books to some extent become emblematic of it (p. 237).

The divide, much as in other fields drawing concurrently from the social sciences and humanities, can be characterized by a range of dichotomous approaches and concepts: critical/administrative, qualitative/quantitative, popular/elite culture, and idealism/positivism. These divisions characteristically represent rudimentary generalizations, but they also demonstrate a deep-seated partition: the field ranges from a reformist project of creating alternatives to uncritical statistical reporting of cultural indicators. As Miller & Yúdice (2002) argue, "In general, the social sciences side to the analysis of culture holds onto value-free shibboleths and has not affiliated with progressive social change" (p. 29). Oliver Bennett's assertion that these "torn halves" are relatively unaware of the other's concerns is somewhat true, but the remark mostly obscures the primary issue of mutual respect. After all, there are forums in which each side is brought together; the failure of each side to fully legitimize the other is more than any other issue, indicative of their contrasting epistemological viewpoints. Such a distinct split within cultural policy research has helped bring about a move toward indicating a

*critical* cultural policy studies, notably in work that has developed from scholars within cultural studies in Australia and Great Britain, and most recently articulated by Justin Lewis and Toby Miller (2003). This relation of cultural policy to cultural theory, and particularly cultural studies, will be further examined later in this analysis.

The approach undertaken here will draw on the perceived more critical half: an attempt at institutionalizing a field of cultural policy studies within departments of mass communication, cultural studies, media studies, and sociology. While this institutionalization is itself divided along differences of methods and research agendas, it recognizes culture, seen typically as the popular, vis-à-vis the constraints of the market. In the same respect, it is less concerned with traditional notions of cultural policy as the administration of elite culture, i.e. art sectors envisioned as beyond traditional notions of commodification and somehow less impacted than market-produced culture. This half of the field is also linked with cultural theory, which during the twentieth century ignited a “radical re-evaluation of traditional cultural hierarchies and the critical interrogation of universalising modes of thought” (Stanbridge, 2002, p. 121).

Interestingly enough, the term arts policy has likewise become increasingly institutionalized in the academy, cognizant of the expansive concept of culture in a growing majority of “cultural” policy perspectives. These developments in the field demonstrate, put bluntly, that the boundaries of cultural policy are ultimately determined by how one defines culture. My analysis will provide an overview, critical examination, and reevaluation of cultural policy studies, by exploring its relationship to cultural theory and looking at examples of cultural policy in connection with the popular music industry. As the field is situated on theoretical and historical



grounds, it is argued there are fundamental deficits in how it has been positioned and conceived theoretically, particularly in the highly influential work of Tony Bennett.

The recognition of and understanding of the cultural industries is vital within the development of policies intended to address culture in the age of capital. Cultural policy is brought to bear on a wide range of activities involved in cultural production, including media, education, science, the arts, and religion. As Paul DiMaggio (1983) remarks, “Cultural policies influence the television programming we see, the artistic styles and scientific methodologies that are supported, distributed, and esteemed, the ideas and values that our children learn in school, and even, on occasion, the market positions of divergent religious doctrines” (p. 242). Discourses such as education, customs, and religion operate at a national level to maintain idealized norms of cultural citizenship, in alignment with comparable forms of economic and political citizenship (Miller & Yúdice, 2002, p. 25). Implicit within an analysis of culture built on the concept of the cultural industries is the centrality of the “dominant market sector” (Garnham, 1990, p. 155).

It [cultural industries] sees culture, defined as the production and circulation of symbolic meaning, as a material process of production and exchange, part of, and in significant ways determined by, the wider economic processes of society with which it shares many common features. Thus, as a descriptive term, ‘cultural industries’ refers to those institutions in our society which employ the characteristic modes of production and organization of industrial corporations to produce and disseminate symbols in the form of cultural goods and services, generally, although not exclusively, as commodities” (pp. 155-156).

Drawing from this definition of the cultural industries, cultural policy can succinctly be identified as “public processes involved in formulating, implementing, reviewing and contesting government intervention in, and support of, cultural industries (Cunningham, 1992, p. 4). Although this definition is functional in its recognition of cultural policy’s often contradictory aims, it can be clarified by recognizing government policymaking as only part of a larger policy structure (p. 23). Cultural policy can also be defined as the institutionalization of a cultural politics. Therefore, drawing upon Harold Laswell’s well-known definition of politics, it is the “who gets what, when, how” in cultural matters (Laswell, 1990/1936). Cultural policy can thus include policies implemented in the private sector, e.g. by trade associations, film studios, recording labels, and media conglomerates. Such policies at the industry level are also often done in conjunction with government oversight. Moreover, federal policies may often require grounding in a framework that recognizes sub-national policies at the state, regional, and local level (see Schuster, 2002). Such is especially the case in the United States, in which the official government line (or cultural policy) of the federal government is that there is no cultural policy. However, it is important to note that Tony Bennett (1998) points out that the Thomas Streeter (1996), in his study of the cultural role in the creation of U.S. commercial broadcasting, argues that law is the preferable term in his opinion, and for the American context, since Australian cultural policy studies school became so technocratic (p. 7). Therefore, in the American context, it is more often media law that explicitly addresses the concerns of cultural policy.

David Hesmondhalgh (2002) in his book-length explication of the cultural industries notes a division between core and peripheral: the core “deal with the industrial production and circulation of texts,” while the peripheral division is distinguishable by semi-industrial or non-

industrial methods of reproduction, i.e. theatre and art” (p. 12). While this division appears perfectly logical when citing theatre and art as examples of the non-industrial sector, the divide is actually more capricious. Capricious strictly in technical and audience terms, but less when conceptualized along traditional hierarchies of culture—official, high or elite, mass, and popular (LaCapra, 1988, p. 379). Furthermore, it is a split highly correlated with an administrative divide carrying with it significant cultural policy ramifications. Governments generally divide policy provisions between two distinguishable approaches: inputs and outputs. Inputs are subsidies of cultural production; whereas, outputs are regulatory, serving to encourage and manage distribution and exhibition functions (see Cunningham, 1992). The decision of whether to institute input or output policy provisions is typically not related to implicit policy concerns, but rather the nature of the media being examined. For example, industries perceived to be more creative and artisanal are typically addressed through an input approach. The purest form of input policies is seen in the arts sector. On the other hand, media seen as more industrial in nature are treated through output approaches. Cunningham (1992) contrasts the Australian policy perspectives related to the television and film industries, two industries he sees as exceptionally similar in their technological forms of production and in audience perceptions. Despite their likeness, the Australian government has always treated film as being a creative industry to be subsidized, and not regulated in any substantial fashion. By contrast, any discussion of subsidizing television is dismissed out of hand in favor of regulation. Gillian Appleton reflects on how this administrative divide has created uneven policy considerations in Australia:

In fact, and especially at the most basic level of audience perceptions, television is much more like film than it is like radio. This has gradually been recognized in Australia as the independent production industry has grown and its close economic and structural relationship to television has become apparent. The convergence of film and video technologies has also been influential. Given the prevailing perspective on the relationship between radio, television and film, it is hardly surprising that successive governments continued to compartmentalize them. As a result, at least until quite recently, the tendency has been to see radio and television in technological and economic terms, and film, along with other forms of creative activity—‘the arts’—in cultural terms. Each area has been dealt with by means of different legislation and separate administrative, regulatory and funding agencies ... often within different portfolios. (as cited in Cunningham, 2002, p. 23-24).

This administrative divide is resoundingly clear in the national and sub-national cultural policies of the United States over the last two decades, in which only perceived artisanal cultural industries are remotely considered for subsidization, and those seen as more industrial types of media are regulated (or at least were at one point). So, in the U.S. context there is “media policy,” i.e. television, radio, and popular music; and there is “cultural policy,” enacted through the National Endowment of the Arts and state policy boards. These “cultural” policy provisions support symphony orchestras, opera performances, and possibly documentary filmmaking deemed artistic or creative.

*Cultural Policy/Cultural Studies*

Much like the public feuding between scholars in political economy and cultural studies, the 1990s have seen similar arguments about the relationship of cultural policy to cultural studies. The most loudly heard voice in this debate has been Tony Bennett, who has taken his show on the road from his home country of Australia to the recognized second home of institutional British cultural studies, Open University, imploring its scholars to get with it and integrate the “pragmatism” of cultural policy (T. Bennett, 1998). Bennett has certainly not been alone in his efforts to “policize” cultural studies, but he has been far and away its staunchest advocate. Another example is seen in Angela McRobbie (1996), who labels cultural policy “the missing agenda” of cultural studies (p. 335). The need of a place for policy within the wide spectrum of cultural studies perspectives is incontestable, yet policy has *always* been an intimate part of cultural theory and likewise of many cultural studies scholars, despite this popularized notion in the mid-1990s that it was something that must now begin to be incorporated. Three of the most significant figures in the global development of cultural studies—Raymond Williams in Britain, James Carey in the United States, and Donald Horne in Australia—have placed culture at the heart of economic, technological, and policy issues (Cunningham, 1992, p. 4). Horne argues such issues “inevitably also become...cultural policy” (as cited in Cunningham, p. 5). The role of Williams (1979/1989a) in advocating for a place for cultural policy is unquestioned throughout countless policy proposals he made during the 1960s including public arguments for socializing the means of communication, and one of his final articles, “Politics and Policies: The Case of the Arts Council.” Williams’s extensive cultural policymaking, along with that of Richard Hoggart, presses Paul Jones (1994) to ask:

But if early cultural studies was then a product of just such strategic disagreements about the politics of cultural policy between renegade escapees from a literary clerisy, why have we been exhorted recently to ‘put policy into cultural studies’ ([T.] Bennett, 1991)? Clearly this policy-deprived cultural studies cannot be that of Williams and Hoggart. Yet in all the versions of this call so far produced, Williams, or rather ‘Raymond Hoggart’, is a principal point of reference against which this supposedly new direction for the field has been defined. However, even in these critical distancings the policy work of ‘Raymond Hoggart’ has received no mention (pp. 405-406).

Bennett’s call to arms is undoubtedly a response to widespread perceptions of the “problematic manifestations of cultural studies—whether reductively populist or textualist in their emphasis—likely to be of little help to policy makers” (Stanbridge, 2002, p. 127). The ensuing development of the Australian cultural policy studies school from the work of Bennett and others aimed to reconceptualize the relationship between scholars in the humanities and the nation-state (Sterne, 2002). Often called “the cultural policy debates,” this shift toward policy fundamentally pushed the precept that cultural studies should engage with cultural policy and state bureaucracies. This argument that cultural studies should engage with policy was theoretically justified “at both the epistemological and ethical levels,” as Jonathan Sterne (2002) argues, “using Michel Foucault’s writing on governmentality” (p. 60). While Foucault’s writings have proven hugely influential to Bennett’s work and other policy scholars, they have also conceptualized the scholar as a reformist-minded technocrat with no underlying ethical or political motivations beyond self-interest (Sterne). Bennett concedes that questions of culture

and policy are of “an inescapably normative kind” (as cited in Sterne, 2002, p. 64). In *Culture: A Reformer’s Science*, Bennett is even clearer on how the use of governmentality shifts the role of the intellectual:

This, in turn, requires that intellectuals lower the threshold of their political vistas in a manner that will enable them to connect with the debates and practices through which reformist adjustments to the administration of culture are actually brought about...To conjure with such mundane prospects as the end-points of cultural politics is, of course, a long way from some of the better known clarion-calls of cultural studies: the calls to a politics of resistance...” (p. 61).

In simplest terms, Bennett (1998) concludes, “Foucault is better to ‘think with’ than Gramsci” (p. 62). In this frontal assault on Marxist and particularly Gramscian cultural studies, Bennett leaves little room for social justice, much less, idealistic work. This governmentality approach eschews the political struggles possible in the practice of much cultural politics and has correspondingly had a chilling effect on the development of alternative perspectives in cultural policy studies. As Miller (1998) correctly points out, there are several contemporary progressive intellectuals, including media studies critic Douglas Kellner, Ruby Rich at the New York State Council for the Arts, Deborah Zimmerman from Women Make Movies, and Ben Caldwell of the KAOS network who have staunchly maintained their progressive politics and idealism while still making critical contributions to cultural policy studies (pp. 78-79; see Sterne, 2002).

In conservative right politics, starry-eyed determination for social change has had profound and lasting consequences. For example, take the contemporary debate concerning U.S. gun control legislation and the (previously uncontested) meaning of the Second Amendment. In

a speech in 1992, Warren Burger, the conservative former chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court nominated by Richard Nixon, avowed that “the Second Amendment doesn’t guarantee the right to have firearms at all” (as cited in Sunstein, 2012, para. 3). However, the individual rights position, took hold throughout the 1980s and 1990s due to political idealism and policy acumen. With back-to-back Republican administrations between 1980 and 1992, conservatives were able to dramatically alter the landscape of the lower federal courts and the stage was set for the Supreme Court to reverse hundreds of years of precedence and support the individual rights position in a landmark 5-4 decision in 2008 (*District of Columbia v. Heller*). What if conservative intellectuals, who set the stage and pulled back the curtain in creating a seismic shift in policy, had thought to be merely pragmatic and reformist, and not ambitiously idealistic? Along similar lines, Jim McGuigan (1997) points to similar grandiose political designs in the British context, which have had an enduring impact:

In order to discover the sources of an effective and critical praxis, cultural studies must be imaginative, it must propose alternatives, different ways of ordering the social and cultural worlds. And, if this seems unrealistic, one only has to refer back to the unrealism of, say, British right-wing think tanks in the 1970s, who dared to think the unthinkable and had the opportunity to see some of their wildest dreams realized at the cost of great suffering. Cultural studies, then must be less restricted by its own space, recognizing that cognate work is going on in other spaces, aiming to reinvent the future, instead of becoming too bogged down in cataloguing the consuming pleasures of the present or merely assisting the grand pragmatics of bureaucratic and economic power” (p. 153).



As I detail in greater depth in the next section, a theorization of cultural policy studies rooted in Williams's idea of a "cultural revolution," can imaginatively capture motivations working toward social justice, community, and a progressively educated participatory democracy (see Williams, 1966).

Another limitation with Bennett's (1998) Foucauldian formation of cultural policy studies that raises issues to consider is its conception of culture, which Bennett often styles "into a historically specific set of resources for managing conduct..." (p. 11). Bennett (1992) claims that "the field of culture needs to be thought of as constitutively governmental" (p. 32). In an earlier definition, Bennett (1989) defines culture as "the institutions, symbol systems, and forms of regulation and training responsible for forming, maintaining and/or changing the mental and behavioural attributes of populations." (p. 10). There is a limited place for culture outside of administration and government. Stanbridge (2002) encapsulates both Bennett's lack of historical foregrounding with respect to cultural studies, and his theoretical grounding of culture by asserting: "Bennett's proposals not only overlook the extent to which much cultural and social theory—including cultural studies itself—has previously addressed questions of cultural policy, but also offers a view of culture which is necessarily partial and incomplete" (p. 127). Lastly, as others have argued (Bauman, 1992; Kenny and Stevenson, 1998; Sterne, 2002), such cultural policy can reinstitutionalize formal dichotomies between experts and the population at large. Moreover, ethical considerations are difficult in such an approach compared to one based upon substantive, counter-hegemonic cultural and aspirational change. This point is elaborated on by Kenny and Stevenson in rebuking Bennett's Australian cultural policy studies school, "the

danger with this is that cultural policy is removed from the realm of ethical debate, and interpreted according to the criteria favored by efficiency and marketing experts” (p. 264).

### *Popular Music Policy*

State policies addressing popular music developed in time as an outgrowth of cultural policy developments born out of the post-World War II welfare state. The embodiment of the welfare state is represented in the importance placed on the development of public life to support nation-building. In a comparative study of Sweden, Germany, and the United States, Zimmer and Toepler (1996) argue that contemporary cultural policies emerged during the 1960s in parallel with the height of welfare state initiatives. For example, France established a Ministry of Culture in 1959 (see Wangermée, 1991) and sustains a rich foundation of cultural policy to the present (see Looseley, 1995). The United States created the National Endowment of the Arts in 1965; the same year British Prime Minister Harold Wilson appointed the first junior minister for cultural policy (Toepler & Zimmer, 2002, p. 30). Cultural policies proliferated in other social democracies as well, including the Netherlands, Denmark, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. These initiatives reflect the larger goal of redefining the public sphere, as Campbell (1999) reminisces of the United States in the 1960s:

Back then, the progressive liberals among us believed we could shed the homogeneity and separatism of our public life like a useless skin and redefine the idea of a public. Public schools, public parks, public museums, beaches, libraries, universities, housing, water fountains, and lunch counters all over the country would be open to anybody (p. 5).

In addition to its welfare state foundation, the argument for supporting domestic cultural industries developed further as an impetus to respond to global threats to national culture emanating from the specter of multinational conglomerates in the cultural industries. In 1960, Australia's Producers and Directors Guild beseeched the government for public support:

In modern society, a country which does not show it has a culture and mind of its own and does not seek to express its image through films and television is considered to be nationally illiterate. Australia is in that condition and we cannot afford to delay the establishment of a national film industry any longer (as cited in Ward, 2005, p. 55).

The Canadian government is similarly outspoken in asserting that national security is dependent on upholding a certain level of cultural autonomy (see Griffiths, 1996). In 1951, the Massey report, the first Canadian government funded study of development within its cultural sectors concluded: "Our military defenses must be made secure; but our cultural defenses equally demand national attention; the two cannot be separated ("Report of the Royal," 1951, p. 275). Despite such strong cultural policy sentiments, in the early 1980s, Canadian popular music was relatively ignored in relation to other cultural industries and categorized as a "manufacturing industry group," as opposed to "cultural activity" (Audley, 1983, p. 141). Audley's binaries reflect the administrative divide in cultural policy, as popular music was placed under the industrial category of "manufacturing industry group" and left to its own devices. It would not be until 1996, with the publication of *A Time for Action: Report of the Task Force on the Future of the Canadian Music Industry*, that popular music would be recognized for its significance to the cultural industries in Canada. Arguing for an increase in funding to the popular music

industry, the report indicated that seventy percent of Canadian content was being released by financially struggling independent labels.

Popular music presents a noteworthy sphere with which to examine cultural policies due to the continuing turmoil it faces from technological developments. The progression toward an electronic distribution model of the “celestial jukebox,” in which popular music and other audiovisual artifacts can be made instantly available to consumers, continues to weaken the industry’s traditional market-driven funding structures (see Burkart and McCourt, 2006). The “celestial jukebox” is marked by escalating disintermediation, in which artists are increasingly able to distribute their music directly to consumers without the necessity of a record label or other intermediary. Of course, this technological-driven economic phenomenon is not simply limited to popular music or the cultural industries. During the 1990s, the influential concept of the “weightless economy” developed within economics, detailing commodities capable of having “cost-free reproduction,” leading economists to forecast the death of geography across markets (Pratt, 2000, p. 427). In 1989, at the beginning of his influential collection of essays, *Culture as Communication*, James Carey declared that information technologies were “making geography irrelevant” due to their intrinsic ability to transgress the geographic boundaries of economic markets (pp. 2-3). Still earlier, in 1967, Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore prophesied “a new audiovisual age of global *Gemeinschaft*” (Morley, 1991, p. 7). Such concepts addressing a new age of globalization impacting the cultural industries also challenge the implicit framing of place within cultural policies. Amresh Sinha (2002) remarks, “What seems to have vanished from this electric scene of the global village is none other than the locus of the place, the very geography within which a community is normally perceived in its national identity” (p. 181).

Despite this increased potential for a more direct relationship between artists and their audience, the cultural industries remains heavily influenced by American cultural and economic power—a common criticism of globalization on the whole. Stuart Hall (1991) notes, “The new kind of globalization is not English, it is American. In cultural terms, the new kind of globalization has to do with a new form of global mass culture” (p. 27). Apprehension toward the United States and its impact on national cultures remains a common underlying rationale for the continued development of state cultural policies, in spite of an overall weakening of welfare state directives.

Explicit state cultural policies represent only one model of cultural policy in regard to cultural industries and specifically popular music. Moreover, in most of our everyday lives, especially in the United States, explicit state cultural policies are often the least significant. One of the pivotal studies in British cultural policy studies is Geoff Mulgan and Ken Worpole’s *Saturday Night or Sunday Morning? From Arts to Industry—New Forms of Cultural Policy*, which examines both the Greater London Council (traditional arts funding) and the Greater London Enterprise Board (cultural industries). Mulgan and Worpole (1986) ask the question of which cultural policies impact us most—is it those policies being created in government departments or those being created in the boardrooms of transnational cultural producers? “Most people know the answer, and live it every day in the clothes they wear, the newspaper they read, the music they listen and the television they watch” (p. 9).

There are varying models and arguments for where support, financial or otherwise, should originate to best nourish music deemed to carry cultural value. Furthermore, some arguments suggest the relationship fostered between the state and popular musicians is best

constructed in spurring creativity when it is strained and antagonistic. *The New York Times* argues of the British successes in the cultural industries during the 1980s, “And, strangely, Mrs. Thatcher deserves much credit. By imposing a Darwinian order on the arts, she forced new creative talents to learn to stand on their own. And by promoting economic policies that widened the gap between rich and poor, she gave visual artists, movie makers and playwrights something to protest about (Riding, 1997). Despite such an assertion, it is evident in the United States that the most successful independent music scenes have been more about creating a community within the underlying economic constraints of the market, than demonstrating Darwinian survival of the fittest dissidents. Fertile independent music scenes in Athens, Georgia, and Omaha, Nebraska, which have both received substantial praise and adulation, have been assisted and maintained through community-based cultural policies. For example, Nuçi’s Space in Athens, a self-styled “support/resource center,” is dedicated to providing medical assistance, soundproofed practice rooms, a public performance area, and a coffee lounge to support the local popular music community (“Mission statement,” 2013, para. 3). Such support structures aid in encouraging musical expression and have led to artists from larger media market artists relocating to such smaller, yet more supportive music scenes. For example, former Los Angeles-based band Rilo Kiley did not become a household name to followers of independent music until they relocated to Omaha.

In contrast to this privately-financed model are state cultural policies, which entrust the government in helping to support creative endeavors in its cultural industries. Montreal-based band Stars have been outspoken in the role the Canadian government played in the band’s success. Evan Cranley, bass player and principal songwriter, exclaimed: “You can get funding,

and there are grants available from the government to make records and to tour. And the Canadian government's been really, really supportive of all these bands that are doing well in Canada right now. Without the funding from the government, I doubt we'd even be here today” (as cited in Glasgow, 2006). Cranley’s remark reflects a sharp contrast to the Thatcher thesis that creativity is best sparked through artistic opposition to government policy, although such opposition often represents a thematic coalescence in popular music.

Despite the relative absence of federal cultural policy support in the United States, there certainly exists policy that heavily influence culture and music. In July 2007, just as I was completing six weeks of interviews in Toronto and Montreal, the New York City alternative weekly *The Village Voice* published an article titled, “Blame Canada: How the Post-9/11 Border is Keeping Us Safe from Indie Rock” (Indrisek). The story is a summation of many cases of strong-armed bureaucracy at the U.S.-Canadian border and its impact on Canadian independent artists. One particularly telling illustration is the description of a trumped-up fraud charge and 5-year ban on entering the United States against Stephen O’Shea, bassist of Vancouver dance-punk act You Say Party! We Say Die! (p. 73). In short, the band was denied visas through the American Federation of Musicians because their performances were not deemed profitable enough. O’Shea was eventually charged with fraud for lying to a border agent about the nature of the band’s travels. O’Shea attempted a common exploit—telling customs officials that the band’s reason for entering the US was to record a demo and not tour. However, during a search of the band’s van, customs agents found a touring book with performance dates and immediately verified the shows with promoters. Such stories detailing the travails of independent musicians, typically artists without high sales figures or the backing of a multinational corporation, facing

difficulties entering the United States, due to restrictive immigration policies, are nothing new (see Jones, 1993; Berman, 1986). Yet, by the same token, such stories are quite new for Canadian bands, which once enjoyed easy entry to tour during the mid-1990s. Recent changes in U.S. visa policies and strict American union rules, often implemented toward Canadian artists, leads *Village Voice* to speculate on motive: “Maybe Canadian bands are under scrutiny because they might be *competition* to American bands. Just like an itinerant bricklayer who wanders from Quebec to pick up work in Albany, the idea is that foreign musicians are taking Yankee jobs” (Indrisek, p. 74).

### Research Objective

The discussion up until this point has been to ground my broad research project within a framework of cultural policy and cultural theory research. Specifically though, my research will look at questions of cultural policy and its relative impact on popular music and culture through a case study of the Canadian independent music industry, recognized alongside France and the Netherlands as one of the most respected instances in which an industry has been lifted and supported through policy provisions. Jeremy Ahearne (2009) makes the distinction between explicit cultural policy (“what it [the state] proclaims that it is doing for culture through its official cultural administration”) and implicit cultural policy (the effective impact on the nation’s culture of its action as a whole, including educational, media, industrial, foreign policy, etc.”) (p. 144). While I will look at both explicit and implicit cultural policy, my primary concern is on the explicit cultural policies aimed at strengthening the Canadian popular music industry. Therefore, the focus of my study will be on two key programs within the Canadian context: FACTOR (Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent on Recordings), the principal Anglophone



funding organization, and MEC (Music Entrepreneurial Component), a more industrial-based program that directly funds independent labels. Musicaction, referenced earlier, is the Francophone counterpart to FACTOR, operating on a much smaller scale primarily within Quebec that will only be examined peripherally in this research. Much of the research will focus on how subventions have contributed concretely to musicians through such examples as sound recording grants, international touring support, and international trade programs to brand Canadian music and cultural life. The entire process of subvention from application to award will be scrutinized to detail how musicians and artist managers seek out assistance and what role they see for the state in popular music culture at the level of production and promotion. The study will be contemporary, focusing on currently active artists and labels. The contemporary focus will be situated in relation to a historical overview of cultural policy following the Massey report in 1951 and then more explicitly with Canadian popular music and policies, beginning with the establishment of the Sound Recording Development Program in 1986.

Grounded within the field of cultural policy studies and popular music policy, my research integrates theoretical work from the political economy of communication, cultural studies, and cultural geography. My research interviews were primarily conducted over the course of a six-week stay in Toronto, with additional interviews occurring during a week-long visit in Montreal. Toronto and Montreal are widely recognized as the two intuitional homes of Canadian popular music, although Toronto is more paramount in terms of industrial support, especially to the Anglophone industry. Phone interviews were done with stakeholders on the West Coast, particularly in Vancouver. Moreover, I have spoken casually with countless artists or conducted

interviews as they have toured to places where I have lived in the last several years, including Denver, Colorado, and Atlanta, Georgia.

Primary research question:

*What outcomes result from federal cultural policy inputs (subsidies of cultural production) instituted to support the Canadian independent music industry?*

Four sub-questions:

*What is the history and rationale behind federal cultural policies in support of the Canadian independent music industry?*

*What federal cultural policies are instituted in Canada to support independent popular music recording?*

*Who determines, and on what basis, the labels and artists who will benefit from federal Canadian cultural policies to support independent popular music recording?*

*How critical a role does federal Canadian cultural policy play in supporting independent record labels and musicians?*

Operational research question:

*How do the organizational practices between federal funding bodies, independent record labels, and the independent music industry trade association shape the application and outcomes of Canadian federal cultural policy inputs?*

My primary research question and sub-questions are intended to hone in on how subsidies of cultural production, imparted by their history and rationale, come to shape the Canadian independent music industry. In answering these questions, the federal cultural policies under review will be explained and their relative importance examined. It is critical to recognize the

early historical intent of Canadian cultural policies and see how the cultural policies addressing music have significantly evolved over the last three decades. I intend to focus on how the subvention process comes to shape and determine independent artists and labels. My interest in blending a more micro level analysis with macro concerns of policy stems from a fundamental belief that cultural and popular music policy scholarship must examine macro/national policies through micro/local contexts. The Canadian government has conducted mixed-method policy reviews of its cultural policies utilizing interviews and surveys, but these studies are generalized and distanced from actual independent record labels and artists.

My operational research question is: *How do the organizational practices between federal funding bodies, independent record labels, and the independent music industry trade association shape the application and outcomes of Canadian federal cultural policy inputs?* Through interviews and documentary research, these research questions are answered by reflecting on the organizational practices that have taken hold and how they come to determine the outcomes of Canadian federal cultural policy inputs. My interviewees were classified similarly to the popular music policy stakeholder distinctions used by Malm and Wallis (1992).

1. Direct policymakers

- a. Government (politicians, lobbyists, cultural bureaucrats)
- b. Government-funded independent funding organizations (FACTOR-Anglophone/Musicaction-Francophone)
- c. Media corporations (owners, producers, label staff)

2. Indirect policymakers

- a. Trade and interest organizations (management and staff)

- b. Agents/attorneys and their clients
- 3. Independent Musicians and Recording Labels
  - a. Particularly those who have received financial support or otherwise indicated an interest in cultural policy and its impact on popular music.

### *Methodological Overview*

This research consists of a mixed-method approach and analysis of data during research conducted primarily during the summer of 2007 in Toronto and Montreal, Canada. Subsequent telephone and in-person interviews were conducted at various sites with both record label personnel and touring artists. My last interview was conducted August 31, 2010, in Atlanta, Georgia. I had 15 formal interviews that were recorded and transcribed with policymakers, independent label executives, and independent musical artists. There were several other conversations conducted at concert venues with artists that were not recorded, but were casual conversations to support my research and provide leads. Additionally, I have had several in-depth discussions with two academics involved in Canadian cultural policy or popular music. Alan Stanbridge, a professor at the University of Toronto who studies cultural policy and jazz music, became a friend who I have kept in touch with and spoken to at various conferences in Istanbul, Turkey, Boston, MA, Chicago, IL and Berkeley, CA. I also spent a day with Alan O'Connor, a professor at Trent University, who studies cultural theory and popular music, particularly punk culture, who has been involved closely with the independent and underground punk rock scene in Toronto. O'Connor was helpful in pointing out key venues and record stores that were important to the birth of the Toronto independent music scene during the 2000s.

Throughout the last five years since I first started my research, I have kept very close tabs on the Canadian music industry and policy developments through various means. I have subscribed to *Exclaim!*, a monthly Canadian music magazine published out of Toronto. I have also kept abreast of news developments occurring at major events such as the South by Southwest Festival (SXSW) held annually each March in Austin, Texas, Canadian Music Week held annually in Toronto just weeks after SXSW, and Toronto's North by Northeast Festival (NXNE) held annually in June. I also have regularly listened to and tracked various CBC radio stations, especially CBC Radio 3, which focuses on Canadian independent music, and the national CBC Radio One daily arts magazine show "Q with Jian Ghomeshi."

While I have not considered my research to be explicitly ethnographic, but more "stocktaking," I believe there were important ethnographic elements in the research that considerably enriched my understanding (Malm and Wallace, 1992, p. 32; see Blaukopf, 1974; see also Mark, 1981). For example, without in-person formal interviews, speaking directly with musicians, and frequenting the musical venues at the heart of the emergence of the Canadian independent music scene, significant meaning and knowledge would never have been gained. The research was strengthened by also meeting with individuals often at their places of business. Moreover, there is no substitute for the familiarity and comfort created by meeting and speaking in person, compared to telephone-based research.

In addition to this interview-based research, I have located or been given more than a dozen policy documents, ranging from annual FACTOR Reports to government studies and policy documents. These range between 1990 and 2007, although the FACTOR reports were limited to 2001-2007. These have been read with particular attention toward my stakeholder

interviews to find important points of convergence. As Robert Stake (1995) argues in terms of case study research, interviews can better explain the multiple realities of analysis that cannot be attained through observation (p. 64). In developing my method, it was a goal to find common ground between the “free spontaneity of a no-method approach and rigid structures of an all-method approach” (Kvale, 1996, p. 13).

### Conclusion

In concluding this introductory chapter, I want to make a final point on popular music policy in Canada and my approach to how it should ideally be researched and analyzed. Popular music policy in Canada has been reasonably well-studied in previous academic work, which will be discussed and reviewed in my Chapter 3 literature review. However, not only is this study a much more thorough examination that places Canadian cultural policy within a broader context, but it also is the first that begins to ask questions of policymakers, independent label executives, and the artists themselves. I was struck during my research, especially in speaking with Heather Ostertag, President and CEO of FACTOR, and a recipient of the Order of Canada for her contributions to Canadian culture and music over the last two decades, that she had never spoken once to a scholar of cultural policy or any related discipline about her work, despite being fully aware of academic research on Canadian cultural policy. My research will hopefully begin to fill that immense void in the scholarship.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CANADIAN CULTURAL POLICY

### Introduction: The Canadian Approach to Culture

As for culture we [Canadians and Americans] don't even speak the same language. You think of culture in terms of opera, ballet, and classical music. To us it covers everything from Stompin' Tom Connors to Hockey Night in Canada. What is merely "industry" to you is culture to us. Books, magazines, movies, radio, television—all culture. This government subsidizes them all, in one way or another, because all are genuine Canadian artifacts, distinct and unique, something that nobody else has—the ingredients of our national mucilage.

(Berton, 1987, p. 9)

Writer Pierre Berton's remarks reflect a relatively longstanding and uniquely Canadian perspective on culture, particularly in how it is contemporarily seen as a province of the government to preserve and support through both protective and affirmative cultural policy provisions. Maule (2003) contends: "Historically, Canadian cultural policy has been inward looking, espousing ways to protect Canadians from inflows from the U.S. while at the same time being supportive of Canadian cultural producers" (p. 121). Graham Spry, co-founder of the Canadian Radio League, famously explained what was at stake in a 1932 parliamentary hearing on public broadcasting: "The question is, the State or the United States" (as cited in Thompson, 1995, p. 397). While government support for culture and the arts has waxed and waned in Canada with the political tide, support has still persisted to the present day despite continued

threats surrounding available funding. In 2004, to reinforce the government's commitment to the arts, a new \$20 bill was put into circulation featuring the art of the Canadian artist Bill Reid alongside an affecting question, in both French and English, posed by Canadian author Gabrielle Roy: "Could we ever know each other in the slightest without the arts?" In early May 2006, despite decreased emphasis placed on cultural funding under new Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper, the newly released federal budget included a \$50 million increase over two years for the Canada Council for the Arts, one of the primary bodies for the dissemination of cultural funds. While the two-year funding increase was not as much as was previously anticipated, the increase still solidified Canada's place as a leading country in government funding for arts and culture.

This chapter will detail the path Canada has taken in developing its federal cultural policy initiatives beginning in the mid-1930s to the present. In particular, this chapter will address the five most significant policy developments that shape the Canadian policy narrative:

1. Publication of the Massey Report (1951)
2. Canadian Content Legislation Enactment (1970)
3. Publication of the Applebaum-Hébert Report (1982)
4. Launch of the Sound Recording Development Program (SRDP) (1986)
  - a. FACTOR Transitions from Private to SRDP (1986)
  - b. SRDP Evaluation Report (1990)
  - c. Publication of *A Time for Action: Report of the Task Force on the Future of the Canadian Music Industry* (1996)



5. Publication of *From Creators to Audience: New Policy Directions for Canadian Sound Recording* (2001)

a. Canada Music Fund Enactment

While this chapter will illustrate in broad strokes the significant cultural policy developments from public service support in the mid-1930s to the present, it will purposely focus more attention on the cultural industries and specifically policy directed toward popular music industries. Recognizing the important historical developments in Canadian cultural policy is critical to understanding contemporary cultural understanding in Canada and its relationship to cultural governance. Even though this chapter is limited primarily to Canadian cultural policy and is not comparative, it is helpful to situate the Canadian approach to culture and its governance, which distinguishes Canada from other nations. The table below adds the United Kingdom to a typographical table created by Kevin V. Mulcahy (2002) to categorize the cultural policies in several European and North American countries.

**Table 1: Comparative Typology of Cultural Policy (adapted from Mulcahy, 2002, p. 266)**

|                           | France      | Norway            | Canada   | U.K.     | U.S.        |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| Mode of political culture | Nationalist | Social-democratic | Liberal  | Liberal  | Libertarian |
| Rule of government        | Strong      | Strong            | Moderate | Moderate | Weak        |

|                                     |      |          |               |               |                |
|-------------------------------------|------|----------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| Salience of<br>cultural<br>politics | High | Moderate | Moderate/High | Moderate/High | Low or<br>High |
| Degree of<br>cultural<br>protection | High | Moderate | Moderate      | Low/Moderate  | Low            |

The table demonstrates that in several respects Canada attempts to balance the more heavy-handed, nationalist approaches of countries like France with the more market-driven approaches articulated in the United States and, to less extent, the United Kingdom.

### *Beginnings of Canadian Cultural Policy*

I am convinced that culture, to which I shall try to attach a more precise meaning later on, is the essential element in any nation and ought to be seen as such by democratic governments.” (Ostry, 1978, p. 2)

Canada first turned its focus toward media and culture in the mid-1930s by launching the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936 and the National Film Board (NFB) in 1939. Thompson (1995) remarks of these early Canadian cultural forays: “But what became the most characteristic Canadian promotional response to the conundrum of cultural sovereignty was the creation of a publicly financed infrastructure, the approach adopted in film-making and broadcasting during the 1930s” (p. 397). Moreover, with a booming Hollywood film industry stifling the fledgling Canadian film industry, the country rejected the protectionist quotas of

Great Britain and Australia in favor of the National Film Board (initially named the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau) and focused its production toward creating documentaries, instead of endeavoring to compete directly with the feature films of Hollywood (p. 397).

Although these early initiatives are notable they were still minimal, helping to support and sustain relatively immature communication industries through public financing. Canada was not aiming to more widely address the cultural direction of the country during the 1930s, and certainly not in the 1940s, when the government and civilian efforts of the country shifted squarely toward World War II. Canada's relative inaction toward cultural governance would change in the nationalism of the post-war period.

The first section of the chapter will detail the country's two major policy reports on the state of Canadian culture—the first one in 1951 and the second in 1980. Before proceeding to more popular music-specific developments, the earlier, broader cultural policy reports are useful to compare and contrast, highlighting the overall direction of Canadian cultural policy toward fully recognizing the popular music industry. Robert Armstrong (2010) sums up the distinctive shift in policy: “The Massey report [1951], however, portrayed commercial culture and particularly the mass media as a threat to both traditional culture and Canadian sovereignty, while the Applebaum-Hébert report adopted a more pragmatic approach to the cultural industries” (p. 47).

### *Massey Report*

Beyond the narrow funding of the CBC and NFB, Canada has not always recognized a national need to federally fund its cultural and artistic industries. The limited national import of developing a cultural policy changed in 1951 with the publication of the Massey report. The

Massey report, written by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, or the Massey Commission as it became known, was the first time the federal government articulated a robust Canadian cultural prospective. Despite earlier failed efforts to broadly address culture at the federal level, the country found itself in a better position to do so in the post-war period following its successes during World War II (Litt, 1992, p. 17). The nation had played an active role during the war, thanks in large part to the growing size and strength of its Naval and Air Forces. Canada's Armed Forces had more than a million enlisted soldiers serve during World War II. Despite the successful outcome, the costs of war were high with more than 42,000 troops killed in action and another 54,000 wounded ("A chronology," n.d., para. 1). The country's significant involvement helped to spur nationalist movements throughout the country and politically in the corridors of power. There was additional motivation provided by other significant developments of the late 1940s, "from the admission of Newfoundland to Confederation to legislation making the Supreme Court of Canada the court of final appeal in the land" (Litt, 1992, p. 17). Historian Donald Creighton (1957) remarks that the country during this time was "making a far more vigorous and serious effort than it had ever done to free itself and find itself" (p. 577). Decades later, historian Paul Litt (1992), author of the definitive history of the years surrounding the Massey Commission, *The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission*, reaches similar conclusions about this unique time in Canadian history:

For a generation weaned on the 'colony to nation' theme of progressive national independence, it seemed that Canada had come of age constitutionally, diplomatically,

and militarily. A cultural nationalism that cultivated a unique culture identity was an appropriate capstone for the nation-building process. (p. 17)

The initiative to create a royal commission on culture at first was put forth by the Hon. Brooke Claxton in 1948 when he was serving as the Minister of Defense within the Liberal cabinet of Prime Minister Mackenzie King (p. 11). Claxton's interest in the commission grew out of his involvement with national voluntary organizations, which grew in consequence following the World War I (p. 19). Claxton was directly involved with the Association of Canadian Clubs, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Canadian League, and the League of Nations Society. These organizations, argues Litt, "shared general patriotic and educational goals....they hoped to foster democratic responsibility and a Canadian consciousness" (p. 19). However, Prime Minister King's staunch opposition to forming a cultural commission forced Claxton and his supporters to postpone their agenda until King's successor, Louis St. Laurent, became prime minister in November 1948. With the political tides in flux, Claxton suggested his friend Vincent Massey, the chancellor at the University of Toronto and former high commissioner in London, serve as chairman of a newly formed royal commission on culture (p. 15). Massey would become the commissioner when the Massey Commission finally took shape in 1949.

The selection of Massey was significant, if for no other reason than his expressed views concerning Canadian culture coupled with his belief that Canada had reached a momentous cultural crescendo. Massey had just published a book in 1948 on Canadian culture and the surging nationalism taking place in the country, *On Being Canadian*. Reflecting both his traditional, conservative view of culture and his belief that Canada had reached a crucial cultural

junction necessitating action, he opened a chapter of his book with a quotation from Matthew Arnold:

Again and again I have insisted how those are the happy moments of humanity, how those are the marking epochs of a people's life, how those are the flowering times for literature and art and all the creative power of genius, when there is a national glow of life and thought, when the whole of society is in the fullest measure permeated by thought, sensible to beauty, intelligent and alive. (as cited in Massey, 1948, p.46)

Massey believed it was time for Canada to make Arnold's "national glow of life and thought" a reality for the country through the formation of federal cultural policies. In addition to Massey as chairman, there was a concerted effort "for achieving a geographical and sectional balance" (Litt, 1992, p. 33) with the selection of the four other commissioners. For example, Commissioner Norman A.M. MacKenzie, the current president of the University of British Columbia, also shared ties to Canada's East Coast as a native of Nova Scotia and former president of the University of New Brunswick. The Canadian heartland was represented by Hilda Neatby, a professor of history at the University of Saskatchewan ("Report of the Royal," 1951, p. xviii). Quebec and Francophone representation was provided by Georges-Henri Lévesque, a Dominican priest and dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Université Laval. The final member, Arthur Surveyor, a civil engineer from Montreal, was the only member not currently associated with a Canadian university or a former faculty member. All of the members had graduate degrees. Simply put, the Massey Commission was made up of cultural and intellectual elites. Moreover, three of its members—Massey, MacKenzie, and Lévesque—had close ties to the federal Liberal party who it was known would endorse, at a minimum, continued

government funding of the CBC and NFB (Litt, 1992, p. 35). Beginning in August 1949, while preparing its report, the Commission held public meetings over 11 months in major Canadian cities to elicit public comments. During these public sessions, there were 450 briefs submitted, in addition to 40 special studies submitted by outside experts listed in the report's Appendix IV. For example, on page 418 of the Massey report, there is an acknowledgement that Sir Ernest MacMillan is responsible for much of the material in the section of the Report titled "Music." MacMillan, a major figure in Canadian musical history, had submitted a special study to the Commission titled "Music in Canada" ("Report of the Royal," 1951, p. 418).

With its publication in 1951, the Massey report became Canada's first major government report examining and offering recommendations on the nation's arts and cultural sectors. Consisting of more than 500 pages, Library and Archives Canada provides an overview of the Report's breadth:

Part I of the Report consists of a survey of the many and varied subjects which the Commission had under review. Part II presents the recommendations of the Commission, 146 in all, under eight principal headings: Broadcasting (Radio Broadcasting and Television); National Film Board; Other Federal Institutions (The National Gallery, National Museums, Federal Libraries, Public Records And Archives, Historic Sites And Monuments); Aid to Universities; National Scholarships; Scientific Research under the Federal Government; Information Abroad; a Council for the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences.

It should come as no surprise, based on the member composition of the Commission, there was little said with respect to policy or support for the emergence of popular, commercial

media including television, commercial film, or popular music. The report's section on music, prepared with the assistance of MacMillan, begins with this explicit discussion of "serious" and "good" music compared to music of a "light or popular nature":

In Canada, as in most other countries, interest in serious music has increased phenomenally during the last twenty-five years. The perfection and the mass production of radio receivers and of phonographs has had an effect on music which may fairly be compared with the combined effect on literature of printing and, much later, of popular education. Although it is true that most of the music broadcast or recorded is of a light or popular nature, it is equally true that there is readily available to any Canadian genuinely interested in more serious works as much good music as he has time to listen to. There is evidence, too, for the belief that an increasingly large section of the Canadian public is acquiring a discriminating taste in music and has come to know the delight of great music worthily performed. We have been told that there has been a five-fold increase in the sale of recordings of classical music in the last fifteen years; and it is possible that there are now in Canada more private collections of good records than of good books. The opinion has been expressed to us that the improvement in taste in music is in part to be attributed to the C.B.C. In this section it will be noted that frequent reference is made to the C.B.C's work in Canadian music and with Canadian musicians. (p. 184)

The report pulled no punches detailing the cultural challenges and threats facing the nation, with a clearly articulated objective being the development of a shared cultural identity during the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Commonly quoted, the Massey report placed culture at the forefront of Canada's national security and developed a set of minimum recommendations



for the government to support (and protect) its cultural future: “Our military defenses must be made secure; but our cultural defenses equally demand national attention; the two cannot be separated. Our recommendations are the least we can suggest in conformity with our duty; more, indeed, should be done” (“Report of the Royal,” 1951, p. 275). The cultural nationalism of the report, particularly with respect to the United States, attracted mixed reactions. Canadian scholars typically voiced support for such examples of cultural nationalism. For example, Harold Innis (2004/1952) remarked that the weakening of cultural identity among English Canada was due to “constant hammering from American commercialism” (p. 13). At the same time, the report’s protectionist rhetoric, especially with respect to the U.S., had also served as a lightning rod for criticism, especially from the Canadian right. Robert Fulford (2001), writing in the conservative Canadian *National Post* newspaper, articulated the mixed views of many Canadians:

The [Massey] report recommended many positive steps based on an optimistic view of Canadian potential, but the tone was defensive. We were to support culture not for its own sake but to save us from Americanization. Ever since 1951, that idea has haunted the discussion of the arts in Canada. In our collective imagination, the arts have come to resemble an isolated fortress in the wilderness that we must defend at all costs. Certain key words dominate our language when we discuss this subject: save and protect and rescue and preserve (para. 8).

Still, there were many affirmative, funding-based arguments made in the report, despite its oft-cited protectionism. In terms of funding directives, the Massey Report advocated for the creation of a semi-autonomous national arts funding organization to be named the Canada

Council and for continued public control of the broadcasting system. Six years later in 1957, following the recommendations of the Massey report, the Canada Council was formed “to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts, humanities and social sciences...” (“History,” 2004, para. 3). Fundamental to the Canada Council and Canadian cultural policy since the Massey report is the core belief in “arms-length” support for artists, a concept adopted from United Kingdom Arts Councils. Such a policy is intended to keep government out of the messiness of having to make explicitly cultural decisions, something the National Endowment for the Arts in the United States knows all too well. The initial funding for programs through the Canada Council was established through creating an Endowment Fund of \$100 million subsidized from the death taxes paid on the estates of Canadian industrialists Sir James Dunn and Izaak Walton Killam (“History,” 2004, para. 5). In addition to its efforts to promote cultural policies within Canada, the Canada Council was assigned as the Canadian Commission to UNESCO. In its first 35 years, the Council has extended assistance to 33 orchestras, 197 theatre groups, 35 dance companies, and approximately 100 periodicals (1991-1992 section, para. 1). During the 1950s and 1960s, through the Canada Council and other “bricks and mortar” investments, Canada experienced a boom in its cultural infrastructure, with concert halls and theaters being built throughout the country (Rabinovitch, 1998, p. 54).

Despite the relative conservatism of the Massey report, it dramatically shifted the conversation of culture in Canada starting the day it was published. There was such hype surrounding its publication the first print run was extended to meet demand. Litt (1992) explains that the hype was real, much beyond the usually limited scope of public governmental reports, “All of the cultural interest directly affected by the report were, of course, eagerly awaiting its

publication...[it] made the front page in Canadian newspapers from coast to coast, surpassed in prominence only by the latest news of the Korean War” (p. 223). Still, the report’s elitism was not lost on early critics, especially the country’s newspapers. Litt details the sentiment of the popular press following the report’s release:

...[newspapers] all felt obligated to defend the interests of that mythical but omnipotent figure, the common man. Since the common man was, if nothing else, a taxpayer, newspapers first attacked the report for what they regarded as the extravagance of the expenditures it recommended. The New Westminster *British Columbia* noted that ‘Canadians who are neither high brows, long hairs, nor rough necks may view with misgivings certain aspects of the Massey Commission’s report’ because of the tax dollars culture would cost them. (p. 224)

Following the Massey report, Canada would expand its cultural policies in succession toward the film, book, broadcasting, and music industries. The Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC) was founded in 1968 with an initial budget of \$10 million. Ten years later, the Book Publishing Industry Development Program was set up to primarily support book publishers, who had not been funded previously as authors were through the Canada Council (Rabinovitch, 1998). These initiatives were increasingly focused on the cultural industries, moving away from the high culture pretention of the Massey Commission.

### *Canadian Content Legislation*

In the introduction, a distinction was made between output and input cultural policies. To reiterate, inputs are subsidies to help fund cultural production, while outputs are more regulatory in nature, serving to encourage and manage distribution and exhibition functions (see

Cunningham, 1992). The primary output policies in Canadian cultural policy are Canadian content regulations, commonly referred to as Cancon. Canadian bands in the 1960s were confronted with the harsh realities of the North American music industry's economies of scale, which were not conducive to Canada developing its own popular music recording industry in the face of American economic and cultural dominance (see Patch, 1975; see also Litvak, 1987). The 1960s were a momentous period in continued cultural nationalism and social legislation under Liberal Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson—the current Canadian flag was introduced (notably without the Union Jack), universal healthcare was passed, social insurance was passed (the Canadian Pension Plan), and the Canadian Student Loan Program was created. When Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau succeeded Pearson, he not only continued the support for the significant social welfare initiatives, he continued to advance progressive legislation. One of Trudeau's earliest initiatives was updating Canadian broadcasting laws under the newly formed Canadian Radio-television Commission (CRTC). As part of his overhaul, he appointed Pierre Juneau as its founding chairman and Juneau was unrelenting in arguing that Canada must protect and fund its cultural industries, especially against American cultural imperialism. He most famously stated in a 1970 hearing that “Canadian broadcasting should be Canadian” (“Pierre Juneau,” 2012, para. 7). Two years later, in a speech to the Empire Club of Canada (a prominent Canadian speakers' forum), he went further in connecting his argument to Canadian identity and culture:

If our mental landscapes, our creative aptitudes are not safeguarded and promoted I am afraid, the same fate awaits us as that which befalls a new TV show that doesn't get enough rating points, and suffers a premature exit. Except that in this case, we will, in

fact, cancel ourselves. Because to obliterate real works of the Canadian imagination is to obliterate ourselves. (Juneau, 1972)

Under Trudeau and Juneau's leadership, the CRTC instituted domestic content regulations on February 20, 1970. Al Mair (personal communication, 27 June 2007), who was heavily involved in early Canadian popular music policies, remarked on the birth of Canadian content legislation in 1970:

So, it was stimulated by a cultural policy. Broadcasters wanted to ensure they were going to have a sufficient flow of acceptable quality product. To some degree reflecting what the marketplace was providing and as part of that, the broadcasters had to make commitments to support Canadian talent.

In addition to providing an outlet for Canadian-produced music through Canadian content legislation, there were widespread broadcast policy initiatives intended to return Canadian investment to its industries—and it worked. By 1972, foreign investment in Canadian industry had plummeted by 80 percent from \$150 million to just \$25 million. The Juno Awards in Canada—the country's equivalent to the Grammy Awards—were started in 1970 and the name is a shortened reference to Juneau for his significant contributions to the industry at the time.

There have been many evolutions of Canadian content rules and regulations—the original stipulations required that 30 percent of all music played on Canada's approximately 400 AM radio stations had to be categorized as Canadian based on the nationality of those involved in the writing and recording process: the categories included the instrumentation, musical composition, lyrical composition, and the national location of either the recording or live performance. The Canadian content rules were extended to FM radio in 1976 (Shuker, 2008a, p. 211).

Contemporary Canadian content regulations for radio are regulated under the terms of the CRTC's Broadcast Act of 1968, and additional Amendments in 1971, 1972, 1985, 1991, and 1998 (Keough, 2007, p. 20). As of the last revision, contemporary regulations stipulate that Canadian radio stations must play at least 35 percent Canadian content during weekdays from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. On a similar note, Francophone-based stations must meet additional French-language content quotas for vocal music, with a 65 percent requirement for the week as a whole and 55 percent explicitly during weekdays from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Canadian content is determined through the MAPL (pronounced maple) system, which has also evolved over several iterations, mostly due to debates over what qualified as "Canadian." There have been prominent cases in which celebrated Canadian artists, such as Bryan Adams, living and recording outside of the country, have had their albums not meet previous standards—often causing public outrage. Currently, to be recognized as "Canadian content," music must meet two of the following conditions:

M (music)—composed entirely by a Canadian;

A (artist)—music and/or lyrics are performed primarily by a Canadian (more than 50 percent of band members);

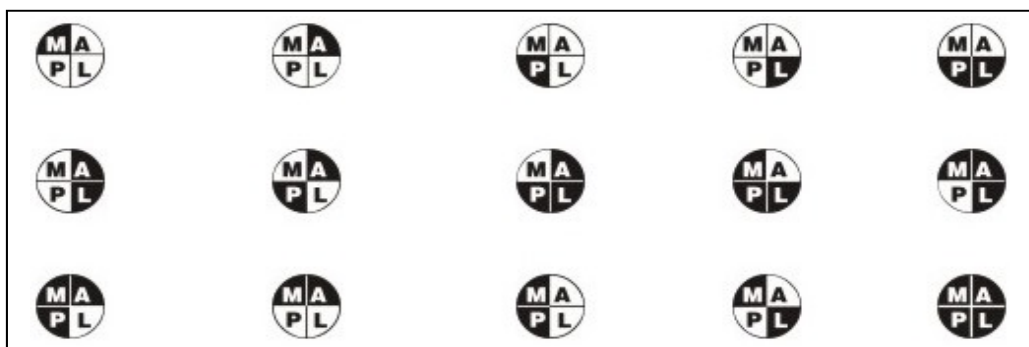
P (production)—consists of a live performance either recorded whole in Canada or performed wholly in Canada and broadcast live in Canada;

L (lyrics)—written entirely by a Canadian.

A logo was created by Stan Klees in 1970 to be featured on Canadian albums so broadcasters would recognize whether or not an album met the MAPL Cancon qualifications. Each category is represented as a slice of a record—if the Canadian content of a category is met the slice is

colored black. Whereas, if a criterion is not met, the corresponding slice of the record is colored with black lettering.

**Figure 1: All of the MAPL graphical possibilities.**



With Canadian content regulations requiring there be adequate Canadian musical content to meet the Canadian content regulations, Canada was actually left with insufficient product to meet the higher demand. This issue was specifically addressed in the next major federal policy review a decade after Cancon was instituted. In the meantime, Canadians were left hearing hearings songs like Anne Murray's 1970 hit "Snowbird" very frequently on the radio (Austen, 2012).

#### *Applebaum-Hébert Report*

Preparing for Canada's second major federal cultural policy report on the health and direction of cultural support in the country, the Liberal government appointed the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee on August 28, 1980, which became popularly known as the Applebaum-Hébert Committee. The report took two years at a cost of \$3.5 million to produce, and much like the Massey report, there were public meetings held throughout the country to gauge public opinion (Smith, 1983, p. 95). Additionally, there were more than 1300 briefs and submissions made before the final report was released in November 1982 (p. 95). The first

significant difference between the Applebaum-Hébert Committee and the Massey Commission was the size and membership of the committee. Aside from being co-chaired by composer Louis Applebaum (officially listed as Chairman) and writer-publisher Jacques Hébert (officially listed as Co-chairman), the committee expanded to having 18 commissioners in total. Disappointingly, female representation did not substantially increase as a percentage of the membership, going from just one female on the five-member Massey Commission (20 percent) to four females on the 18-member Applebaum-Hébert commission (22 percent). Another marked divergence with the Applebaum-Hébert commission was there were genuine steps taken to better represent diverse interests, beyond the high culture-minded commissioners of the Massey report. The democratization of culture approach representative of the Massey Commission—the “civilizing value of the arts” (Gattinger, 2011, p. 3)—was lost for a cultural democracy approach. Cultural democracy is principally concerned with improved access to the means of cultural production and distribution (p. 3). There was a clear shift from a democratization of culture approach to more of a cultural democracy. For example, one prominent member of the committee was Sam Sniderman, beloved in Canada as “Sam the Record Man,” for his popular music retail store of the same name. During the 1980s, Sam the Record Man was the number one recording music retailer in Canada. The flagship store was located on Yonge Street in Toronto and there were more than 1,000 franchises throughout the country. At the same time, Sniderman was also the director of CIRPA, the Canadian Independent Record Production Association, the leading trade association for independent Canadian music. Not coincidentally, shortly after Sniderman’s involvement on the committee, CIRPA would become closely involved with the formation of FACTOR in 1982 (Chater & Moore, n.d., para. 4).



The Applebaum-Hébert report made 101 recommendations addressing “heritage, contemporary visual and applied arts, the performing arts, writing, publishing and reading, sound and film recording as well as broadcasting” (Smith, 1983, p. 95). The report placed creativity at the forefront of cultural policy in Canada: “...we have placed great emphasis on artistic creativity, over and above any of the other facets of our cultural life...[no cultural policies] can possibly succeed unless they are firmly rooted in a respect for our artistic and intellectual heritage (“Report of the federal,” 1982, p. 3). Moreover, there was less concern with Canadian cultural nationalism with less overt focus paid to national identity and unity, and more concern for pursuing culture for its own sake (Sutherland, 2008). The likely reason for such obvious exclusion is that Canadian nationalism had grown so vastly since the Massey report—it was no longer necessitated as in 1951. For example, a signature moment in Canadian history and national identity came when Montreal hosted Expo 67, the World’s Fair, in 1967. Widely considered the most successful World’s Fair of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it marked the first time many Western Canadians had driven across their vast homeland.

The media coverage following the release of the report focused extensively on feedback from individuals working in the cultural industries, who were less excited about the report and less positive than following the Massey report. Many comments by those involved in Canadian cultural policy criticized the recommendations made for the CBC, NFB, and the National Arts Centre. Of particular consternation, the report made the recommendation that the CBC, to cut costs, acquire its programming from independent production companies and no longer produce its own material. However, Smith (1983) argues, the most serious flaw of the Report was its “inability to develop an analytical framework” on how to go about making recommendations

based on data collected (p. 96). In a chapter titled “Marshalling Resource: The Political Economy of Culture” the report states that “no mechanisms exist for calculating the degree of intervention required or for identifying with any precision how it should be applied presents a chronic difficulty: whose judgment and foresight is to be trusted?” (p. 72)

Most importantly, for the purposes of this research, is the chapter devoted to sound recording, which shifted the language of the Massey report considerably. The Applebaum-Hébert report recognized sound recording, considered technologically as a “profound force for expanding and democratizing the enjoyment of art, especially music” (“Report of the federal,” 1982, p. 235). It also recognized the failings to address the popular music recording industry, a direct nod to the Massey report, “...the sound recording industry has not usually been included among other cultural industries when major support policies were being considered by the federal government” (p. 235). The report lauds the successes of Canadian content regulations put into effect in 1970 by the CRTC. The report contends that Canadian content regulations in a “single step...released an immense volume of creativity in the Canadian music world—especially in the popular music field” (p. 236). The report goes further by listing specific artists it argues have directly benefited from Canadian content legislation, including Anne Murray, Dian Dufresne, Gordon Lightfoot, Robert Charlebois, Bruce Cockburn, Diane Tell, and Kate and Anna McGarrigle. It also lists Canadian groups such as Rush, April Wine, Triumph, and Loverboy who have attained gold and platinum record sales because of the necessitated radio airplay: “striking examples of the essential interdependence of radio and records sales...” (p. 237). Despite the strong support, the report also recognizes such early successes require additional input-based funding support: “the CRTC’s Canadian content measures cannot by

themselves, however, be construed as a sufficient policy for Canadian sound recording [because]...of the structure and problems of the record market in Canada” (p. 237). The report then lays out a substantial shift in popular music policy, articulated in a series of recommendations encouraging financial support for the production, distribution, and marketing of music. These recommendations directly coalesce with the report’s tone as a whole, which marked a turning point in Canadian cultural policy away from the same level of discussion concerning protectionism and more toward the “marketing and distribution of cultural products” (Wagman, 2001, pp. 214-215). Stephen D. McDowell (2001) notes that “cultural policy objectives are framed as building a Canadian industrial space for the production, distribution, and consumption of Canadian content: expressions, images, and sounds” (p. 126). Three of the specific recommendations concern issues critical to this research and fieldwork, including an explicit recognition of popular music, independent production, and international sales respectively:

55. The federal government should assist Canadian-owned companies to distribute and market recordings of “pop” music and of specialized materials recorded by Canadian artists through a loan program or other appropriate forms of subsidy. (“Report of the Federal,” 1982, p. 241)
57. The CBC should increase its production of quality recordings by Canadian artists and improve its promotion and distribution of such recordings, extending these services to suitable recordings made by independent Canadian producers. (p. 242)

58. The federal government should assist Canadian record producers to improve the international marketing of their recordings through various means including attendance at marketing fairs. (p. 243)

The Applebaum-Hébert report essentially acts as a pendulum shifting the rhetoric of Canadian cultural policy away from a primary concern with cultural nationalism and high arts toward recognizing the potential for the production, distribution, and marketing of the cultural industries. It also shifts the conversation away from the heavy protectionist rhetoric of national defense toward the aspirational, albeit national, value of creativity and cultural development. While the construction of Canadian place and identity continues, and certainly there is still substantially more funding devoted toward high cultural forms than more commercial endeavors, the rhetoric of Canadian cultural policy increasingly focuses on fueling Canadian creativity, production, and distribution, along with promoting an overt awareness of the distinction between consumers and citizens. In fact, all of these elements are represented in a more recent policy document from 1999—*A Sense of Place, A Sense of Being: The Evolving Role of the Federal Government in Support of Culture in Canada*. Moreover, the Applebaum-Hébert report not only forced the hand of the Canadian government in creating the Sound Recording Development Program (SRDP) in 1986, it also laid the foundation the SRDP would take in attempting to create an industrial space for a Canadian-based independent music industry.

### Cultural Industries and Popular Music

#### *Sound Recording Development Program*

One of the most exciting times was when Pierre Trudeau was in office (1968-79), he was such a vibrant character in our history. He's pretty much the reason we're here right

now. Music in schools was really big, there was government programming put in to actually make records and tour. So, for our first two years we were given money to come here [Ireland]. I think that's really our inspiration . . . unlike in the past with Neil Young and others who left, it didn't feel Canadian bred. We wanted to stay in Canada.—Amy Milan, lead singer, Stars (RTÉ, 2007)

Despite Amy Milan's fond recollections of Pierre Trudeau's time as prime minister, which are indeed true in spirit, government support for popular music was still woefully inadequate in the early 1980s, as the Applebaum-Hébert report made clear. Furthermore, the report expressed that governmental support for Canadian popular music hinged on an interconnected approach to cultural policy of input policies (explicit funding of popular music recording labels and artists) coupled with output policies (Canadian content regulations). To address the deficiencies that were identified in 1982 it was necessary to substantially expand input policy supports. Consequently, the SRDP was created in 1986 to specifically target and support the music industry, following similar programs enacted for the film, book, and broadcasting industries.

The SRDP was established by cabinet in April 1986 to provide the Canadian sound recording industry \$25 million over five years to be administered jointly by the Canada Council, the Department of Communications, and a consortium of the two already existing non-profit organizations, dubbed collectively as “FACTOR/MUSICACTION/CANADA” (FMC). FACTOR is discussed at length in the next section along with Musicaction. The smallest portion of the SRDP, administered by the Canada Council, was devoted to “Specialized Music Production,” recognized as categories of music deemed less commercially viable, including

contemporary classical, experimental jazz, and others. The SRDP is explicitly industrial in nature, as the SRDP was purposely structured in such a way to prioritize funding directly to Canadian-owned sound recording companies, with minimal funding available to artists, distributors, associations, and non-profit organizations” (p. 45). Funding is divided among contributions, loans, and guarantees. The SRDP identified three essential needs for the Canadian-owned sound recording industry (“Sound Recording, 1990, p. i):

1. Support for the production of audio and video music products
2. Marketing and international touring; and
3. Business development

There are eight components divided between these three categories of financial aid. FMC administered \$3.7 million to 1.) sound recording production; 2.) music video production; 3.) radio syndication programming; and 4.) international tour support. The Canada Council administered \$250,000 to 5.) specialized music production. Lastly, the Department of Communications administered \$800,000 to 6.) international marketing; 7.) business development; and 8.) specialized music distribution. The annual administrative costs of the SRDP as a whole were set at \$250,000. This \$5 million total was guaranteed for five years from 1986-1991.

When the SRDP was started it also unambiguously recognized the importance of the Canadian independent recording industry, despite the industry’s relatively small financial footprint (approximately 10 percent of industry sales). In the early 1980s, there were believed to be 200-250 Canadian independent firms in the recording industry and Statistics Canada indicated that comprehensive net profits were less than one percent (“Sound Recording,” 1990, p. ii). The

SRDP was intended to help with these challenging financial conditions. The majority of Canadian artists were signed to Canadian labels, particularly young, up-and-coming artists. At the time, most high-profile Canadian artists were signed with one of seven multinational recording labels—and many had left Canada. Moreover, even though Canada's music industry did not suffer to the same extent as many others, the worldwide music industry's recession of the late 1970s served as another reason to launch the SRDP, as the program fundamentally represented a stimulus act to assist its struggling Canadian-owned recording companies amid market uncertainties (the introduction of the compact disc in the early 1980s would reverse these declines, leading to unprecedented worldwide growth).

**Table 2: Music industry sales decline in selected countries, 1977-1980.**

| <i>Country</i>        | <i>Period</i> | <i>Sales decline in %</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| <i>United Kingdom</i> | 1977-1980     | -26.4%                    |
| <i>Australia</i>      | 1977-1978     | -17.6%                    |
| <i>Canada</i>         | 1979-1980     | -10.6%                    |
| <i>United States</i>  | 1978-1979     | -10.4%                    |
| <i>Japan</i>          | 1977-1978     | -2.2%                     |

*Source: (Gronow, 1983, pp. 66-69).*

### *FACTOR*

After serving as a commissioner on the Applebaum-Hébert committee, Sam Sniderman helped launch FACTOR in his role as director of CIRPA. FACTOR was founded as an entirely private, non-profit entity in 1982 supporting the Anglophone recording industry alongside Musicaction, which supported the Francophone market. Both had operated in relative obscurity

for four years before the government began the SRDP. In its original iteration, FACTOR had an extremely limited budget of \$200,000 for its programs (Wright, 2003). Administrated by CIRPA, FACTOR's financial support came from Canadian communication firms, including CHUM Limited, Moffat Communications, and Rogers Broadcasting. Additional support came from the Canadian Music Publishers Association (Straw, 1996, p. 106). The goal of FACTOR from the outset was to dedicate itself to "providing assistance toward the growth and development of the Canadian independent recording industry" ("What is," 2006, para. 5). During the same year of FACTOR's founding, immediately before the launch of the SRDP, economist Paul Audley remarked of the still prevailing attitude of the Canadian government toward the country's popular music industry:

By comparison with the attention which governments in Canada have accorded the magazine, book, film or broadcasting industries, the recording industry has, until very recently, been ignored. From an economic perspective, the industry is relatively small and categorized as part of the 'miscellaneous' manufacturing industry group, while as a cultural activity its significance has largely been overlooked by government. (Audley, 1983, p. 141)

The SRDP increased annual funding to FACTOR substantially up to \$2.22 million (60 percent of FMC funding) and Musicaction received \$1.48 million (40 percent of FMC funding). Despite the increase in funding put forward by the SRDP, a major government-financed report written by Ekos Research Associates in 1990 found the program to be inadequately funded to markedly impact the independent music industry. One example of the underfunding is the Multi-Project Funding Program (MPF), one of the primary programs for FACTOR at the time. The MPF set



aside a line-of-credit for recording labels equal to 50 percent (up to a maximum of \$200,000) of its previous year's Artists & Repertoire expenditures. The problem with the MPF program, according to a FACTOR representative, was that "it was so successful it failed" (as cited in "Sound Recording," 1990, p. 49). FACTOR could not meet the high demand from the independent sector and the MPF program had to be discontinued after 1988-89. The FACTOR Direct Board Approval Program (DBA), which continues to the present, was also first established but it initially was intended only for new Canadian-owned labels distributing recordings nationally (p. 49). Other awards supported by FACTOR included its Loan Program, Professional Publishers and Songwriters Demo Award, the New Talent Demo Awards, Video Program, and the Radio Syndication Program. While these programs were able to be sustained, approvals ranged between 30-60 percent—one reason for the relatively low acceptance rate is there were insufficient funds to extend additional support. Despite the critiques from the 1991 evaluation report, funding continued to languish—there was a 27 percent decrease in constant dollars over the next ten years of the program (Audley, Chater, Houle, Robertson, & Feldman, 1996, p. iii). Eventually, the Canadian government formed a Task Force to research and publish the first major study of the Canadian music industry and popular music policy in 1996: *A Time for Action: Report of the Task Force on the Future of the Canadian Music Industry*.

Affirming the earlier SRDP evaluation report, the Task Force was unequivocal in concluding that government support was inadequate:

Important gaps in policy compromise the effectiveness of these initiatives: the principal weaknesses are that absence of effective incentives to strengthen the independent Canadian companies that release 70 percent of all Canadian content recorded music;

grossly inadequate copyright legislation; and the absence of Investment Canada guidelines for the music industry (Audley, Chater, Houle, Robertson, & Feldman, 1996, p. i).

Moreover, the Task Force recommended three objectives it believed the Government of Canada needed to establish for Canadian music industry policy. First, it needed to strengthen Canadian composition, songwriting, and performance. Secondly, the country had to ensure adequate support would be provided through policy for the recording, distribution, marketing, and broadcasting of Canadian music. Lastly, there had to be sufficient financial rewards for creators, performers, and producers when their works were used through media and other outlets. The Task Force concluded for these initiatives to be possible, the federal government's committed resources to Canadian popular music policy had to increase from the longstanding \$5 million to between \$15 million and \$20 million. Moreover, the Task Force pleaded for Cancon legislation to be maintained and for copyright legislation to be updated for the digital era. Following the Task Force's Report, funding did increase to \$10 million between 1997 and 2000 ("Evaluation," 2000, p. 11). As of 2000, the Canadian government had provided an aggregate financial contribution of \$81 million in the 14 years following the start of the SRDP program.

### Contemporary Popular Music Policy

#### *From Creators to Audience*

The contemporary framework of popular music policy in Canada is based upon the last major policy initiative for popular music policy: *From Creators to Audience: New Policy Directions for Canadian Sound Recording* (2001). The policy initiative put forward a proposal

to transition from a project-based policy framework toward comprehensive support by enacting a set of policies officially dubbed the Canadian Sound Recording Policy. The three goals of the policy proposal capture the still continuing Canadian policy approach to popular music:

- 1) to enhance Canadians access to a diverse range of Canadian music choices through existing and emerging media;
- 2) to increase the opportunities available for Canadian music artists and entrepreneurs to make a significant and lasting contribution to Canadian cultural expression; and,
- 3) to ensure that Canadian music artists and entrepreneurs have the skills, know-how and tools to succeed in a global and digital environment. (“From Creators,” 2001, Foreword section, para. 5)

As part of the new policy initiative, the SRDP was effectively absorbed by the newly launched Canada Music Fund. The Canada Music Fund originally created eight programs to meet the objectives of the Canadian Sound Recording Policy. These eight programs were reduced to seven and slightly revised during the Canada Music Fund’s last renewal in 2005:

- 1) New Musical Works (NMW)
- 2) Music Entrepreneurs (MEP/MEC)
- 3) Canadian Musical Diversity (CMD)
- 4) Collective Initiatives (CI)
- 5) Creators' Assistance (CA)
- 6) Support to Sector Associations (SSA)
- 7) Canadian Music Memories (CMM)

In addition to the new fund, the Canada Music Council (CMC) was formed to support the fund and communicate with the Minister of Canadian Heritage concerning progress and needed support. However, the CMC's role was never fully developed and it was dissolved during the 2005 renewal. All existing popular music policy support programs (Cancon is implemented and enforced by CRTC, the broadcasting regulatory agency) are operated under the Department of Canadian Heritage, even though there are many aspects like FACTOR purposely designed to be operated at arm's length from direct government involvement. Many of the Canada Music Fund's programs will be discussed in Chapter 6, based on original research findings and analysis. For example, a handful of the independent label executives I interviewed had recently transitioned from FACTOR support to MEC support. The MEC program is in many ways a rebirth of the MPF program established with the SRDP in 1986—a line-of-credit is extended to successful independent labels based on certain sales stipulations being met. The line-of-credit has very generous borrowing terms based on subsequent sales. Many of the particulars of the MEC program were only learned from speaking with recording labels involved firsthand with the program, which receives little public attention compared to FACTOR.

While annual funding contributions vary between the government and broadcasters, the majority predominantly comes today from the Canadian government. The broadcasters must make funding pledges as part of their license renewal process, which often cumulatively accounts for a minimum 30–40 percent of overall funding. During such renewals, it is still clear, unlike in the United States, that the licensees of broadcasting spectrum operate at the courtesy of the public who own the airwaves. The licenses are issued at a cost, part of which is the contribution of funds into popular music and cultural initiatives. Such a clear institutional set of

practices has slowly evolved and public support has strengthened over the course of Canada's history. For example, according to a 2012 study commissioned by the Department of Canadian Heritage of more than 2,000 adults, approximately 92 percent of respondents said access to Canadian books and music was important (Oliveira, para. 4). Surprisingly, in light of common talk about the death of radio's tastemaker status, 79 percent of respondents said they still "often" or "sometimes" discover new music from listening to Canadian radio (para. 20).

### Conclusion

Our country is unique among nations. Canadian have attempted a vast cultural leap of faith without precedent in the history of nation states. The Canadian cultural experiment has attempted to forge a national culture based not on dominion and assimilation, not on conquest and the erasure of all remaining facets of "difference," but on coexistence and co-operation, on consensus and multiplicity (as cited in "Unique," 1992, p. 3)

The statement above from a submission by the Association of Canadian Publishers to the Standing Committee's 1992 report, *The Ties that Bind*, reflects a longstanding reflectiveness within Canadian cultural policy. As this chapter has detailed, the first major Canadian cultural policy initiative, the Massey report, did suffer from an overreliance on protectionism and elitism in its conceptualizing of culture. In addressing popular music, the progress has been painfully slow at times. The Applebaum-Hébert Committee report in 1980, nearly 30 years after Massey, did reframe the discussion greatly based on the more eclectic makeup of the committee responsible for the report, including Sam Sniderman of CIRPA. It recognized the important role

of various types of music in Canadian culture, especially smaller independent recording labels within the music industry. Lastly, with the Sound Recording Development Program and its successor the Canada Music Fund, the funding of popular music in Canada has come full circle—popular music policy entails comprehensive support that remains vital to supporting Canadian culture and its cultural industries.

While necessary and important protectionist elements remain, notably Cancon, the popular music policies of Canada contribute markedly to the standing of the Canadian independent music industry. Cancon was the prerequisite for industry support, as Scott Henderson (2008) remarks, “The support offered by enforced radio and music television airplay has permitted a viable music infrastructure to form. This has led to an era where Canadian bands are able to interact, contribute to and promote each other’s work, and help to build a Canadian scene that can be confident without being overly self-conscious” (p. 314). There are unquestionably problems in policy that will be discussed in subsequent chapters, but there is also a segment of the independent industry benefiting immensely from existing policy. The industry would not only be weaker financially without policy, it would also have considerably less outlets available for Canadian music. What Graeme Turner contended in 1989 about Australian popular music policy is still true today:

Cultural policy must be interventionist. In short, the point to have a cultural policy on rock music would not be to work within normal market forces, but to circumvent and subvert them. The result could be that Australia continues to produce, not only consume, its own culture (p. 6).

While Canadian cultural policy does not always directly circumvent or subvert normal market forces in a public way, the simple acts of funding popular music and requiring certain levels of Canadian content on radio represents a substantial intervention in the market. Furthermore, debates over Canada's entry into free trade agreements, from the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement (FTA) to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), has sparked an ongoing conversation in the country about the very nature of what it means to be Canadian and what is meant by Canadian culture (see Yúdice, 2003). For example, Anthony Westell (1991), a former Canadian journalist and director of Carleton University's School of Journalism, argues that Canada's "nationalism has been concerned with preserving the notion of a society different, and better than, the U.S. society" (p. 265). On the other hand, Michael Dorland (1988), another journalism professor at Carleton, maintains that rather than seeing itself in a positive light, Canadian culture is marked by "national resentment" (p. 130). Canadian satirist Will Ferguson taps into this national resentment with his hugely successful 1997 book, *Why I Hate Canadians*. Meanwhile, moving away from the arguments of both Westell and Dorland, the British American Peter Brimelow, a former editor at *Macleans*' magazine has argued there is no distinct Anglophone Canadian culture distinct from U.S. culture. Brimelow's argument is not as commonly held today as it once was, but such positions are difficult to challenge in an era of increasingly global popular media and culture.

Nonetheless, Canadian cultural policy also illustrates the many ways that culture extends far beyond the confines of the market and, in turn, regularly requires attention outside of the market. Determining the degree of impact of popular music policies is an important part of this research, despite the recognition that there are many factors involved in shaping music and

culture. Will Straw (2000) contextualizes the expansive number of policies that can influence music: “Music’s more elusive, mediating function is shaped by policies that are rarely considered cultural in nature: by the regulation of alcohol consumption and nightclub closing hours, neighborhood gentrification, work-study schemes and students loans” (p. 182). Cultural policy is only one of many factors contributing to the current state of the Canadian independent music industry.



## CHAPTER 3: POPULAR MUSIC: POLITICS, POLICIES, INSTITUTIONS

### Introduction

In many ways the position of popular music studies today is analogous to that of Cultural and Media Studies some years ago in that it is part of the curriculum in many higher education institutions but still treated with a certain amount of condescension. If Cultural Studies was derided in its early days as “Hoggart’s line in cheap hats,” then popular music studies currently finds itself subject to the sorts of derision and suspicion noted above. Its major achievements thus far might have been to survive and to establish itself. The issues popular music studies currently faces are those which confront an area of study which has moved from being an academic niche into being part of the mainstream. (Cloonan, 2005, p. 87)

Even though my theoretical and methodological approaches, as I will discuss in the next two chapters, are drawn from political economy and critical cultural policy, my research topic is born out of the interdisciplinary field of popular music studies and popular music policy. These related fields of study are made up of scholars primarily from Great Britain and Australia, with less from New Zealand, Canada, and Europe. Very few researchers in the U.S. study the relationship between popular music and related policy developments, even though there are countless examples of local and urban policies addressing sectors of the cultural industries. In the first chapter, I noted that popular music is typically distinguished by its economic, commercial basis. However, such a definition appears contradictory when scholars and bureaucrats start discussing the state funding of popular music. Many intuitively ask why a

nation would fund commercial music when more “serious” music in comparison lacks a commercial market. Suddenly, popular music begins to look like it has much more in common with the city opera or symphony. These lines of distinction are constantly in tension, concurrently blurring and eroding. For example, there are groups such as Jeans ‘n Classics, a Canadian-based collection of rock musicians who organize shows with symphony orchestras in Europe and North America. For their hometown crowd of London, Ontario, there might be *Canada Rocks*, a show featuring Canadian musicians playing the songs of Michael Bublé, Lighthouse, Neil Young, k.d. lang, and Gordon Lightfoot alongside Orchestra London. Other popular touring shows put on by Jeans n’ Classics have featured the music of the Beatles, Michael Jackson, Pink Floyd, Queen, and the Eagles. The so-called Rock Symphony is intended to bring a new audience to the symphony hall, which Jeans ‘n Classics certainly appears it has managed to do alongside financial success. Additionally, artists ranging from heavy metal band Metallica to folk-rock artist Brandi Carlile have released albums recorded with symphony orchestras illustrating the further breakdown of old divisions.

Another example that illustrates the increasing difficulty of separating commercial, popular music from supposedly less commercial, more serious music is the example of jazz. Jazz history has increasingly become a highly divisive, “contested cultural site”—a development heightened by controversies surrounding Ken Burns’ PBS documentary *Jazz* (2001) (see Stanbridge, 2004). Wynton Marsalis served as producer and on-screen commentator for the documentary—presenting a neo-traditionalist jazz history through a narrow American-based interpretation at the exclusion of many musicians and styles (Stanbridge; St. Clair, 2001). Marsalis allies himself with decidedly canonical representations of jazz reflecting it as

“America’s Classical Music” (Sales, 1984; Taylor, 1986). For example, despite more recent critical acclaim, jazz purists widely decried Miles Davis’s progression toward fusion jazz at the end of his career. Amiri Baraka (1987), called it “dollar-sign music” (p. 177) and many simply called him a sell-out. Stanbridge (2004) in his wide-ranging discussion of the long-held tension of jazz as art and jazz as popular music, an issue further heightened by Burns’s documentary, points to the assertions put forth by Gary Tomlinson (1992) arguing against the critics of Miles Davis:

[it is]...antipopulist chauvinism...elitism pure and simple...a snobbish distortion of history by jazz purists attempting to insulate their cherished classics from the messy marketplace in which culture has always been negotiated...music created with an eye to eternal genius blind to the marketplace is a myth of European Romanticism sustained by its chief offspring: modernism. (pp. 82-83)

These tensions between (popular) music and the marketplace are even more at the forefront in popular music policy, because of its close alignment with both popular music studies and cultural policy studies. Even though popular music studies increasingly engages with such tensions, cultural policy studies is less capable of addressing policy support for popular music and the negotiation of its music within a commercial marketplace. For this primary reason, and others to be discussed, popular music policy is what this literature review will largely address. First though, it is important to situate popular music policy in relation to the broader field of popular music studies.

The academic study of popular music, commonly referred to as popular music studies, has had a crisis of legitimation at times, much like the growth of media studies. A resolutely

interdisciplinary field, popular music studies is made up of a wide cross section of academic disciplines, including musicology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, geography, sociology, media studies, and cultural studies. In being so interdisciplinary, it has suffered in the past from poor communication between its sundry practitioners. There is not a “common language” with which academics and others approach and study popular music, although there has been a push over approximately 15 years to further unify the field, especially the division between those trained in musicology and those from other disciplines (Buckley, 2002). The field can look substantially different in how you approach it, be it from anthropology, sociology, geography, or media studies. On a personal level, this lack of a common language has been even more apparent as I have written and presented popular music studies research in different conference settings, including conferences in communication studies (National Communication Association, International Communication Association, and Union for Democratic Communications), cultural policy studies (ICCPR: International Conference on Cultural Policy Research), and popular music studies itself (IASPM: International Association for the Study of Popular Music; UK/Ireland, U.S., and Canada divisions). One anecdote in particular exposes the problem of different approaches: a colleague and I were talking at an IASPM conference and he told me of a friend who was a visiting professor at a prestigious West Coast university in ethnomusicology and preparing to teach a course on “Bob Marley and the African Diaspora.” When asked while standing at the photocopy machine by a professor in his same department what he was photocopying, he replied assuredly, “a reading on Bob Marley.” The ethnomusicology professor responded, “Who is Bob Marley?” It is clear that not only is the communication poor between

popular music studies' constitutive disciplines, but the subject matter itself remains a point of contention.

An obvious advantage of such a diverse field of study is that there is a wide range of interdisciplinary and disciplinary research to draw upon. In trying to give some organization to the study of popular music, Angela McRobbie (1999) asserts there are “four schools of thought” that comprise the study of popular music: 1) political economic analysis; 2) cultural studies; 3) the line of research developed from the work of Simon Frith, drawing particularly on the study of rock music from a sociological basis; and (4) textual analysis approaches (p. 114). In this literature review of popular music policy, based on its historical development and maturation, it will be argued that popular music policy should be recognized as the fifth school of thought, closely tied with politics more broadly conceived, in relation to McRobbie's map of popular music studies. While popular music policy will always have a close connection with cultural policy studies, that field as it is widely conceived remains dominated by the study of cultural sectors that traditionally are supported through subsidies—art museums, symphony orchestras, operas, or capital campaigns for arts infrastructure. Because popular music policy has matured in the last decade and been embraced significantly more within popular music studies—the leading journal in the field *Popular Music* devoted a special issue in 2008 to popular music policy—it is the more natural home than cultural policy.

Most critically, the purpose of this literature review is to situate my own research within the field, reflect the knowledge I bring to my research, and argue for why my research fills significant gaps in the literature. In particular, my research is unique in its integration of qualitative, case study research along with a significant theoretical framework. A significant

amount of policy research, most of which has a historical emphasis, completely omits any theoretical considerations. Furthermore, many scholars do not contextualize their research within the field of either cultural policy studies or popular music policy as I have sought to do. In that spirit and with that purpose in mind, there is more emphasis on research studies of Canada or other studies applicable to Canadian policy considerations. Moreover, another reason for the bias in this literature review is that it is intrinsic to the field—popular music policy research is heavily nation-based and the majority of scholars exclusively study the policies of a single country. By the same account, a handful of countries are simply more acutely reflected in the literature because of their steeped histories of implementing policies to support, assist, or directly target their popular music sectors. These countries include Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Scandinavian countries. Popular music policy as a field is much more diverse than the focus of my research on federal support policies, and can include studies related to government, institutions, broadcasting, technology, copyright, and politics.

This chapter will begin by looking at two historical bellwethers of the field, Malm and Wallis's (1992) *Media Policy & Music Activity* and a co-edited collection, *Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies, Institutions* (1993). Published within one year of each other, these books taken together significantly raised the profile of popular music policy as an emergent area of study at the intersection of cultural and media policy, music policy, and popular music activity. Malm and Wallis's (1992) book is significant because of its integration of case studies, centered on interview-based and documentary research, with a broad theoretical framework linked to critical theory. Amazingly, it remains one of the few examples of such a multi-method

approach. Furthermore, it is one the closest studies capturing sharing similar research questions to my case study of Canadian cultural policy and popular music. The edited book, *Rock and Popular Music*, illustrates the wide array of research conducted at its time bringing together popular music with policy and politics.

In the subsequent section of this chapter, I will trace the field of popular music policy by locating a stream of research that shapes and informs my knowledge and approach to popular music policy—by what the research includes, but also what the research excludes. I will initially look at attempts to develop new cultural policy models better able to address popular music and culture. Next, I will look at influential research on Canadian popular music policy. At the end of this section, I will review more recent bellwethers that impact my research and impart where the field goes from this point in time: Martin Cloonan's (2007) *Popular Music and the State in the UK*, Marcus Breen's (2006) *Rock Dogs: Politics and the Australian Music Industry*, and a 2008 special issue of the journal *Popular Music* focused on policy that reveals the field's current direction and motivations. Additionally, the special journal issue helps in illustrating what policy topics and approaches have remained or not as issues in the literature.

In the final section, moving beyond the explicit literature review, I have two primary purposes. First of all, I will discuss the way in which my research theoretically and methodologically fills significant gaps in popular music policy and the more specific research relying on case studies of Canadian music policy. Secondly, after the historical development and contemporary field of popular music policy has been mapped out, some basic questions can start to be asked of it as a field/subfield of study. To what extent does the field need to articulate its research methodologies? To what extent should scholars working in popular music policy seek

to more actively engage and impact the policymaking process? To what extent should popular music policy studies attempt to move beyond their current limited national framing toward more comparative research?

### The Emergence of Policy in Popular Music Studies

The discussion of Malm and Wallis's (1992) text will be somewhat limited because it is discussed in direct relation to my case study approach in Chapter 5 focused on methodology. However, there are some takeaways not discussed in relation to the research overview and methodology. In the concluding chapter, based on their research findings, the authors argue it is critical to remember the human element both in policymaking and music activity. Even though that might seem to be stating the obvious, a lot of work in cultural policy discusses policies as if they were developed out of thin air, and are not in fact negotiations between political actors with varying degrees of knowledge. Moreover, the authors remark that thankfully creative activity is not entirely dependent on policy formations, as political winds continually change directions and lead to reevaluations of policy. Malm and Wallis: "Policies, of course, are no better than the people who formulate and implement them...Technologies, conglomerates, organizations, governments, and policymakers will come and go...Humans will continue to engage in creative activity based both on traditions and...the surrounding environment" (p. 256).

The subheading of this chapter is purposely borrowed from the second foundational text in the emergence of popular music policy: *Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies, Institutions* (1993), edited by Tony Bennett, Simon Frith, Lawrence Grossberg, John Shepherd, and Graeme Turner. The text continues to be highly influential today and as collection of



articles it remains the most frequently cited in contemporary popular music policy research. Moreover, the book remains the only edited collection of research concentrated principally on popular music policy, politics, and institutions focused on a relatively diverse group of countries. The book's contributors continue to be foremost within the field: a sampling includes Simon Frith (British music and policy), Will Straw (Canadian policy), Marcus Breen (Australian policy), Steve Jones (music press and Internet), Jody Berland (radio programming), Graeme Turner (Australian policy), Rogers Wallis and Krister Malm (music policy/activity in small countries), Lawrence Grossberg (rock music and politics), Reebee Garofalo (history of music/genres), and Georgina Born (Western music and society). Only one contributor, Peter Wicke, is based within a department of popular music and the remaining practice sociological approaches to studying popular music from primarily within departments of communications, cultural studies, or sociology. Many of the participants still regularly attend IASPM conferences, and are known chiefly as popular music scholars. Despite these associations, the book actually grew out of a seminar at the Institute for Cultural Policy Studies at Griffith University, the institutional home at the time of co-editor Tony Bennett (Bennett is currently at The Open University in the UK). The editors divide the book into three parts: Government and rock; Broadcasting: music, policies, cultures, and communities; and Rock and politics. Each of these divisions will be discussed, with the most attention paid to the first.

### *Government and Rock*

The introduction to this section of the book is the most reflective within this volume of the types of research questions and policy concerns my own work raises. The section introduction clearly articulates the focus of the research, a focus that remains in much

contemporary popular music policy scholarship: “the contributors to this section all document governments’ wariness about including the rock industry (unlike the opera or the film industry) within national agendas for cultural or industrial policy” (p. 9). Just as my previous chapter detailed within the history of Canadian cultural policy, the common story from different national contexts is the hesitancy of governments to support or intervene in the popular music industry. The articles from this section all expose that government intervention of rock and popular music is becoming “increasingly explicit, increasingly programmatic, and institutional” (p. 9). This is the one section of the book in which each article will be discussed, since they each touch on central questions (and themes of research) that remain in contemporary popular music policy research.

Simon Frith (1993) explores the development of local music policies in the United Kingdom, following a period of tremendous growth in national industrial policies targeting popular music in the 1980s. In citing the research of Street and Stanley (n.d.), he contends that there are four common municipal investments: recording studios, venues, concert promotion, and training. Frith concludes at the policy level that the local industry is invariably tied to the global industry, as the local has shifted the understanding and framing of community toward understanding it more as a setting—as the global movement of capital and labor interact with the shared site of local industry and practice. Such research studies focusing on local music policies, especially in relationship to larger policy and institutional structures, continue to be a dominant topic of interest within the field.

In the next article, Peter Wicke and John Shepherd (1993) confronts the contradictory relationship between the state and rock music in the dissolution of East Germany. The authors

argue that the nature of this relationship can shed light on discussions in the West about “commercialism, ‘authenticity’ and the political consequences of rock culture” (p. 25-26).

Authenticity is an important consideration by many studying popular music for its relationship with “popular” music and its promotion. Wicke and Shepherd highlight that although critics of Western popular music argue about the deleterious effects of the market on the quality of its music, in East Germany it was the absence of the market in cultural matters that heavily contributed to the undemocratic control of cultural life. Wicke and Shepherd are once again addressing the interplay of music, the marketplace, and policy.

Paul Rutten’s (1993) article also addresses a common contemporary theme—the ways in which government constructs popular music by examining the contested space occupied by popular music in the Netherlands. He argues that policy is differently constructed based on four tropes: “popular music as a problem;” “youth as problem, popular music as the solution;” “popular music as commercial product;” or “popular music as high culture” (p. 38). Observing the incongruence between popular music policy and arts policy, he argues that popular music policy must be separately developed because it can best “deal with music as a valuable creative expression as well as a commercial product,” something traditional cultural policy approaches cannot sufficiently address (p. 49). This chapter continues to reflect the problems of traditional approaches to cultural policy in addressing the cultural industries and popular music.

The next two articles by Will Straw and Marcus Breen (1993) each address state-based popular music policies and their level of intervention in each of their respective research countries, Canada and Australia. Straw has written more to date on Canadian cultural policy than any other scholar, and his historical overview of policy in Canada looks at the government’s

failure to adequately address music for decades, especially in comparison to film and broadcasting. He documents the government's attempts, beginning in the 1980s, and the subsequent growth of Canadian independent recording companies. Straw's research (1996, 2000, 2003, 2007) has been integral in helping to establish Canada as a valuable case study for the implementation of popular music policies. In much the same way, Breen (1993) looks at the conflicted nature of implementing popular music policy in Australia and how policy is shaped by an Australian political culture. He concludes that the purpose of an Australian policy framework is to provide an industrial space for the home-grown music industry, which will in turn be more effectively insulated from large multinational recording corporations.

Lastly, in this section of the collection, Steve Jones (1993) documents the increasing difficulty of foreign artists in obtaining H-1 work permits in the United States, which he argues is a purposeful decision by the American government to protect its performers. Despite the U.S. proclaiming to not have explicit cultural policies, much less popular music policies, Jones argues in the U.S. such policies are often enacted through backdoor mechanisms, including immigration and trade policies. While the various intersections involving labor, immigration, music, and policy are not sufficiently studied today, they remain a growing area of concern. In fact, the 2013 Canadian division of IASPM's call for papers is the relationship between music and labor.

These six articles and the scholars remain prominent in the field, and the articles were especially significant in framing the discussion of popular music policy moving forward from the 1990s. Many of these questions are the same questions being addressed today: the relationship of popular music policy to cultural policy, hidden U.S. policies that impact culture and music, and the relationship between the local, state, and international music industries.

*Broadcasting: Music, Policies, Cultures, and Communities*

The middle section of the book addresses a topic that is central to popular music advocacy organizations such as the Future of Music Coalition in the United States. That topic is the relationship between two industries—the broadcasting industry and the music recording industry—and the state’s role in regulating that relationship. Surprisingly, these industries have remained organizationally separated at an institutional level with nearly all corporations operating in just one of the two industries. As a result, despite competing economic interests, each industry is equally reliant on the other for their own success. The introduction of the book describes the relationship as one of “mutual exploitation” (p. 99). Such a tension is clear in Canada, where the broadcasting industry long fought against Cancon legislation, despite the requirements helping to provide both more and better quality Canadian content—ultimately benefiting Canadian broadcasters. Another common theme among these chapters is how deregulation of the broadcasting industry impacts the music industry—leading to “streamlining, networking, and take-over” (p. 102). Lastly, as also discussed in regard to Canadian cultural policy, there is substantial concern over not merely the commercialization of radio broadcasting, but the Americanization of broadcasting. None of the articles address the U.S. market explicitly because it is taken for granted that the deleterious effects of commercialization in Canada, Australia, and Sweden are the standard in the United States, which largely lacks public service requirements for commercial broadcasters.

Similarly to Frith’s (1993) article on local music policies, Berland (1993) examines the limitations of constructing the local on commercial format radio. For example, listeners expect radio stations to provide local weather, traffic, news, and sports. And, of course, they expect

local advertisements. On the other hand, if someone travels across the country, successively tuning into what is promoted as “local independent radio,” listeners will hear the same music often programmed in the same sequence everywhere—there is no local musical programming. Such a contradiction is often omitted in scholarship of radio broadcasting and locality, which more often looks at issues of news production. Berland contends this contradiction coupled with the fact that so much music on the radio is only heard in the background, while other tasks are completed, illustrates that format radio is not attempting to meet a demand for music, but are simply using music formatting to purposely reach a certain target demographic. All of these contradictions can be addressed through policy, and Berland transitions her discussion to Canadian content legislation as one policy engagement contending with such issues.

Line Grenier (1993) extends Berland’s discussion to examine French vocal requirements for Francophone Canadian radio stations. Grenier focuses on the 1989 CRTC hearings and the policy engagement of the broadcasting industry, music industry, and state in Quebec. Grenier notes that Quebec’s primary music organization, ADISQ (*Association québécoise de l'industrie du disque, du spectacle et de la vidéo*), curiously became the voice of the people despite its intended corporate interests—arguing that such legislation was fundamental to the “future of Quebecois culture” and the province remaining a “distinct society” (p. 129). The remaining articles by Turner (1993) and Wallis and Malm (1993) address many related radio issues concerned with the constraints of radio and its relationship with popular music in Australia and Sweden respectively. Despite the long-predicted death of broadcast radio over the last two decades, also addressed by these writers, policy work continues to examine radio’s role.

*Rock and Politics*

In the introduction of the final section, the editors first explain why they named the section “Rock and politics,” since that title could explain the entire edited text. They explain that each of the final five essays attempts in one way or another to address whether the politics of music are discernible from the musical text itself. The conclusion from the essays is that the politics of music are mostly not an aesthetic issue. More broadly they contend, “each of the five essays wants to connect music to events, structures, struggles and developments...all address...the nature of the mediated relationship between forms and structures of cultural practices, and processes and structures of social life” (p. 171). While these essays do not address “policy” in the conventional sense, they do concern “reading culture politically” (p. 171)—a fundamental issue in policy development. An example is Canada where much of the reason the cultural sector of the government attempts to maintain an arms-length approach to governance, especially popular music funding, is attributable to political-based contestation. In 2008, when news came to light that the ruling Conservative Party wanted to eliminate the PromArt funding system (\$4.7 million annually), which helps Canadian artists with international touring, the Toronto-based band Holy Fuck was alluded to in a talking points memo obtained by Canwest News service (“PM defends Tory,” 2008). PromArt is operated out of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and is open to touring artists from across Canadian arts and cultural programming. In the memo, PromArt is identified for cuts because of three grant recipients: “a general radical” (CBC news broadcaster Avi Lewis), “a left-wing and anti-globalization think tank,” and a rock group with an expletive as part of its name (para. 4). One spokesman for the ruling Tories told CBC News that some of the artists were “not ones the government believes should be representing Canada” (“Don’t blame us,” 2008, para. 2). The

irony of the cuts is that part of PromArt's historical heritage could easily be traced back to the SRDP in 1986, "a legacy of the Tory government's emphasis on the cultural industries as agents of economic development" (Straw, 1996, p. 106). Holy Fuck bass player Matt McQuaid, in an interview on "Q with Jian Ghomeshi," responded to the news: "I think our funding comes in at something less than 0.1 percent of the whole program [\$3,000]...so all of these other larger groups who need money more than we do to travel abroad—like ballet and symphonies—we become the scapegoat for the cutting in their funding" ("Don't blame us," 2008, para. 8-9).

Returning to *Rock and Popular Music*, Mavis Bayton (1993) extends the discussion of politics beyond the production and reception of popular music to address feminist music practice. Bayton correctly remarks that "there has been little empirical work on musicians and the processes of music-making" (p. 178). Much like Malm and Wallis (1992) address in their ground-breaking book *Media Policy and Music Activity*, Bayton examines the constitutive elements of feminist popular music-making that allow it to be simultaneously an "oppositional and enabling force" to feminism, but also self-limiting by decreasing the potential audience it can reach (p. 191). Along these same lines, Grossberg's (1993) essay addresses the relationship between the political expediency of rock music for conservatives in light of music's ability to act as a relentlessly mobilizing entity, moving between space and place. What happens politically to rock if it becomes part of the establishment? That question is also of central importance to contemporary policy discussions concerning popular music, as artists increasingly look toward government for financial support, even though at the same time they are negotiating a "cycle of authentic and co-opted sounds" (p. 207). Furthermore, in examining the contradictory nature of rock music to territorialize and deterritorialize, Grossberg asserts through the latter process,



which he calls “lines of flight,” rock music is able to move out from the mainstream and declare itself an oppositional force. As a result of rock’s political mobility, Grossberg situates space above place in rock music.

In the last article addressed, Chris Lawe Davies (2003), in a larger discussion of space and place in Aboriginal rock music, frames policy in relation to oppositional political strength. Davies writes, “those [Aboriginal bands] who achieved mainstream airplay tended to reinforce rather than challenge exploitative colonial relations” (p. 258). Such commercial discrimination and hostile conditions for Aboriginal artists helped spark the impetus for the Central Australian Aboriginal Music Association (CAAMA). The CAAMA’s establishment led to additional associations and agencies throughout the country, eventually solidifying CAAMA as a major center for Aboriginal public radio, television, and musical support. Davies emphasizes, “the music and the politics are growing together—they must, in order for a common sense of acceptance to have become evident in the wider commercial market (p. 260).

The approach taken in *Rock and Popular Music* in framing and situating the analysis of popular music in relation to politics, policies, and institutions makes it still a foundational text in the development and further emergence of popular music policy. The articles remain the most commonly cited in significant contemporary research. Moreover, it remains the only collection to integrate selections from some of the most established scholars in popular music and policy, including Frith, Berland, Breen, Malm, Wallis, and Straw. Lastly, its editors—a prominent group of policy scholars from the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia, continue to not only shape popular music policy, but also popular music studies, cultural policy studies, and cultural studies.

## Popular Music and the (Canadian) State

In this section, I will locate a path of research that is particularly relevant in shaping my knowledge and approach to popular music policy. Even though the majority of these sources are contemporary, there is range of approximately 20 years discussed to reveal not only the most significant studies, but also studies offering the most assistance to explorations of federal popular music policy. This part of the chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will examine attempts at creating new cultural policy models to better account for the market tension present in any evaluation of policy development for the music and cultural industries. Secondly, the chapter will consider the literature on Canadian popular music policy.

### *Redefining Cultural Policy/Studies*

In Chapter 1, I cited the work of Alan Stanbridge (2002), specifically referencing his article *Detour or Dead-end? Contemporary Cultural Theory and the Search for New Cultural Policy Models*. As the title suggests, the article argues that new cultural policy models cognizant of cultural theory are likely necessary to adequately address the expansion of culture and subsequent policy formation. On a more interesting note, Stanbridge (2002) argues that cultural theory may similarly be able to learn significantly from the pragmatic examples within the cultural industries sector. For example, Stanbridge asserts priorities within the cultural industries have “resulted in outcomes—the ‘flattening’ of cultural hierarches and the challenging of dominant notions of canonicity—strikingly similar to the interventions of contemporary cultural theory” (p. 121). In particular, he points to the example of the sound recording industry:

The contemporary recording industry offers an interesting example of what might be called a re-evaluation by default—a re-evaluation simply in terms of sheer quantity and eclecticism. Increasingly, it seems, the musical canon is widened further and further, both by major and independent labels...And since the era of punk rock in the late 1970s, popular music has become a significant site of creative experiment and crossover, easily rivaling that of the contemporary classical field. This opening up of the musical canon surely suggests, once and for all, that sonata form, the classical symphony, and operatic musical theatre are not the pinnacles of human musical achievement. Rather, they are simply other genres among many, taking their place alongside other traditions and other forms of music making in this expanded musical canon. (p. 128)

Stanbridge qualifies his arguments that he is not arguing for a financial imperative or that the best solution is to simply have the market decide. He is more than anything offering a comparison. For example, beyond the diversity of rock and punk, Stanbridge cites the film music of Bernard Hermann, Ennio Morricone, and Nino Rota; the American music of Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, and Richard Rodgers—all of these rather modern musical styles within popular music are given equal treatment within an expanded canon next to established classical composers. In other examples, he mentions how the field music of ethnomusicologists, which was once so difficult to discover and acquire, is now regularly accessible in the majority of record stores.

Stanbridge's predominant point, which is critical when evaluating and considering new models of cultural policy, is in comparison to the cultural industries, "little or no such re-evaluation of traditional canons has taken place within the sphere of public funding of the arts"

(p. 130). In a more recent study, Stanbridge (2007) points to the Toronto Symphony Orchestra as an example of inertia—three composers, Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms, accounted for a quarter of all performances during two recent seasons. Dead composers accounted for 86 percent of all performances during the same two seasons (p. 263). Moreover, despite the publicity and attention paid to policies targeting popular music in Canada and elsewhere, the majority of funding still went to supporting the Western art music canon. The Canada Council for the Arts in 2004-05 awarded \$26.8 million in grants to 1054 organizations (Stanbridge). More than 60 percent of that total, or \$16.2 million, went to just 79 organizations in orchestra, opera, and music theatre—in the United Kingdom the percentage of funding to the recognized “arts” is more than 90 percent (Stanbridge). All of these examples demonstrate the still-stark distinction between support for high-cultural institutions usually reliant on subsidies, and everything else. Current cultural policy models fail in bringing even a modicum of diversity to their funding programs and definitely less than popular music models. There could not be many clearer cases for why current cultural policy models do little to bring diversity and plurality to musical performances.

While Stanbridge is not alone, he is among a small group of scholars within cultural policy studies who argue there needs to be more serious attempts to engage with popular culture writ large. This fact is even truer for popular music that lies outside the more commercial genres, which are often stuck between two extremes of cultural support. I attended the 2008 ICCPR in Istanbul and was somewhat discouraged by the lack of substantial engagement with culture in relationship to popular culture or music, especially amid the increasing economic and commodity-driven rhetoric of “creative industries.” David Loosley (2011), Emeritus Professor

of Contemporary French Culture at the University of Leeds, wrote the introduction for a special issue of the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* devoted to popular culture and policy. I learned I was not alone:

The need to research the relationship between cultural policy and popular culture had suggested itself a year earlier, at the fifth International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR) held in Istanbul in 2008. In informal conversations and at the closing plenary, I had commented upon the seeming invisibility of ‘popular culture’ in both policy analysis and policy-making today. Broadly speaking, the conference papers and session topics followed the standard discursive convention of distinguishing between the recognised ‘arts’ on the one hand, and the cultural or creative ‘industries’ on the other whose outputs are generally understood as commodities rather than artistic practices. One consequence of this convention within cultural policy studies is that popular culture, routinely assigned to the second of these two categories, is subject to various modes of economic or sociological enquiry while the complex semantic, cultural and aesthetic questions it raises are neglected. (p. 361)

Both Stanbridge and Loosley illustrate different but closely related problems in the contemporary cultural policy conversation. Without the continued evolution of cultural policy models, whether from cultural theory or elsewhere, the existing policy models originally created to address arts funding models will only continue to decrease in their usefulness to popular music policy.

### *Popular Music and the Canadian State*

In this section, my attention shifts toward the noteworthy work on popular music and the Canadian state. Before 1989, there were almost no scholars examining popular music policy in

Canada or cultural industries policy who maintained any level of prominence. The most helpful research from this period is mostly government-sponsored research studies, which are helpful in historically reconstructing the evolution of cultural policies. The one exception is economist Paul Audley's (1983) book *Canada's Cultural Industries: Broadcasting, Publishing, Records and Film*—the first book of its kind in Canada and the first to use the plural “cultural industries,” predating the more well-known contributions by Bernard Miège (1989) and Herbert Schiller (1983). Audley continues to be well-cited because of his close ties to the policymaking process and his unique economic perspective. Audley has written government-commissioned reports, including *A Time for Action*, which advocated for the government to take policy action toward the recording industry (Audley, Chater, Houle, Robertson, & Feldman, 1996). In much of his early work, Audley (1983) documents the miniscule amount of funding sound recording received for decades compared to other cultural industries.

The leading scholar of Canadian popular policy, at least in terms of sheer research, is Straw (1996, 2000, 2003, 2007), whose work has helped to establish the serious scholarship of the music industry in Canada. He was one of the first scholars to write academically about FACTOR, commenting in 1996: “FACTOR has proven highly effective...when the federal government began to direct funds to the sound-recording industry, it used FACTOR's disbursement structures rather than establishing its own” (p. 106). In addition to his persistent attention to developments in Canadian popular music policy, Straw (1996, 2003, 2000, 2007) has also extensively mapped out the structure of the Canadian recording industry as a whole, expressly the binary between the industry's Canadian-owned independent labels and the multinational recording labels.

One study worth mentioning, despite the fact that it is not routinely cited in the literature, is a 2004 chapter written by Canadian historian Robert Wright, developed from a previously published journal article published in 1991. Wright (2004) offers a full-on critique of Canadian content legislation just before the independent industry achieved international and critical acclaim. Wright's argument is not that Cancon policies theoretically failed, but that they never could have significantly attained what they were intended to as products of the nationalist agenda of the 1970s and 1980s. He dismisses the legislation as "'official' cultural protectionism" (p. 81) that has done little to assist the Canadian-owned music industry. While there was insufficient Canadian product to adequately meet the Cancon requirements for a period of time, that changed as funding for the independent industry increased. Therefore, many of Wright's critiques had some basis in fact when he was writing, but today the story is quite different and they absolutely are not accurate. He argues that the only successes in recent Canadian pop music history are those stars who signed with multinationals and promptly left Canada, usually in an attempt to conquer the U.S. market, i.e., Barenaked Ladies, Alanis Morissette, Céline Dion, and Shania Twain. Wright names the Tragically Hip as an example at the other end of the spectrum, "homegrown heroes and nationalist standard-bearers for literally millions of Canadian fans," (p. 94) whose lack of translatable United States success became a central trait of the band's Canadian narrative. In contrast, not only does Canada still have the global stars, represented today by Justin Bieber, Drake, Michael Bublé, Carly Rae Jepsen, K'naan, and Arcade Fire, but they also have the independents, such as Broken Social Scene, Metric, Stars, Hey Rosetta!, and others who are defined as equally for their Canadianness as for their music.

There has been a relative explosion in substantial Canadian popular music policy studies in the last several years, predominantly from Canadian university dissertations. The most likely reason for the apparent surge in scholarship is the success of the Canadian independent music industry bringing more attention to the industry and its support apparatuses. Ryan Edwardson (2008; 2009) completed his doctoral dissertation in history at Queen's University, Kingston in 2004 and subsequently published back-to-back histories of Canadian cultural nationalism and Canadian popular music in 2008 and 2009. His first book, *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood* (2008), an outgrowth of his dissertation, is a historical examination of Canadian cultural nationalism and Canadian national identity through the reflecting lens of media and cultural policy developments. There is just a single mention of FACTOR and only a handful of pages focused on popular music, as Edwardson is principally concerned with historicizing the periods of cultural nationalism vis-à-vis the “Quest for Nationhood.”

Edwardson provides the most complete history yet written of the ways in which Canadian culture—broadcasting, publishing, the arts, film, and music—became expressed through cultural nationalism, or Canadianization during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Edwardson’s (2009) next book, *Canuck Rock: A History of Canadian Popular Music*, applies his Canadianization framework specifically to the cultural historical development of popular music. While Edwardson does address Canadian content legislation significantly over two chapters, there is still relatively minimal interest paid to the particulars of popular music policy at the organizational level. Instead, Edwardson reveals how the cultural expressions of popular music came to reflect the progression of the country’s cultural nationalism and identity. The historical study of Canadian popular music has been given very little academic treatment, and often only piecemeal, so this



contribution is also a noteworthy contribution to the popular cultural history of 20<sup>th</sup> century Canada. Both of these books, while obviously closely connected in their historical framing, are the most complete historical studies of Canadian nationalism and popular music.

Another important contribution is from Richard Sutherland, a doctoral advisee of Will Straw's at McGill University in the Department of Art History & Communication Studies. Sutherland (2008) is a historian and his dissertation, "Making Canadian Music Industry Policy 1970-1998," is a detailed examination of the historical development of music industry policy, including copyright legislation, up until 1998. Once again, similarly to Edwardson, Sutherland is crafting a history more than addressing the contemporary theoretical issues of how policy operates on the ground. It is the first book-length historical overview explicitly on music industry policy written. Moreover, Sutherland did extensive historical research, including a good deal of archival research using Canadian Parliament proceedings; the first scholar to bring together that level of historical breadth in constructing both popular music policy and industry history. Sutherland takes note of this noticeable gap in music industry history, which, as he notes, is markedly different from a number of studies on the Canadian film industry.

Lastly, one other dissertation of recent interest is Sara B. Keough's (2007) "Canada's Cultural Media Policy and Newfoundland Music on the Radio: Local Identities and Global Implications." Keough completed her doctorate degree in geography from the University of Tennessee and her research is unique in applying a geographical perspective on the impact of federal and provincial policies in Newfoundland with interrelated global repercussions. Her research is focused and narrow. As she explains, it "involves a single-case study: Newfoundland music that is broadcast on radio stations in the St. John's radio market" (p. 93). That said,

Keough also provides an excellent chapter-length overview on the history of Canadian content regulations legislatively and in relation to its local impact. She is also particularly interested in the ways in which radio helps to define the place and space within a geography, especially in a geography as isolated as Newfoundland, as island off the East Coast of Canada.

### Significant Recent Developments in Popular Music Policy

The Canadian-based dissertations are a great source of new knowledge on Canadian cultural policy and popular music, but their larger resonance to the policy field for now is limited by being dissertations. In distilling the development of popular music policy there are three significant recent publications that will be the focus of this last section. Despite significantly more scholarship over the last several decades on British cultural industries policy, there had not been a book entirely focused on popular music policy until Martin Cloonan's *Popular Music and the State in the UK: Culture Trade or Industry?*, published in 2007. Much like the earlier book by Malm and Wallis (1992), Cloonan's research includes both a review of policy developments since 1955 and also significant stakeholder interviews. For example, one chapter is titled "Policy on the Ground: The New Deal for Musicians" and reviews a UK initiative put into place in October 1999, called "perhaps the single most important measure in popular music education we have experienced" (Jones, 2000, p. 6). This measure was called the New Deal for Musicians (NDfM), a "training scheme specially designed to meet the needs of young unemployed musicians," which became the highest direct UK government intervention in popular music, approximately £3 million annually (Cloonan, 2007, p. 103). Cloonan conducted formal interviews with ten musicians and had casual conversations with many others who were NDfM

clients (p. 113). Furthermore, based on his interviews and other research, Cloonan remarks on the balance the program attempted to strike: "...it was born of the new relationship between industries and government. It thus had to meet two agendas—the government desire to force down unemployment and the industries' need for new talent to come through" (p. 115). In his final research chapter, on Scotland and political devolution, which he claims "offers a new lens through which to view popular music policy, as it is in effect a level between local and nation-state government" (p. 120), Cloonan concludes:

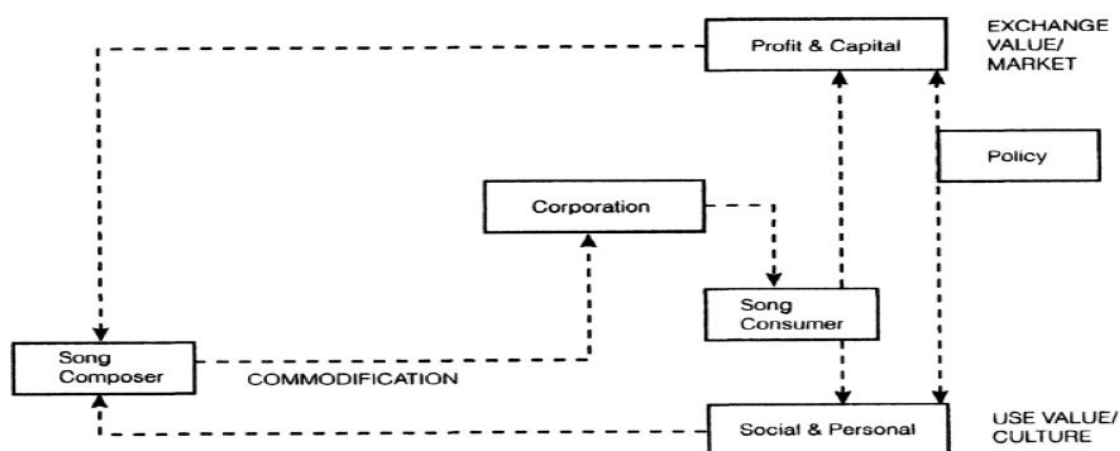
In terms of popular music policy, Britain has moved from having a benign state to having one which seeks to be promotional. However, what is seen as being worthy of promotion one day, might engender a more authoritarian approach the next. Thus the So Solid Crew went from being promoted by the Foreign Office to being castigated by Home Office members (p. 144).

It is hard not to conclude much the same in terms of Canadian popular music policy and the case of Holy Fuck, which went from receiving minimal funding from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade to being blamed for the entire funding program receiving the axe, which it finally did on March 1, 2009.

Popular music policy and cultural theory are further brought together in Breen's (2006) conception of the popular music policy formation, developed in the final chapters of his book *Rock Dogs: Politics and the Australian Music Industry*. Breen's work deserves special consideration and elaboration because he is the only scholar working across cultural theory, cultural policy, and popular music studies in attempting to articulate and develop an explicit theory of popular music policy. Breen describes his theorization as a marriage of "industry,

economy, and culture,” based on research conducted on policy consideration of the late 1980s and early 1990s in Australian popular music. It was during this time that the Australian Labour Party honed in on cultural policies as a major political initiative. To reveal how Breen’s complex policy formation is broadly construed, his visual representation of the theory is represented below (Breen, 2006, p. 211).

**Figure 2: Popular Music Policy Formation**



One of the most striking features of Breen’s formulation is the significance of commodification, as Breen plainly states: “[it] characterizes the relationship between culture, industry and policy.” (p. 201). The inclusion of commodification is welcomed in popular music policy because it is rarely mentioned, despite being at the core of the cultural industries. An interesting finding of Breen’s research is his indication that evidence suggests there is a decade-long lag between the implementation of policy and observable results (p. 202). This delay would strongly correlate with the current successes in the Canadian music industry, which did not fully embrace supporting its popular music industry through inputs and outputs until 2001. Breen’s theorization connects commodification with the cultural studies theory of articulation in the

following manner. The cultural commodity of popular music is recognized as an ideal commodity through a transcendent exchange process, as it can give “give birth to both forms of value simultaneously” (p. 210). Articulation, recognized as “movement marked by refusal and capitulation, subordination and domination, pure autonomy or total encapsulation” (Hall, 1981, pp. 233-235) is used in conjunction with commodification to describe the exchange of popular expression into the industrial sector (p. 206). Lastly, as the figure represents, the exchange value is privileged by the corporation to maximize profits, but use value is privileged by the music consumer. These two exchanges are lastly moderated or impacted by cultural policy, functioning between the two commodity values. Breen’s theorization is quite rare in the field of popular music popular, but it will take additional research and analysis to evaluate its practical use in the policymaking process, and not as more of a reflection on his own research findings. It is a significant step in the right direction though, by integrating theory and policy. Breen concludes regarding his theory:

Articulation theory and the popular music policy formulation provides an overview of the commodification imperative. Specifically, the model places policy within the logic of the exchange value-use value relationship. I have argued that culture and industry need to be discussed as part of an organic totality. This approach helps circumvent the prospect of bouncing back and forth between the cultural, the economic and the industrial. By recognizing and acknowledging the commodification of culture, it is possible to move beyond some of the debates about culture and view it as part of the present and future life of the political

economy of the nation and plan accordingly in a ‘managed economy’ (Breen, p. 217).

Lastly, similar to how the edited text, *Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies, Institutions*, proved significant in determining future research, so too might a special issue on popular music policy in the leading academic journal, *Popular Music* (2008). As in that collection too, Frith is one of the co-editors of the special issue along with Cloonan. Both are Scottish and write in the introduction about their roles in helping to shape popular music policy in the Scottish context—as both have been very active outside the academy (Frith and Cloonan, 2008). Additionally, in the introduction they consider the common development in the field and the articles appearing in the special issue:

As all the articles that follow illustrate, the shift of the policy making impetus from culture to culture industry marks a shift too in the way in which policy is formulated, from something driven by overt ideologies (in which political parties shape the ideas of what national culture is or should be, and argue explicitly about the role of the state in constructing and maintaining the nation’s symbolic life) to something that is expected to be ‘evidence based’, the result of complicated behind-the-scenes negotiations between lobbyists for the various interested parties and ‘consultants’ providing governments with ‘impartial’ advice. (pp. 189-190)

From a broad perspective, the special issue is indicative of the countries currently being studied most often in relation for their popular music policies: featured articles include Australia (Breen), the Caribbean (Harwood), Canada (Henderdon), Australia (Homan), Germany (Krause), Finland (Makela), and New Zealand (Scott; Shuker, 2008b). Common themes include policies

related to performance, content regulations, live music venue reform, popular music as international export, and cultural identity. Janne Makela (2008) provides a history of cultural policy aims in Finland and its focus on music exports. In much the same way, Till Krause examines the state-funded export of German popular music, but uniquely through a case study of Radio Goeth—a weekly radio program in San Francisco carried by more than 30 college radio stations specializing in music from Germanophone countries intended for Anglophone countries. Susan Harewood (2008) examines the connections between music policy and citizenship in Barbados, specifically the relationship of calypso and soca performance in the construction of national identity. Shane Homan (2008) looks at a topic increasingly common: the policies directed at live music venues often bounded within larger urban policy and gentrification initiatives. These articles provide an excellent overview of the current type of popular music policy research being conducted and the increasing diversity represented, as indicative of the research on Germany and the Caribbean.

### Conclusion

This dissertation research brings together many of the strongest attributes pointed out in the literature review: contemporary analysis of policy practices, a clear elaboration of methodology, multi-method research utilizing interview-based and documentary research, and an overarching emphasis on connecting the research findings with cultural theory. Also, significantly, I was able to interview a wide-range of stakeholders, including policymakers, label executives, musicians with a range of commercial marketability, and policy consultants working within the popular music industry. At one time I considered conducting my research in the

United Kingdom, but I soon learned it had less actual policy than Canada, yet more academic scholarship on that policy. It also helped learning of Cloonan's (2007) book before it was released, as I was told about it by a colleague who thought it sounded like I had a similar methodological research interest, chiefly interviews with those involved on the ground.

Based on this literature and my other knowledge of popular music policy, I strongly believe that scholars in policy music policy must better explicate their methodology and its relationship to theoretical approaches. A surprising number of historical popular music policy studies include no discussion of theoretical considerations, much less their methodology or personal history or involvement with the field. Frith and Cloonan (2008) state that they do believe policymakers should not be afraid to become involved in policy, mentioning that some scholars believe its antithetical to the rock music they study to become actively involved in the process. While it is true that many policy scholars entered the academy after careers in arts administration and popular music, I think it bears highlighting that those scholars should be just as willing to reverse the flow of knowledge to help shape current policymaking. Lastly, and this is a point alluded to by Cloonan (2007) as well, I think it is important for scholars to consider doing more comparative work, or at least research with a strong resemblance to related research. Cloonan remarks that his research approach to studying Scottish popular music policy "offers the possibility of meaningful comparisons with federal systems such as Australia," (p. 120) while then citing the Australian policy work of Breen (2006/1999). As I will discuss more at length in the concluding chapter, there are opportunities for future research based in part on my research in Canada with other federal music policy initiatives. Comparative research will better allow for new policy models to be developed since it allows for a higher likelihood of finding common



patterns and, in effect, triangulating successful comparative initiatives in the popular music policymaking process.

## CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL THEORY

Imagination is the link to civil society that art and democracy share. When imagination flourishes in the arts, democracy benefits. When it flourishes in a democracy, the arts and the civil society the arts help to ground also benefit. Imagination is the key to diversity, to civic compassion and to commonality. (Barber, 1998, p. 111)

### Introduction

#### *The Cultural Turn*

The cultural turn is foundational to understanding the theoretical position of culture in the contemporary social sciences and humanities, as well as cultural policy. George Steinmetz (1999) argues in the introduction to his edited collection, *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn*, that it is “accurate to describe the cultural turn as more or less synonymous with cultural studies *within the field of the social sciences* [italics added]” (p. 3). The interdisciplinary nature of cultural studies can likewise be seen in the expanse of the cultural turn, which included an expansive scope of disciplines, including anthropology, literary studies, semiotics, sociology, history, and communication. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (1999) argue that the seeds of the cultural turn, especially among American social scientists, are two books published in 1973—Hayden White’s *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* and Clifford Geertz’s *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays*. There were other significant works throughout the 1970s, all of which helped in shifting social scientific scholarship away from objectivism and toward a more culturally determined analysis (Steinmetz, 1999). These seminal texts were written by such scholars as Jacques Derrida, Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, Roland Barthes, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault.

In his influential 1958 essay, “Culture is Ordinary,” Raymond Williams (1958/1989b) wrote of culture as a “whole way of life” (p. 7), in which “culture is common meanings, the product of a whole people....they are made by living, made and remade, in ways we cannot know in advance” (p. 8). Williams’s progression traced in this essay mirrors that of his larger theoretical body of work, arguing that “we live in an expanding culture, and all the elements in this culture are themselves expanding” (p. 13). Such a principle of an expanding and broadening culture became a key facet of the cultural turn in the humanities. While more subtle than compared to the social sciences, the cultural turn in the humanities, especially the development of cultural studies, began a move toward the study of popular culture and the world outside of the text. Ironically, by its maturation and entrenchment as a discipline, cultural studies would eventually come to rely so greatly on texts as a stand-in for culture that scholars would once again call for a focus on the human beings outside that text. As Eileen R. Meehan (2001) warns, “This reduction of a whole way of living, being, and doing in the world to reading texts has methodological benefits, but...the reduction tends to eliminate humans beings from discussions about text and culture” (p. 208). At the same time, there has been a consistent cultural populist development within contemporary cultural studies, increasingly supplying celebratory culture in lieu of cultural critique (see McGuigan, 1992; Frith and Savage, 1993). In his latest book, *Blow Up the Humanities*, Toby Miller (2012) tackles the sobering decline of the humanities in U.S. higher education, both in observed importance and actual number of majors. Miller’s recommendation is for a further turn toward the study of media and cultural studies, across the entire humanities (and toward policy), as he explains:

The future of the humanities does not lie in the autonomy of scholarship and culture. It is about thriving in the context of difference and economic change, in ways that make us fit for purpose and progressive. Media and cultural studies are well placed to be cornerstones of this new work because they are both disciplinary and interdisciplinary formations and dynamic challenges to the status quo yet increased and invested in commercial culture. Such forms of engagement are required alongside a fervent push for a renewed humanities to take its place at the public-policy table” (pp. 115-116; see also Turner, 2012).

All of these tensions are healthy to the project of cultural studies—as is the continuing questioning and examination of culture and how it is operationalized. In the cultural turn’s shift of the study of culture more toward the center of social scientific inquiry, framing culture through positivism lost value in favor of recognizing the constitutive roles of culture (Steinmetz, 1999). Bonnell and Hunt (1999) in particular point to the influential work of Geertz as leading to a “reconfiguration of theory and method in the study of culture—from explanation to interpretation and ‘thick description’” (p. 2). Geertz (1977) reasoned that the study of culture is not a science of experimentation, but the practice of interpretation to create meaning:

The concept of culture I espouse, and whose utility the essays below attempt to demonstrate, is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical. (p. 5)

Recognizing these dramatic shifts in the analysis and place of culture within the humanities and social sciences, this chapter will situate the way in which I have come to see culture in my research and how I situate it theoretically within a larger body of knowledge in cultural studies, critical political economy, critical cultural policy, and cultural geography. While much of my theoretical grounding will be traced from work in British cultural studies, this should not obscure the fact that current cultural policy studies research, including popular music policy, is often quite varied in methods, approaches, and ontological grounding. Just as my theoretical basis draws distinctly from work in political economy and cultural geography, contemporary cultural policy studies often borrow approaches from anthropology, visual studies, museum studies, arts management, and musicology. Rather than a definitive review of these various theoretical approaches, the underlying goal of this chapter is to substantiate my implementation of cultural theory to cultural policy research and methods.

The beginning of the chapter will elaborate on definitional issues of culture, particularly to my research and my case study on Canadian popular music policy. Next, I will more thoroughly explicate two divergent approaches to cultural policy studies, the Australian cultural policy studies school approach rooted in Foucauldian governmentality and an alternative approach developed out of Gramscian (counter-hegemonic) cultural studies and a particular cultural political economy developed from Raymond Williams's *The Long Revolution*. Nick Stevenson (2003) contends that Williams's designation the "long revolution" is an attempt to link economic, social, and political issues to cultural questions" (p. 7). Williams (1958/1989b) states, "the organization of our present mass [communication] culture is so closely involved with the organization of a capitalist society the future of one cannot be considered except in terms of the future of the other" (p. 17).

Drawing from the work of Williams, a central principle to my understanding of culture is the dialectic relationship between culture and the economy and the mediation of policy and place in that relationship. Lily Kong (2000) describes the relationship as dialectical “for while local cultures contribute to the nature of economic activity, economic activity is also part of the culture-generating and innovation in particular places” (p. 385). In recognizing the dialectical relationship between culture and economy, the cultural industries have particular significance because of the “intensity of the recursive relations between the cultural attribute of place and the logic of the local production system” (Scott, 1997, p. 325). Allen J. Scott (1997) cites various examples in which local cultural attributes imbue the look and feel of corresponding cultural products, e.g., Hollywood films, Danish furniture, Florentine leather goods, Thai silks, or London theatre (p. 325). These examples demonstrate the “highly symbiotic” triad of “place, culture, and economy” (p. 325). Place is critical in my conceptualization of cultural policy and in my case study of Canada, in which the border is recognized as a key impetus in the formation of popular music policy. Moreover, my research findings and theoretical use of place challenges the popular notion that bounded spaces have been subsumed by networks of power. Examples of spatial socialization, a concept put forth by Anssi Paasi (1996), were apparent during interviews when several participants demonstrated a shared Canadian spatial understanding, specifically toward its southern border with the U.S. and its implication in forming the nation’s cultural milieu. Paasi (2009) maintains that spatial socialization is when citizens and collectives “are socialized as members of specific territorially bounded spatial entities, participate in their reproduction and ‘learn’ collective territorial identities, narratives of shared traditions, and inherent spatial images” (p. 226).

*Building on Culture*

It might be said, indeed, that the questions now concentrated in the meanings of the word *culture* are questions directly raised by the great historical changes which the changes in *industry*, *democracy*, and *class*, in their own way, represent, and to which the changes in *art* are a closely related response. (Williams, 1958/1983, p. xvi)

No writer is more influential in my own understanding of culture and the idealized goals of cultural policy than Raymond Williams. The simplest reason is straightforward: as part of the British cultural studies tradition, he broke from the dominant paradigm in the humanities and expanded our conceptualization and study of culture beyond clericism, and eventually toward working-class and popular culture. While Williams extended his argument to the development of an alternative democratic socialist framework, the reasoning behind such a goal was “to represent the voices of ordinary people, artists, and radical critics so that they might engage with a wider public on issues of common concern” (Stevenson, 2003, p. 7). Williams’s goals, as I will detail throughout this chapter and the next, provide a strong foundation for conceptualizing what I argue should be the ultimate aim of contemporary cultural policy: developing new possibilities for social justice through tenets of cultural citizenship. There are many competing and complimentary understandings of what cultural citizenship means, but Miller (1999) provides one of the most broad definitions in that it “concerns the maintenance and development of cultural lineage through education, custom, language, and religion and the positive acknowledgement of difference in and by the mainstream” (p. 2). In relationship to cultural policy, Miller (1998) posits in *Technologies of Truth: Cultural Citizenship and the Popular Media* that cultural policy can be seen as a “reapproachment between the humanities and social

life,” which he argues develops from the leftist intellectual tradition of Hoggart, Williams, and E.P Thompson.

The term clericism, developed in the work of English poet and philosopher Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1829), reflects a desire to mandate state-provided cultural intellectuals, a so-called clerisy to “renew what he saw as the key intellectual task, the educative training (cultivation) in the citizenry of respect for legality” (Jones, 1994, p. 395). Notions of clerisy are prevalent in the work of T.S. Eliot and Matthew Arnold, in the latter as a moral response to the rising proletariat and Chartist expansion of suffrage (Jones, 1994). Arnold (1950) is commonly cited for his statement that culture is “a pursuit of our total perfection...the best which has been thought and said in the world” (p. viii). Such a clerisist perspective is still apparent in cultural policy today. Clerisy was later taken up in the work of F.R. Leavis who saw the role of intellectuals as that of cultural missionaries in his division of the cultural field between an elite minority culture and tasteless mass civilization (Storey, 2010; Jones, 1994; Jones, 2006). Williams was so adamantly opposed to notions of clerisy that he provoked Stuart Hall to once comment on his “scandalizing” refusal to practice Cambridge literary criticism (as cited in Jones, 1994, p. 409).

If cultural theory functions on the basis of a “discovery of patterns,” as asserted by Williams (1961) in *The Long Revolution*, it is through the practice of communications that such patterns emerge (p. 63). Communications can be understood as “both the means whereby symbols attain their initial meanings and the means whereby changes in these meanings are negotiated” (Fearn, 1993, p. 120). Williams has written extensively on how best to understand and conceptualize of culture. Within this same relation, the concept of culture operates as a “*realized signifying system*” of the aforementioned symbols and meanings, distinguished from



“other kinds of systematic social organization, and, on the other hand, more specific signal systems and systems of signs” (Williams, 1981, p. 207). Raymond Williams’s conceptualization of culture should not be read as representing culture as a static edifice, eliminating “specific kinds of analysis” (p. 206). In fact, Williams’s conception of culture is intended to capture what he sees as a multifaceted range of relational-based meanings, i.e. “whole ways of life,” “states of mind,” and “works of art.” Therefore, Williams’s unified concept still requires instances of culture be realized as “not a structure, but a process... always being negotiated and renegotiated” (Fearn, 1993, p. 120). Williams (1981) continues, “Thus the social organization of culture, as a realized signifying system, is embedded in a whole range of activity, relations and institutions, of which only some are manifestly ‘cultural’” (p. 209). This initial exposition of a concept of culture within the study of social sciences merely serves as a launching pad in exploring the role of culture in the study of policy, as culture is conceived distinctly not only between, but also within respective research traditions. As Stuart Hall (1980) soberly notes, “The concept remains a complex one—a site of convergent interests, rather than a logically or conceptually clarified idea” (p. 35).

### *The Long (Cultural) Revolution*

#### *“Culture is Ordinary”*

As Williams himself has detailed, his change in foci away from more traditional literary criticism evolved beginning with his essay “Culture is Ordinary,” published closely after his first major work, *Culture and Society* (1958/1983)—often hailed as a founding text of British cultural studies. E. San Juan (1999), in describing a Williams lecture from 1981, argues that Williams “confesses that much of his earlier literary criticism can be read as compatible with the dominant

paradigm established by Leavis and later sanctioned by the academy” (p. 120). It should be noted though, despite Leavis’s insistence on a cultural clerisy, he still questioned the impact of capitalism on popular and elite cultural forms—a critical step toward the development of British media and cultural studies (Garnham, 1983, p. 317).

According to Williams in his lecture, published as “Crisis in English Studies” (1984), the publication of both *The Long Revolution* in 1961 and *The Country and the City* in 1973 marked the most dramatic developments in his scholarship, eventually leading to his work in communications, television, technologies, and cultural forms. Of *The Long Revolution*, Williams states it “had not been perceived as within literary studies at all but which can now evidently be seen as a shift of emphasis which would end up by rejecting the dominant paradigm” (p. 209). In *The Country and the City*, he says he went beyond locating texts within their historical background and began to analyze them “within an active, conflicting historical process in which the very forms are created by social relations which are sometimes evident and sometimes occluded” (p. 209). While writing *The Long Revolution*, Williams (1958/1989b) takes note of his development vis-à-vis his intellectual predecessors:

I am working now on a book to follow my *Culture and Society*, trying to interpret, historically and theoretically, the nature and conditions of an expanding culture of our kind. I could not have begun this work if I had not learned from the Marxists and from Leavis; I cannot complete it unless I radically amend some of the ideas which they and others have left us (p. 13-14).

In the first chapter I drew primarily on the work of Williams to state that culture has a wide range of relational meanings, which must often be approached through specific types of analysis. This fact, argues Williams (1981), is one of the key weaknesses of culture, “...since its

insistence on interrelations can be made passive, or altogether evaded, by its simultaneous possibilities of too wide a generality and too narrow a specialization” (pp. 207-208). Williams (1958/1989b) did not believe in collapsing these understandings of culture, particularly the common split between a “whole way of life” and “arts and learning”—“I insist on both and on the significance of their conjunction” (p. 4). In extending that discussion to develop a “general concept” of culture, Williams (1981) argues that culture is a “realized signifying system...embedded in a whole range of activities, relations, and institutions” (p. 207). In this section, I want to first step back from that wider, encompassing concept of culture to look at pathways in which a study of culture, or a sociology of culture, may be developed. Once the broad contours of cultural analysis have been fleshed out, it becomes much easier to look at culture in more specific terms regarding cultural policies, and particularly my case study of the independent music industry in Canada.

Culture is obviously an overarching theme in the work of Williams, but it is critical to remain cognizant that his theorization of culture evolved over the course of his career. That said, there are many critical constants that dominate much of his work, one of which is destroying the “rationale for the hierarchical segmentation of culture into high, middle, and mass/popular” (San Juan, 1999, p. 126). Williams (1958/1989b) vehemently argues this point in “Culture is Ordinary” through both practical and theoretical considerations: “I don’t believe that the ordinary people in fact resemble the normal description of the masses, low and trivial in taste and habit. I put it another way: that there are in fact no masses, but only ways of seeing people as masses” (p. 11). Williams discusses the familiar argument that poor quality in so much popular culture is reflected in the “mind and feeling, the essential quality of living of its consumers” (p. 12). He dismisses that perspective by examining his own personal interactions with contemporaries, from

all walks of life, that despite their consumption of popular culture are not “vulgar” people (p. 12). He also notes the fallacy of a “kind of Gresham’s law” in discussions of culture—“just as bad money will drive out good, so bad culture will drive out good” (p. 13). Such an argument continues to prevail today to such an extent it is often not even questioned, whether the conversation is about the newest reality show on the newest pop music star. In popular music, the success of someone deemed throwaway often provokes mass hysteria as critics and observers attempt to come to terms on its possible implications for the culture as a whole. When 13-year old auto-tuned singer Rebecca Black’s career was launched through the ominously named Ark Music Factory produced song “Friday,” and its corresponding YouTube video, *The Guardian* newspaper immediately published a piece on its music blog titled: “What Rebecca Black’s Friday says about the state of pop: Is 13-year-old Rebecca Black’s instant fame just harmless pop fun—or is something more sinister at work?” Immediately, an entire segment of the cultural industries and its current direction are questioned due to the success of what is essentially considered to be “bad culture.” Williams does not believe one culture replaces another, but that we live in an expanding culture with all the elements of that culture also expanding at varying rates with different social and economic impacts. At the conclusion of “Culture is Ordinary,” Williams (1958/1989b) reasons that there are necessary democratic values that must be accepted by socialist intellectuals. I would also argue such values are critical to any practice of cultural policy:

...that the ordinary people should govern; that culture and education are ordinary; that there are no masses to save, to capture, or to direct, but rather this crowded people in the course of an extraordinarily rapid and confusing expansion of their lives (p. 18).

Lastly, in this section expanding on my understanding of culture from the first chapter, I want to connect the work of Williams to the study of place. As I referenced in the first chapter, Williams in *The Long Revolution* often speaks of patterns, and the “discovery of patterns” in cultural analysis—a notion heavily influenced by the 1934 publication of Ruth Benedict’s (2005) *Patterns of Culture*. Benedict argues, “A culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action” (p. 46). The idea of patterns in culture is also heavily inflected by our sense of place. A contemporary concept of place can be expressed as a discourse within a theory of culture, the systems of meaning for making sense of our world. Place as such “functions to help stabilize cultural patterns and fix cultural identities, as they say, ‘beyond the play of history’” (Hall, 1997, p. 181). Place must be conceptualized outside narrow notions of territorially configured geographies or as simply synonymous to community. Therefore, in contrast to a region, state, or nation, place is “derived from linkages across space and time which make place more of a dynamic web than a specific site or location” (Oakes, 1997, p. 510). Timothy Oakes recognizes two key characteristics of place: “as a site of *meaningful identity* and *immediate agency*” (p. 510). That is to say, a place is “lived and felt” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 10).

Cultural scholars at times address this “lived and felt” experience by looking at literary works to better conceptualize place than solely through social-scientific approaches. A commonly cited example is Williams’s most well-known novel, *Border Country*, published in 1960. When the novel’s protagonist, Matthew Price, returns home from attending university in England, he realizes the lived associations that made his home a “place” no longer exist. Without such qualities, his once home is now only a landscape: “The visitor sees beauty, the inhabitant a place where he works and has his friends” (Williams, 1960/1962a, p. 75). Williams’s novel illustrates place in everyday life and its relationship to boundaries, despite not

being strictly defined territorially. Territory is critical principally in terms of its inhabitants sharing their lived experiences, as D. Paul Schafer (2008) writes, “Every culture in the world occupies a very specific piece of territory, binding people together and giving them a sense of place, and particularly pride in place” (p. 177-178). There is at least a sense of “boundaries” or “groundedness” (Escobar, 2001, p. 140.) This flexibility in boundaries and the inability to purely locate place in locality is embodied in nomadic groups, remaining mobile but aware of place:

A ship constantly changing its location is nonetheless a self-contained place, and so is a gypsy camp, an Indian camp, or a circus camp, however often it shifts its geodetic bearings. Literally we say a camp is *in* a place, but culturally it *is* a place. A gypsy camp is a different place from an Indian camp though it may be geographically where the Indian camp used to be (Langer, 1953, p. 95).

This similar point was echoed by Simon Frith (1991) when he gave the Raymond Williams memorial lecture at the Birmingham Film and TV festival, shortly after Williams passed away in 1989. In a lecture that would later be revised and published as “Knowing One’s Place: The Culture of Cultural Industries” in the inaugural issue of *Cultural Studies at Birmingham* (now simply *Cultural Studies*), Frith traces the concept of culture explored by Williams and contrasts it to the “culture” of the local cultural policies of cities in Great Britain during the 1980s. Frith argues that the latter culture developed through policy is not reflecting or expressing culture, but goes further in actively creating culture through an industrial-centered cultural policy. More specifically, making use of Williams’s analytical method, Frith argues: the “problem of local experience thus got transformed into the issue of market difference—each city is now to feel special not to its inhabitants but to its visitors. The flaw in the concept of

culture as industry thus lies not in a material but a geographical confusion” (p. 151). Frith concludes the essay with this paragraph:

My conclusion is this. Culture has a locale—a place where it is enacted—but not a locality—a place to which it is confined. It remains, in this way, ‘ordinary’. Ordinary in the way Williams defined it—as the way in which ‘ordinary members of society amend meaning in the light of their personal and common experience’. And ordinary in the American way: ‘ornery’ as some people obstinately refuse to let other people—policy makers, urban planners, market researchers, media moguls, left-wing intellectuals—define their culture for them (p. 153).

Due to similar aspects within many cultural policies, policy is often too focused on developing a conceptualization of culture that will attract tourists, investors, and, ultimately, “cultural consumption rather than cultural production” (Stanbridge, 2012, p. 7). In fact, many of these city initiatives are purposely designed as such. For example, Toronto’s *Culture Plan for the Creative City* (2003) is heavily shaped by the consulting work of Richard Florida, who has profoundly influenced cultural development in major metropolitan cities, due to his well-marketed notion of the “Creative Class” and its supposed impact on urban renewal (see Florida, 2004). Alan Stanbridge, a professor at the University of Toronto, who became a good friend during my research time in Toronto, has recently written an article on the problematic nature of public funding of contemporary performance spaces in Toronto. He addresses many of the goals that major cities have focused on in designing “flagship” high-profile performing arts venues: “urban regeneration, image enhancement, city marketing, and tourism promotion” (p. 1). One example he cites in Toronto is a performance space, the Four Seasons Centre for the Performing Arts, funded as part of the Canada-Ontario Infrastructure Program, which has allocated \$233 million

through the federal government's Industry Canada program. The centerpiece of this funding was the \$186-million center aimed at being the "first building of its kind in Canada; a theatre built specifically for opera and ballet performances with the finest level of acoustics" ("Four Seasons Centre"). Designed more toward form than function, the only two performing spaces in the venue are the 2,163-seat main auditorium and a 150-seat amphitheater located at the top of the glass building's main atrium stairwell. Needless to say, this smaller performance space leaves much to be desired acoustically, with hardware floors and glass surfaces. Moreover, it is especially poor for amplified music and its open, glass design limits the ability to block out light to project video elements often used to accompany musical performances (Stanbridge, 2012). As Stanbridge concludes, the design of the building represents a "significant missed opportunity" for the presentation of smaller-scale contemporary music performances—leaving such music often to be performed in relatively poor venues for such performances, including "churches, rehearsal spaces, bars, and cafes" (pp. 1, 6). Therefore, while the majority of local musicians will find little practical function in the building, there is little doubt that the building will attract countless tourists and visitors to the city, if for nothing else but to see the impressive glass structure.

Along these similar lines, I argue that culture, especially culture as it is conceived in much cultural policy, inherently addresses place to some extent. Whether it adequately does so with mindfulness varies considerably, but cultural policy has traditionally not been as aware of place as it should. The design of the Four Seasons Centre for the Performing Arts stipulated by the Canada-Ontario Infrastructure Program is in effect making a value judgment through an act of confinement—by placing a limited worth on smaller-scale contemporary musical performances and the appropriate place for such music to be practiced or supported through state



support. What remains, despite the failures of the performance space and policy framework to recognize it, as Frith (1991) argues, is that “Culture has a locale—a place where it is enacted—but not a locality—a place to which it is confined”: it is “ordinary” as Williams argued, but also “ornery” in that many do not allow others to define their culture for them (p. 153). As I quoted Colin Mercer (as cited in de Cuellar, 1996) in the first chapter, one of the primary problems in cultural policy is a failure to understand the policy object itself: “culture” (p. 40).

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to illuminate the theoretical underpinnings necessary in developing a set of methods best capable of analyzing cultural policy frameworks within different settings. For example, I have not overtly addressed a distinct policy theorization to address popular music policy because the theoretical framework I have detailed is purposely macro in recognizing an expansive culture that allows cultural analysis of different media and cultural practices. Culture is not confined as it often is in other approaches, including the instrumentality of market-dominated approaches, the creation of proper ethical subjects in governmentality-based approaches, or other related administrative approaches. Culture is understood to exist, at least in part, outside of policy development and outside of the market. Furthermore, culture is recognized as a constitutive component to policy formation. In such a framework, the analysis of culture is able to move beyond an elite cultural clerisy or more palatable cultural mandate, while still inhibiting unambiguous hierarchical conceptions of culture. All of these characteristics allow for analysis within varying cultural realms, particularly the cultural industries.

## CHAPTER 5: TRANSITIONING TO A CULTURAL POLICY

### Introduction: The Neoliberal Challenge

In this chapter, I will first discuss the still grave threat to cultural policy as a result of free trade agreements that attempt or succeed at including culture, therefore not allowing for state support and protection. Secondly, I clarify the neoliberal economic challenge not only to state support of culture, but also to conceptualizing culture within a contemporary, capitalist political economy. Lastly, I will expand on the theoretical framing of cultural policy and connect it to the broader development of cultural citizenship, i.e. the development of a “communications-based society” in which the “rights of communication and dialogue have a necessary priority over all other social and economic rights” (Stevenson, 2003, p. 19). Cultural citizenship reconnects with Williams’s call for a cultural revolution, allowing the public full access and participation to the means of production helping in the formation of an expanding culture, notably involving key precepts such as “community” and a “common culture.”

Sarah Owen-Vandersluis (2003) contends that cultural policy can be divided into either market-based or community-based approaches, although they are not mutually exclusive. Market-based approaches, whether exercised by governmental or non-governmental entities, can only be justified if they provide a “more optimal allocation of resources than the market” (p. 19). Such decisions on resources are stridently situated within a neoclassical economics framework. In these market-based approaches, policy is evaluated on its ability to streamline capitalist accumulation and expansion through the argument that the “free market is the best guarantee of individual welfare” (p. 18). One example of a market-based cultural policy would be the Telecommunications Act of 1996 in the United States, which was supported by a strong

bipartisan Senate during the Clinton Administration. The 1996 Act passed with uniform praise on the basis that it would increase competition and innovation in the marketplace, eventually leading to lower prices and better telecommunications offerings to American consumers through the common tenet of competition. By the majority of accounts, the Act failed in achieving its most basic premise (see Aufderheide, 2006; Wexler, 2005).

In contrast to such market-based approaches as the Telecom Act, community-based approaches are concerned in the first instance with constructing policy interested with the “good life of the community,” through six different areas of inquiry: identity, unity, sovereignty, prosperity, democracy, and artistic fulfillment (Owen-Vandersluis, 2003, p. 28). “Good” policy within a community-based cultural policy approach does not entirely ignore economic realities, but it does shift the basis for its evaluative success toward less easily quantifiable aspects of community life and culture than a market-based approach concerned with the efficient allocation of resources. One of the primary reasons I chose to look at Canadian cultural policy is because so much of it is framed (or some critics might argue, sugar-coated) around community-based language, even though the explicit policies for popular music have been most concerned with creating and retaining a Canadian space within the communication and cultural industries—primarily a market-based national approach connected with more regional and local community-based concerns. As cited earlier, McDowell (2001) states, “cultural policy objectives are framed as building a Canadian industrial space for the production, distribution, and consumption of Canadian content: expressions, images, and sounds” (p. 126). In such a framework, a community-based approach concerned with local sectors of the cultural industries is integrated with a market-based approach primarily interested with the nation’s industrial direction taken on the whole. In this chapter, I want to build on this division within cultural policy to examine the

neoliberal challenge to any contemporary conceptualization of culture, and how that is seen in practical concerns of the nation-state and how a political economic approach can help in finally formulating a cultural policy that not only inherently addresses market-based and community-based concerns, but transcends them in a sense.

Florida's work has drawn much popular attention to cultural policy and helped make cultural planning a priority among many local municipalities, but its success has also revealed the industrial nature of much policy. As Jim McGuigan (2009) argues, "Florida's principal concerns are not to do with cultural policy as such but instead are about the articulation of neoliberal economics with cool culture" (p. 298). Lisa Jeffrey (1998) further states, "Culture is more than simply a market-oriented commodity. It is deeply entwined with identity and also with the media through which we express, extend, and surround ourselves, and out of which we fabricate our identity" (p. 163). In properly conceiving of culture, it is notable to recognize that significant aspects of a fertile culture cannot be placed within a market analysis, such as civil values, democracy, education, the rule of law, and communication between citizens within a public sphere (Jeffrey, 1998, p. 163). Therefore, while economics and trade are recognized as significant in the modern understanding of culture, they cannot properly recognize the fully essentializing aspects of culture and its role in the sustenance of the nation-state and national identity. Fears of culture becoming synonymous with the market are widespread, although such fears are admittedly also rooted in clerisist concerns of popular, market-driven culture replacing traditionally high cultural forms. Pertti Alasuutari (2001), a Finnish scholar, retorts, "Has the transformation of the world into one single marketplace opened the floodgates for (American) mass entertainment? Will nation-states be able to preserve their national cultural heritage in this kind of environment?" (p. 157). While the goal in any cultural analysis should be to recognize

culture's role outside the market, the power of the market has led some scholars to develop definitions of culture that fully account for its place within the economic market. Nicholas Garnham (1990) "sees culture, defined as the production and circulation of symbolic meaning, as a material process of production and exchange, part of, and in significant ways determined by, the wider economics processes of society with which it shares many common features" (p. 155). What I call the neoliberal challenge targets contemporary understandings of culture in significant ways, and targets cultural policy even more explicitly, notably through the expansion of free trade. In this section of the chapter, I want to highlight some of the most pressing neoliberal challenges to comprehending culture and further developing cultural policy. My broad approach to cultural policy studies is theoretically grounded in the political economy of communication and this section will serve to illustrate why that is the case.

The ongoing debates about the impact of global trade on natural culture lie at the heart of considering cultural policy and how it attempts to address culture itself as a policy object—Cloonan's (2007) book, *Popular Music and the State in the UK*, asks in its subtitle, 'Culture, Trade or Industry?.' These three concerns—culture, trade, and industry—are implicit to cultural policymaking and their relative prioritizing can lead to vastly different policy implementations. Cultural policies are often developed and arguably needed to limit the impact of global markets on domestic cultural industries. It is the role of technology that, of course, is often cited concerning the media's role in the global exchange of culture. The importance of technology and media to culture was recognized early by the U.S. Department of Commerce in a report issued in 1993, titled "Globalization of the Mass Media." The report celebrated, in the name of commerce, that technology has "eroded the barriers to communication previously posed by time, space, and national boundaries, resulting in rapid and pervasive sharing of information around

the world. With improved communication has come greater cultural and political interdependence among other nations” (“Globalization,” 1993, p. 4).

David Harvey (2000) asserts, the nation-state serves as “one of the primary defenses against raw market power” and a “key means to defend ethnic and cultural identities...in the face of time-space compression and global commodification” (p. 65). While Harvey recognizes the potential for such policies to extend from industry to more nuanced concerns of ethnic and cultural identities, he likewise recognizes the difficulty in crassly judging the impact of globalization on culture itself: “The problem is thorny, however, since it is far too simplistic to see this as purely a movement towards homogeneity in global culture through market exchange” (p. 67). Much like Harvey, I do not advocate a view of cultural imperialism that foresees the development of cultural homogeneity as the eventual outcome of global cultural exchange. In fact, such a view is contradictory to the idea of an expanding culture. While levels of cultural homogeneity have undoubtedly increased across and within borders through mass communication, heightening the concern of nation-states in protecting their national cultures, it is not a process that will subsume national cultures. The realities and complexities that help to create national culture go well beyond the market and global flows of mediated communication. Still, there are legitimate concerns raised by the proliferation of global culture that are not dismissed by simply disavowing a blanket cultural homogeneity hypothesis. For example, cultural dumping can foster a “standardization of forms, styles, and narratives across the importing countries,” posing threats to countries, especially those with smaller and more dependent economic markets (Bélanger, 1996, para. 6). Cultural dumping occurs due to the economic benefits of profit-seeking media firms to lessen their costs by purchasing inexpensive, imported media rather than producing original content. Many arguments fail to fully

conceptualize political and economic power in examining cultural issues of globalization. For example, both Appadurai (1990) and Buell (1994) present similar views of a decentralized, innocuous global order: a “new view of world order...a decentered, democratically egalitarian view of world organization” (Buell, 1994, p. 297). In addition to these examples, there is a vast amount of literature within the social sciences that examines the complexities of capitalist globalization on culture (Bhabha, 1994; Barber, 1995; Huntington, 1996; Holton, 1998).

These concerns and debates regarding global mass culture are reflected in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization’s “Convention on the Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Contents and Artistic Expressions,” ratified by a 148-2 vote on October 20, 2005. UNESCO’s Convention is the most significant development toward a legal, binding cultural exception to trade agreements that would protect domestic cultural policies. Clearly, while Canada provides a noteworthy case study because it is emblematic of what Kevin V. Mulcahy (2002) calls ‘big nation, small neighbor’ syndrome, it is not alone in the significance it places on sustaining national culture and its related cultural industries amid the expansion of the global cultural market—a theoretical basis in the development of cultural policy.

### *Culture as Trade*

What we are witnessing is the rapid delegitimization of the public sphere. Evidence of this paradigm shift lies in the transformation in the focus of Canadian cultural policy away from a nationalist, public service, market corrective approach towards a growing emphasis on a market ideology (Zemans, 1997, p. 113).

The debate over the concept of a cultural exception to global free trade initiatives has festered for decades, with Canada and France leading what has expanded to become a global initiative among sovereign nations to regulate their cultural industries separately from

international trade agreements. Ironically, the current most vocal critic of establishing a cultural exception in trade agreements is also the first country to establish such a principle to an international trade agreement. In 1950, the United States appended a protocol to the Florence Agreement that “incorporates a mechanism authorising recourse to a form of safeguard measures in the event of an increase in imports and serious harm to national producers of similar products or products competing directly with the imported products” (Zampettip, 2003, p. 12). The Florence Agreement, enacted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its fifth session, was originally intended to help facilitate the removal of obstacles to the trade of several categories of cultural goods (Zampettip). The fact that the United States, during a time in which it was much less an arbiter of popular culture, instigated a policy of cultural exceptionalism reveals much concerning its current staunch position against any instances of protectionist rhetoric. The following sardonic comment by U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter in 1987 reflects the full recognition of U.S. officials toward the global influence of the marketplace: “I’m prepared to have American culture on the table and have it damaged by Canadian influences after the free trade agreement. I hope Canada’s prepared to run the risk too” (as cited in Smith, 1990, p. 23).

The strong coalition of countries that have voiced their support of a cultural exception was forged when UNESCO approved the “Convention on the Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Contents and Artistic Expressions.” With four countries abstaining from the final vote, only the United States and Israel voted against the treaty. Sasha Costanza-Chock, an activist with Communications Rights in the Information Society, said of the vote: “The adoption of this convention is a moral victory, but the real test is whether developing countries will resist U.S. pressure to commit their audiovisual services and information services during trade negotiations” (as cited in Godoy, 2005). Costanza-Chock and other observers have argued that the United



States often attempts to entice trading partners into bilateral trade agreements that include giving up their rights to support their own film, television, and music industries through government funding. The UNESCO agreement did not arise serendipitously, but after years of debate and wrangling over whether to simply consider such a convention. Two years previously, when the International Network on Cultural Policy (INCP) went to Paris to enlist UNESCO's support to work toward an agreement on cultural policy, French President Jacques Chirac made apparent what was ahead: "With the opening of a new round of international trade negotiations, the champions of unlimited trade liberalization are once again lining up against those who believe that creative works cannot be reduced to the ranks of ordinary merchandise" (as cited in Riding, 2003, p. E3; as cited in Magder, 2004, p. 380).

As was widely expected, the U.S. government fought vigorously against the agreement, which it argued was an attack on the American film industry, its greatest cultural exporter. One U.S. official said of the buildup to the final vote: "We really pulled out all the stops," but that ultimately the outcome was "cooked" (as cited in New, 2005). The U.S. delegation continues to maintain since the treaty's passage that UNESCO has no authority in trade matters in relationship to the World Trade Organization (WTO), reaffirming its long-held stance that culture is to be traded just like any other commodity. The final vote represented the first time that a number of countries, previously seen as being against a cultural exception, formally supported such an international agreement. Such countries included Japan, India, Brazil, and Mexico—all countries that have strong, export-rich cultural industries (Godoy, 2005).

The primary sticking point in the negotiations between the United States and the countries supporting the Convention concerned "Article 20: Relationship to Other Instruments," which is the key article addressing a cultural exception as it relates to preexisting or future trade

agreements. In its negotiations, the United States wanted to add a statement in Article 20 indicating that the UNESCO treaty would be invalid if it conflicted with any obligations established through other enforceable treaties (Ress, 2005). Therefore, the UNESCO declaration on cultural diversity would effectively have had no impact on other trade agreements that did not explicitly include cultural exceptions of their own. Such a statement existed in most drafts, but was subsequently removed from the final version (Ress). Still, the language in place leaves a good deal open to interpretation, and according to Ress (2005) is a “safety valve at best” (para. 13).

*Section of Article 20 addressing a conflict in the final Oct. 20, 2005 approved text:*

‘1.(b) when interpreting and applying the other treaties to which they are parties or when entering into other international obligations, Parties shall take into account the relevant provisions of this Convention.’

*In the June 2005 draft, in addition to paragraph 1.(a) and 1.(b), there is a paragraph 2:*

‘2. Nothing in this convention shall be interpreted as modifying rights and obligations of the Parties under any other treaties to which they are parties’

It is clear that paragraph two would have effectively represented a *pièce de résistance* for the United States because it would have principally made the entire UNESCO treaty effort, after more than two years of debate, a symbolic instrument of cultural diversity, not an enforceable agreement with respect to preexisting and future trade agreements.

While the support of UNESCO member states for developing a framework for cultural diversity has been overwhelming, there remains a litany of critiques of so-called cultural protectionism. Often lost in these critiques is the fact that the cultural exception does not simply equate to ad hoc, reactionary cultural protectionism in the form of restrictive economic policies.

Free trade advocates argue that the cultural exception, seen typically as embodying restrictive cultural protectionism, is economically inefficient and represents a “deprivation of individual freedom, a form of despotism” (Delacroix and Bornon, 2005, p. 355). The plea that individual freedom is denied represents a foolhardy attack against notions of cultural protectionism and a complete failure to see the potential flipside of the argument—the tyranny of the market. The concept of a cultural exception must be broadly understood as more intricate and nuanced than reductionist protectionism that does not aim to foster national culture through affirmative policies. Without governments stressing that the cultural exception is primarily intended to allow sovereign nations to fund their cultural industries, it will remain far too easy for critics to scoff at cultural protectionism as economically ineffective and culturally restrictive. While any form of cultural protection, or cultural policy for that matter, is typically decried by neoliberal free trade advocates, affirmative domestic cultural policies aimed at increasing democratic participation in the creation of national culture would be much more difficult to arbitrarily dismiss for being economically inefficient. A cultural policy cognizant of cultural citizenship would do just that, and political economy provides the foundation for the development of such policy.

### *Political Economy*

Understanding culture beyond a strictly commodity-driven approach of the market is best done through a political economy-based foundation toward cultural theory and cultural policy. The broad field of political economy is something of a lost field, although it is enjoying resurgence, especially within the study of communication and culture. As the forefather to the dominant contemporary understanding of mainstream economics, it is marked by a critical distinction. As its name reflects, with the development of contemporary economics, the

“political” in political economy was unambiguously removed. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, political economy increasingly came to be dominated by the neoclassical paradigm through the work of William Jevons and Alfred Marshall. As Vincent Mosco (2009) argues, Jevons and Marshall were part of a tradition motivated by the “drive to create a science of society modeled after developments in the hard sciences” (p. 21). Political economy gave birth to mainstream economics through the work of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill. Political economic analysis distinguishes itself from the now dominant neoclassical paradigm by recognizing the imprecise nature surrounding the innumerable forces that impact economies and political units, while still maintaining some shared concerns with mainstream economics—the analysis of the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. Before the neoliberal paradigm came to dominate political economy and lead to the modern field of economics, political economy “meant the social custom, practice, and knowledge about how to manage, first, the household, and later, the community” (Mosco, 2009, p. 23). Put another way, political economic work shifts the focus of analysis dependent on the utilitarian principles inherent in modern mainstream economics in its constant pursuit of the equilibrium, to recognize the social impact of economic decisions and, thus, the need for a stronger social basis in making those decisions. However, such shifting of focus does not mean that all work in political economy is necessarily critical of utilitarian economic principles. For example, some political economists might argue, and many do, that society benefits the most through modern utilitarian principles that go further than current economic systems.

Oscar Gandy (1992) notes four different approaches that fall under the rubric of political economy: 1) the Austrian approach allied with Ludwig von Mises; 2) the Institutionalist school allied with Thorstein Veblen; 3) contemporary or modern Marxist approaches; and 4) the modern

utilitarianism of the Public Choice school (p. 23). All of these varied political economic approaches share a focus of examining the broader social totality, compared to mainstream economics (Mosco, 2009). Therefore, despite there being multiple approaches from a far-ranging political landscape, a majority of work in political economy is aimed “at critiquing the mainstream orthodoxy” of neoliberal economics (Gandy, 1992, p. 23). The theoretical basis for my research in studying culture within the present-day market is critical political economy, which is loosely positioned under the umbrella of contemporary or modern Marxist approaches, although not all critical political economists would consider their work explicitly Marxist. Golding and Murdock (2000) assert that critical political economy contrasts itself with mainstream, neoliberal economics in four respects: 1) it is holistic; 2) it is historical; 3) it is primarily concerned with the balance between private, capitalist activity and public action; and 4) “it goes beyond technical issues of efficiency to engage with basic moral questions of justice, equity and the public good” (p.73). Critical political economy is holistic because it studies economics expressly in their interaction and influence on political, social, and cultural life (Golding and Murdock, 2000, p. 73). Addressing the historical importance in studying cultural production, Bernard Miège asserts (1989), “a communication model, artistic production, cultural forms or communication strategies cannot be analyzed outside their historical conditions of production or reception” (p. 18). Moreover, critical political economy follows Marx in shifting focus away from purely the domain of exchange toward property and production (Golding and Murdock, 2000, p. 73).

Within the study of communication and, more recently, culture, there has been a discrete development of political economy. The critical economy of communication and culture aims similarly to address issues of production, distribution, and consumption within a broader social

aggregate, specifically turning its attention to issues of media, information, and public cultural expression. Gandy (1992) explains that critical political economists working in communication base their critiques “on what they see as flaws in theory and method principally demonstrated through comparisons of the ideal with the reality” (p. 23). Additionally, critiques aim to question the outcome of placing competition and profit maximization at the forefront of decision-making, typically through an assumption of individualistic hedonism (Gandy, 1992, p. 24). The process of placing the study of media and information within a broader social lens must be clarified due to the need of avoiding essentialism—the “inclination to reduce reality to the discipline’s central constituents...[and] to avoid reducing social reality to political economy by seeing the latter as one among several forces constituting social life” (Mosco, 2009, p. 65). Indictments that political economy is essentialist or reductionist represent the primary mode of critique against it as a field of inquiry. These complaints though are unjustified with regard to the principal goals of political economy as a multi-disciplinary field of inquiry. In fact, within my own theoretical approach, the purpose of placing my study of culture within a wider social totality conceptualized through critical political economy is explicitly to avoid essentialism and to recognize the economic and social complexities of media, communication, and culture. Stuart Hall is helpful in this respect and to my understanding of cultural policy vis-à-vis economic determination. According to Hall (1996), the most appropriate way to understand determinacy is to recognize how it defines the constraints or limitations, instead of resulting in the absolute inevitability of outcomes (p. 45). A political economic foundation to cultural policy and cultural theory would see determinacy as being “without guaranteed closures” (Hall, 1996, p. 45). For the purposes of my research and case study, I only intend to argue that Canadian cultural policy helps shape and place boundaries on certain outcomes—it does not come with certain outcomes.

There are simply too many variables. The political economy of communication and culture is critical to understanding culture and democratic communication, especially the work of Williams. In fact, Mosco (2009), cites an interview with Williams, “who aimed to secure a place for popular culture as democratic, resistant, and alternative, as opposed to the market-driven effort to align popular with mass consumption” (p. 105). This point is expanded by John Keane (1991), in which he argues communication markets restrict freedom of communication by establishing economic barriers to entry and through commodification (p. 89). Therefore, issues of democratic communication and culture are critical in understanding and conceptualizing cultural policy.

My approach to the political economy of communication and culture is most indebted to the work of Nicholas Garnham and, to a lesser extent, Bernard Miège. David Hesmondhalgh (2002) argues Garnham and Miège are emblematic of a European “cultural industries approach” within critical political economy of communication, compared to the North American tradition of scholars such as Herbert Schiller, Dallas Smythe, Noam Chomsky, Edward Herman, and Robert McChesney (p. 33). While such a distinction can be useful at times, it can also be artificial. For example, Herbert Schiller, widely considered a founding figure of the North American tradition, used the term “cultural industries” in 1989, the same year as Miège. Schiller (1989) commented: “the production of goods and services in the cultural sphere has indeed been industrialized. It is in this respect that the term ‘cultural industries’ assumes its meaning” (p. 32). Therefore, despite the widespread use of the term largely being credited to Miège’s work in 1989, Schiller made reasonably similar remarks using the same phraseology during the same year. Most interesting, as I noted in Chapter 3, is the rarely documented use of “cultural industries” in 1983 by Paul Audley. All three authors were clearly tipping their hats to Adorno

and Horkheimer's singular term "Cultural Industry" (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972). The switch to the plural form is intended to allow for greater contestation and complexity in the study of the capitalization of cultural production while moving away from too great an emphasis on only production, often attributed with the monolithic structure of the Frankfurt School (Hesmondhalgh, 2002, p. 33). For example, Garnham stressed the importance of distribution within the cultural industries, and it is through distribution that independent music labels have been able to increasingly usurp more sales and influence—an illustration that will be abundantly clear in my case study. Distribution is especially important in popular music because of the relative uncertainty of the market due to the fickle tastes of consumers. Garnham (1990) states, "*It is cultural distribution, not cultural production, that is the key locus of power and profit*" (pp. 161-162). Garnham continues, "It is access to distribution which is the key to cultural plurality. The cultural process is as much, if not more, about creating audiences or publics as it is about producing cultural artifacts and performances" (p. 162). For example, as I discuss in detail with respect to my case study of the cultural policies of the Canadian music industry, it is through Canadian content legislation that the government worked to create an audience and public for its cultural producers.

Lastly, in understanding critical political economy, it is important to understand how it is theoretically applied through practice. Golding and Murdock (2000) identify three core areas of applied analysis within the critical political economy of communications: 1) the production of cultural goods, particularly through the position of cultural production as a limiting agent with regard to the range of cultural consumption; 2) the analysis of texts to determine the extent of influence upon media products due to their production and consumption; and 3) issues of cultural consumption to examine various degrees of material and cultural inequality (p. 77). In studying



these core areas of political economic analysis, it is beneficial to set theoretical parameters.

Mosco (2009) defines three such parameters as commodification, spatialization, and structuration. Commodification is the process that describes the way in which capital is amassed or value realized through changing use values into exchange values (Mosco). The popular music recording industry commodifies the performance and related labor of producing music into the sale of compact discs and digital music—labor is transferred into a purchased good where value is realized. Spatialization simply refers to the extension of capitalism into the communication industry and its ability to limit the traditional restrictions of space and time in social life, through market factors such as the rise of conglomerates, horizontal integration, vertical integration, and interlocking corporate boards (Mosco). Structuration deals with the idea that structures, typically business and governmental institutions, are themselves made up of and allow for agency, social relations, and related social factors—essentially the basis behind my interviews with policymakers in Canada. In effect, as I previously quoted Oakes (2007) in regard to the study of place, structures are similarly sites in which individual actors come to enact “*meaningful identity* and *immediate agency*” (p. 510).

Therefore, Mosco (2009) argues that social life consists of the mutual constitution of structure and agency (p. 212). Each of these parameters suggests ways in which the analysis of cultural policy can be situated in relation to industrial and socio-cultural concerns. The usefulness of these parameters can be seen in the work of Lovering (1998), who concludes the following, closely resembling the parameters set forth by Mosco:

The ways in which music is practiced (both while making it and while listening to it) are intimately bound up with the ways in which the industry is organized. The development

of music at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is profoundly influenced by the fact that it is now a commodity flowing through a small group of giant companies with ‘global reach’ (p. 32).

Before transitioning to the next section, I want to briefly remark on an arguable extension of critical political economy that I find useful in how I theorize my approach to the neoliberal challenge to culture. Schafer (2008), in his sweeping treatise *Revolution or Renaissance: Making the Transition from an Economic Age to a Cultural Age*, argues that economics must begin to take a backseat to culture as the primary mode of global development. A so-called cultural age would be much more capable of addressing conflict, environmental sustainability, and economic viability. For example, the development of alternative, renewable energy sources is a policy that would be much more clearly articulated within a cultural age, i.e. the harsh impact global warming would have on local cultural practices throughout the world. The same policy through an economic model falters, in that such models essentially argue that energy should be produced in the cheapest, economically feasible way possible, whether that method is destructive coal or risky offshore oil drilling. Schafer’s argument is based around a set of tenets that share much in common with critical political economy, including a shift from the specialization of the economic age toward holism in a cultural age. Holism would not eschew specialized knowledge, instead it would recognize what is “more fundamental: the total way of life of people, and the need to achieve harmonious relationship between material and non-material requirements” (p. 201). Along with holism there would also be other key cultural concerns, including human well-being (above the profit imperative), distribution (above productive capacity), sharing and compassion (a shift in “giving rather than taking”), and altruism (no other way to address world’s serious concerns) (p. 201). Schafer’s final key cultural

concern, and one that is similar to my theoretical foundation of cultural citizenship, is the aspirational characteristic of the arts to be equally applied to other areas of life:

The arts have long had concerns that are fundamentally linked to culture, and would therefore be key concerns of a cultural age. Foremost among these concerns are *excellence, creativity, beauty, and the search for the sublime*. The challenge is to aspire to the best that can be achieved, regardless of the audience for which it is intended or the field in which it is created, and to emphasize the role of creativity in all areas of life, so that discovering new and better way of doing things with fewer resources, and more effective and efficient results, becomes standard practice in science, business, industry, government, medicine, welfare, and education as much as in the arts (p. 203).

### Formulating Cultural Policy

In it [Raymond Williams's *The Long Revolution*] we can discern, in fragmentary and rudimentary form, an approach to cultural change and, in particular, cultural policy, which has been forgotten as the discipline of cultural studies has moved further and further away from such considerations (Kenny and Stevenson, 1998, p. 249).

Thus far, in this chapter, I have argued for an understanding of culture I see as foundational to critiquing and developing cultural policies. Secondly, I have argued for the paramount importance in recognizing the neoliberal challenge to culture and, thus, the need to see culture holistically so that subsequent policy development can extend beyond instrumental, industrial policies concerned principally with capitalist accumulation. In this section, I want to focus on formulating and developing a cultural policy that properly addresses these previous bounds, but is also able to move policy forward to fit within a broader cultural citizenship

framework. Cultural citizenship is one of three “zones” of citizenship unidentified by Miller (2007):

- The political (the right to reside and vote)
- The economic (the right to work and prosper)
- The cultural (the right to know and speak) (p. 35)

*British Cultural Studies (“Raymond Hoggart”)*

As discussed in the introductory chapter, cultural policy at its most progressive represents a reformist project aimed at creating alternatives to market dominance in the cultural industries. Such an explanation can spark a set of basic questions concerning the legitimacy of cultural policy: What makes government best or better equipped at shaping culture? Assuming it is even possible, what is wrong with letting the market decide as some advocates argue? Such seemingly basic questions are remarkably complex to deeply explore through a committed cultural analysis, yet are simple questions to answer at the surface. For one, there is no invisible hand of the market—and what the market does is certainly not magical, supernatural, or even very mysterious. It is none of these things and more—rather, the market, no matter how *laissez-faire*, is set in place and established through purposeful economic policies. As Ray Hudson (2005) states, “‘the economy’ is constructed via social relations and practices that are not natural...they must be politically and socially (re)produced via regulatory and governance institutions” (p. 6). While economic policies in North American and Europe might shape cultural industries for the better or the worse, at their core they are principally based with the intent of capitalist expansion. Therefore, cultural policies do reflect an unambiguous conclusion that the market is constructed. Due to the market’s constructed nature, cultural policy is intended to be primarily concerned with cultural concerns and not economics in the first instant (at least in

principle). Policies are developed to put in place market correctives to increase cultural diversity, enliven new or untapped cultural markets, protect domestic industries, and generally enrich the citizenry through a vibrant cultural canon. Enrichment though is where the issue becomes much more complex, as cultural hierarchies can easily enter into the equation as clerisy rears its ugly head. Administrating culture can come off as overreaching, elitist, and a governmental passing of judgment—a Walter Lippmann-esque system of cultural “experts.” There is no straightforward approach to counter such attacks, which can be made from the political left and right. The political right argues for the market as the ultimate arbiter of cultural taste. The left similarly argues against the dominance of the nation-state in cultural policy, but in a completely different respect. Cultural critic Andrew Milner (1991) asserts that cultural theory must support democratic communication within communities, as communities can be built upon “solidarity, community, and culture...[and] might even render social life meaningful ” (p. 79).

Correspondingly, within Australian policy studies, one of the reasons for enacting cultural policies is understood as the cultural mandate (Cunningham, 1992). Conceptions of a cultural mandate eschew the market’s ability to create national mandates in guaranteeing cultural necessities. One such cultural mandate argued by Cunningham is the cultural imperative that the state must create and maintain a nation of diverse constituents, barely held together due to gender and ethnicity. Cultural mandates are typically constructed as social contracts, reflecting the critical duties of the state in cultural maintenance. One of the most pervasive cultural mandates of Canada, which is a powerful driver of its cultural policy framework, is its national commitment to diversity, as reflected in this statement from Canadian Heritage (“Canada’s commitment,” 2012):

Canada's experience with diversity distinguishes it from most other countries. Its 32 million inhabitants reflect a cultural, ethnic and linguistic makeup found nowhere else on earth. Approximately 200,000 immigrants a year from all parts of the globe continue to choose Canada, drawn by its quality of life and its reputation as an open, peaceful and caring society that welcomes newcomers and values diversity (para. 1).

Central to my argument of how cultural policies should be conceived is the importance of early British cultural studies to an appropriate contemporary understanding of cultural policy, including the contemporary place of policy in cultural studies. The early work of Williams and Hoggart in addressing policy, and its critical place within cultural studies, stands in sharp contrast to many arguments put forth by contemporary cultural critics, including Tony Bennett (1991) and Angela McRobbie (1996). Bennett (1998) famously argues about “putting policy into cultural studies,” while McRobbie (1996) similarly states that cultural policy represents “the missing agenda” of cultural studies (p. 335). McRobbie is right to an extent, but policy’s place in cultural studies is more about a presently lost agenda than an always absent agenda. Admittedly, too often, as Cunningham (1992) states, “questions of policy *do* circulate at the margins of the traditional core curricula of cultural studies” (p. 19). As a result, it is critical to historicize the place of policy in cultural studies scholarship. Alan O’Connor (2006) contextualizes Williams’s policy work within the intellectual life dominant during the same time period in England—“...Williams was making policy suggestions for the mass media that were genuinely radical. His intervention in policy debates is quite unusual: few cultural studies theorists make practical suggestions for change. These were dangerous ideas...” (p. 23). The failure of cultural studies theorists to make practical suggestions for change remains far too common. Michael Kenny and Nick Stevenson (1998) note that “policy-makers have, frankly,

received little help in these tasks from contemporary analysts of culture...the idea of engaging such a such a dialogue has been theoretically ruled out of bound” (p. 255). Such a disappointing reality remains in the more recent work of Marcus Breen (2011), who argues the importance of cultural studies should not just be accounting for crises through critique and reflection, but actually intervening in policy in the first instant. Breen laments the state of the increasingly institutionalized field:

...the cries of crisis became whispered grimaces of resignation. As tenure, seniority, and retirement were achieved by the generation of academic cultural studies scholars who pronounced the era of cultural studies, there was a palpable sense that the moment had passed. The success of realizing Raymond Williams’s injunction that the institutionalization of cultural studies within the academy would signal the point of recognition, almost matched some sort of denouement. As someone who came to cultural studies from journalism, research, and consulting, the end of the moment made sense because it appeared disarticulated from policy making, government, and activism. (pp. 207-208).

In recognizing the importance of Williams’s scholarship to my theorization of cultural policy studies, I will introduce the work of Kenny and Stevenson (1998) who argue for a cultural policy approach indebted to the legacy of Williams’s *The Long Revolution*, “which grounds the ‘cultural’ in social and economic processes and simultaneously avoids the instrumentalism and modernism characteristic of much mainstream analysis of cultural policy” (p. 255). In contrast to the more recent and now dominant trajectory of “cultural political economy,” which connects critical semiotic analysis and political economy (see Hudson, 2008; Jessup and Oosterlynck, 2008), the approach put forth by Kenny and Stevenson is essentially a cultural materialist

approach developed principally from the work of Williams to better address cultural policy. What these approaches have in common is to highlight the role of the cultural in economic processes and the importance of state regulation in this calculation. Kenny and Stevenson's approach is intended to develop "critical questions about the goals, nature, and purposes" (p. 255) of cultural policies. I use the term cultural political economy as it is developed through the work of Kenny and Stevenson, because it constructively captures much of the expansive discussion in this chapter, along with the triad of critical cultural policy, cultural studies, and political economy.

Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams are both widely represented as the "founding fathers" of what became the British cultural studies tradition. This so-called myth of "founding fathers," as Paul Jones (1994) contends, exists despite the fact that Williams never adopted "cultural studies" as a descriptor of his research project. Also, it was Hoggart, not Williams, who established the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in 1964 and set its original research agenda (see Hoggart, 1957). In a *Guardian* book review published in 1970, Williams writes of his all-too-familiar conflation with Richard Hoggart, who he had not yet met at that time, in referencing a newspaper article that wrote of "a book called *The Uses of Culture* by Raymond Hoggart," concluding "as writers we were pretty clear about our differences as well as our obvious common ground" (as cited in Jones, 1994, p. 394). Their differences are often essential to their early work in cultural policy. As Jones notes, "questions of cultural policy were the central common ground on which Williams and Hoggart played out their differences" (Jones, p. 401). Drawing from the work of Graeme Turner and Lawrence Grossberg, Jones argues that the degree of difference in the positions held by Williams and Hoggart "in the late 1950s and early 1960s is underplayed to secure an effective narrative



contrast with cultural studies' subsequent post-Althusserian phase" (p. 394). Both Williams and Hoggart, despite their training as Leavisite literary critics, principally rejected Leavis's plea for a cultural clerisy of intellectuals, although Hoggart was more open to Matthew Arnold's tacit framing of cultural elites vis-à-vis civilization's "sweetness and light" (see Jones, 1994).

Hoggart served on a major policy board examining British broadcasting policy, the Pilkington Committee, from 1960-62. The Pilkington Committee, indicative of Hoggart's condescension for consumer culture, argued that advertising-based programming would lead to a restriction in diversity, and opted instead for the creation of BBC2 to diversify programming (Jones, 1994, p. 403). Jones argues that ramifications of the Pilkington Report are critical to cultural studies and policy:

While the Conservative Government of the day rejected much of the rest of Pilkington's recommendations, the *de facto* defeat of the advertising lobby's major aims was a considerable victory. Perhaps because of the Arnoldian rhetoric of the Report, this practical achievement by Hoggart via Pilkington would appear to have been grossly underestimated within cultural studies. (p. 403)

While Williams valued Hoggart's, and in turn, the Pilkington Committee's strong opposition toward the advertising industry, he found the strengthening of the BBC and its supervisory bodies to be problematic. In 1962, Williams argued there were four systems of communication that must be recognized in shaping policy: authoritarian, paternal, commercial, and democratic (Williams, 1962). Each of these systems is seen as exemplifying a tension and continuum between control and freedom. To Williams, an ideal democratic system would not represent complete freedom, but less control than any other system. Even though Williams contributed weekly columns to the BBC magazine *The Listener*, which were later published as *Raymond*

*Williams on Television: Collected Writings*, he situated the BBC within his paternal system of communication. Williams (1962) argued a paternal system is “an authoritarian system with a conscience: that is to say, with values and purposes beyond the maintenance of its own power” (p. 90). On the other hand, a democratic system, often typified by intermediary policy boards, would facilitate less control and more freedom: “active contributors have control of their own means of expression...[and] freedom to do and freedom to answer, as an active process between many individuals” (Williams, 1962, p. 94, 96). A purely commercial culture, according to Williams, is particularly problematic because “the contributor is often neither free nor responsible: neither doing what he would independently have done, nor answerable to public criticism for what he has actually done” (p. 96). Therefore, the fundamental policy difference between Williams and Hoggart is that Williams favored policies aimed at increasing access to the means of mediated communication by cultural producers (a counter-hegemonic strategy). By contrast, Hoggart favored increasing consumer access that would ostensibly drive diversity within the cultural industries (an access-based strategy). As Jones (1994) concludes of these differences:

[Williams’s] cultural democratization programme closely resembles a Gramscian strategy of expansive democratization. Such democratization of cultural resources was deliberately designed to foster the counter hegemonic strategy. Hoggart, as we have seen, is content with participatory access to a sufficiently diversified cultural market” (p. 404).

The democratic system of communication, argues Williams, is once again about an expanding culture—it is in fact the epitome of anti-clericalism. To reach an emancipatory, Enlightenment ideal of culture does not require a clerical tradition of prefiguration (or instrumentalism), but

rather a democratic system of communication. In doing so, “its specific realization [emancipatory ideal] could only be determined by those so culturally empowered—those who could democratically establish it” (Jones, 1994, p. 409).

In a review of *The Uses of Literacy*, Williams (1957) further explains, “Hoggart, I think, has taken over too many of the formulas, in his concentration on a different kind of evidence. He writes at times in the terms of Matthew Arnold, though he is not Arnold nor was meant to be” (pp. 424-425). The split over the legacy of Arnold is typically based on teasing out the elitist legacy of much cultural analysis by addressing contemporary class concerns, particularly in Hoggart’s common assertions of a culture in decline due to it “cultural classlessness.” (as cited in Jones, p. 399). One of Williams’s (1957) most punitive critiques captures an acute point of divergence:

Finally, he [Hoggart] has admitted (through with apologies and partial disclaimers) the extremely damaging and quite untrue identification of ‘popular culture’ (commercial newspapers, magazines, entertainments etc.) with ‘working class culture’. In fact the main source of this ‘popular culture’ lies outside the working altogether, for it was instituted, financed and operated by the *bourgeoisie*, and remains typically capitalist in its methods of production and distribution. That working class people form perhaps a majority of the consumers of this material, along with considerable sections of other classes, does not, as a fact, justify this facile identification. In all of these matters, Hoggart’s approach needs radical revision (p. 425).

### *Cultural Political Economy → Cultural Citizenship*

In detailing some of the policy arguments and perspectives of Williams, I now want to conclude this section of the chapter by bringing them into focus alongside my earlier discussion

of political economy. My approach to cultural policy is one built upon a foundation of political economy with important input from early British cultural studies, and principally the work of Williams. In arguing for a similar aggregation for cultural policy, Kenny and Stevenson (1998) propose a specific approach they delineate as cultural political economy: “To understand, interpret, and critique policy in this realm necessitates an analytical frame which integrates the insights of political economy with sensitivity to the cultural changes reshaping the meanings and contradictory impulses governing the forming of policy” (p. 259). This theoretical framing is similar to the work within critical media studies toward developing a political economy of culture. As Andrew Calabrese (2004) details in the first chapter of the edited collection, *Toward a Political Economy of Culture: Capitalism and Communication in the Twenty-First Century*:

The explicit attention that this book’s title brings to the latter term is meant both to take into account where the field has in fact already been and where it must focus more intensively in the future. The degree to which the media constitute, define, or otherwise influence what we take to be the realm of the ‘cultural’ in the modern world is certainly a matter for dispute. What is indisputable is that no conception of culture in the modern world is complete if it fails to account for the space occupied by the “media”—the institutional and technological means of communication and information (pp. 2-3).

In fact, many of the questions asked by Williams about democratic media systems are many of the same being asked today of cultural policy. For example, how can policy drive and advance culture that is neither driven solely by the logic of the government nor entirely controlled by the state?

The aim of bringing together the cultural, political, and economic is one common throughout the humanities and social sciences. I have already highlighted Mosco's (2009) three parameters to a political economic analysis, one of which one is spatialization. In noting the spatial aspects of political economy, cultural geography can play a useful role in different analyses, particularly local policies at the city or regional level. Roger Lee (2002), a professor of geography, argues that cultural and economic perspectives can be complementary in any analysis, including his work in geography:

The question is not whether to rediscover economics or to go with the cultural, it is how to do both at the same time in ways that recognize the political significance of these intersections provide a critical purchase on prevailing economic processes (p. 335).

The robust shift toward cultural studies by human geographers during the 1980s and beyond has led some scholars in the field to also push for a restitution of political economy, arguing that the steep turn toward culture has caused the potential of political economy to not be met (Stilwell, 1992; McLoughlin, 1994; Badcock, 1996).

The critical import of Williams is in recognizing that the "cultural" must be grounded in social and economic processes while avoiding instrumentalism (Kenny and Stevenson, 2008). As I noted in my first chapter, contemporary cultural policy has often been dominated by a more instrumental, administrative approach based on the economic impact of policies, typically evaluated quantitatively. In doing so, the uniqueness of the cultural domain is lost to one that depicts culture as merely another commodity capable of benefitting the bottom line.

At the same time, the critical half of cultural policy, based within sociology, geography, communication, and media studies came to be dominated by governmentality. Beyond Tony Bennett's significant work in this direction, Miller and Yúdice (2002) lean on governmentality to

argue that cultural policy is formulated on the concept of “ethical incompleteness”—a desire to “produce well-tempered, manageable cultural subjects who could be formed and governed through institutions and discourses, inscribing ethical incompleteness in two-way shifts between the subject as a singular, private person and the subject as a collective, public citizen...” (p. 12). Governmentality’s weakness is in recognizing the place of culture outside of administration, in the networks of social bonds created through assemblages of community-level relationships. It is those community-level relationships, built through communication, which Williams often addresses in his cultural analysis. In arguing that cultural theory is based upon a “discovery of patterns” as he does in *The Long Revolution*, it is through communication that such patterns materialize (p. 63). In recognizing the change in contemporary culture, particularly through the continuing expansion of culture in the industrial age, important questions about the objectives and basis for cultural policies can begin to be addressed. The market’s dominance in shaping culture has important ramifications for which cultural industries are supported, the practices within those industries, and the influence these policies have on shifting social identities. In summarizing their cultural political economy approach to cultural policy, Kenny and Stevenson (1998) conclude:

“[it] would follow Williams in opening up a critical analysis of the social and economic hierarchies within which contemporary cultures are embedded...looking at the terrain upon which agents operate as well as their evolving subjectivities...the investigation of the governance of the plural cultures of contemporary states thus involves assessment of the interplay between difference agencies and actors determining how cultural policy is formed. (p. 256)

Earlier in this chapter, I cited the work of Owen-Vandersluis (2003) in stating that cultural policy is often divided into either market-based or community-based approaches. Along similar lines, McGuigan (2001) describes three discourses in cultural policy. One discourse fits the market-based approach in that it is concerned with market outcomes such as economic benefits and opportunities. Another discourse, akin to a community-based approach, is the state's concern with official culture or the idea of the cultural mandate. The third discourse, termed "civil" by McGuigan, is the one most indebted to the work of Williams. In this discourse, there is more concern placed in establishing a space for democratic intermediaries that interface between the state and how interventions are motivated by various stakeholders, ranging from public intellectuals to NGOs and social movements. In shifting questions away from strictly the extremes of the market or the state, but toward democratic exchange within a civil society, cultural policy helps to support a strengthening of cultural citizenship. Cultural citizenship recognizes a vibrant collection of rights, entitlements, and duties entrusting citizens with input and not merely the opportunity to choose to not participate in a market. This space has been of increasing interest to policy analysis, as Calabrese (2004), remarks about the interest in "policy analysis, criticism, and intervention": "a key area of shared concern centers on the *meaning of citizenship*, not only in terms of rights and responsibilities associated with government but also with respect to the rightfully contested terrain of 'civil society'" (p. 9). A fully realized cultural citizenship would encourage citizens of vastly different backgrounds to be compelled to participate in and comment on policy decisions, not just administrative boards of governmental entities. Such boards would be citizen boards or be facilitated through an intermediary organization open to public participation. Cultural policy would begin to be understood similarly to other common policy realms. For example, public policy, health policy,

and telecommunications policy are all commonly framed and understood as matters of ostensibly political citizenship and corresponding rights. On the other hand, more often than not, cultural policy is not constructed in terms of rights and active democratic input, but of either state support for “good” culture or industrial support for the market—both concerned with “users” or “customers” and not *citizenship*.

In the majority of cultural policymaking, culture is primarily constructed as a source of power—how policymakers or others define legitimate culture will have significant influence over the choices and opportunities of its citizens. Culture should not be thought of merely a source of power within a community or nation in cultural policy development. Culture can be more broadly thought of as a strategic good, particularly within its relationship to the nation. According to Stanley (2006), a strategic good is:

A good on which the very existence of a nation is thought to depend. If the nation were to be deprived of the good, it could no longer sustain itself, or more particularly, defend itself against potential enemies. It is therefore critical that it retain capacity for production of this good within its borders, even if that production is economically inefficient. (p. 29)

This fact is evident in Williams’s writings concerning his homeland in the Black Mountains of Wales—without the nourishment of culture, it would not survive as a constructive place of social understanding. Additionally, in shaping policy, culture must be recognized for its aspirational importance in shaping citizenship and public life—its “orientation to the future.” Culture should not be understood as simply the past, as “custom, heritage, or tradition,” but an indication for current and future generations to aspire to certain heights—better participation, a more inclusive culture, more acceptance, and a recognition that a variety of cultural forms are possible.



Appadurai (2004) claims, in speaking anthropologically of development and poverty reduction in India, that the “capacity to aspire is one important thing about culture (and cultures), and it has been paid too little attention so far” (p. 82). These understandings of culture within policy development reflect the need for a cultural policy that recognizes the importance of social identity and identification within broader issues of political economy—the economic, political, and cultural spheres.

### Conclusion: Capturing Theory in Policy

Very few scholars have endeavored to develop popular music-specific theoretical approaches to cultural policy analysis. One exception is Breen (2006) in his theorization of the popular music policy formation, which attempts to bring together incongruent principles in governmentality, commodification, and articulation theory under a unified theoretical approach. While there are many positives to take away from Breen’s work, especially in developing methods appropriate to a specific analysis of the popular music industry, the strongest aspects of his theoretical foundation fit well into the cultural political economy approach. For example, one argument central to Breen is equally important to the theoretical approach I have presented. Breen likewise recognizes the importance in analyzing culture within an “organic totality” that prevents “bouncing back and forth between the cultural, the economic, and the industrial” (p. 217). Holistic analysis is as well at the core of critical political economy.

One critical benefit of a cultural political economy approach is that while it might not have the intellectual coherence of some cultural policy approaches; it is able to produce more essential and relevant questions for policymakers *and* analysts (Kenny and Stevenson, 1998, p.

256). Therefore, it can be used in the analysis of existing cultural policy, such as my case study, and also in developing new cultural policies.

The cultural political economy approach to cultural policy is also one that is situated within McGuigan's (2001) "civil/communicative" discourse of cultural policy. Within a civil-based discourse of cultural policy, it is important to create a space for democratic communication, often through intermediary bodies within civil society. In creating spaces for democratic participation in the cultural sphere, cultural policy is best able to support cultural citizenship and give rights, entitlements, and duties to its citizens.

In the next chapter, I will explicate the methods involved in my case study based upon the theoretical foundation established in this chapter. My methods are intended to help analyze and evaluate the primary concerns within a cultural political economy approach. Chief among such concerns is an understanding of the interplay between various participants, including stakeholders and organizations, which operate within the constructed space of cultural policy to shape Canadian popular music.

## CHAPTER 6: METHODS

The history of the idea of culture is a record of our reactions, in thought and feeling, to the changed conditions of our common life....our meanings and our definitions, but these, in turn, are only to be understood within the context of our actions...its emergence, in its modern meanings, marks the effort at total qualitative assessment, but what it indicates is a process, not a conclusion. (Williams, 1983/1958, p. 295)

### Introduction

In the May 2001 newsletter of the Cultural Studies Association of Australia (subsequently changed to Australasia), Alan McKee writes, “Unlike some other University disciplines (e.g., sociology, psychology), Cultural Studies has not often been explicit in explaining its methodologies. Many writers lead by example, but rarely do we discuss exactly how we are generating the information that we convey in our research” (para. 1). In the discussion that follows, McKee attempts to give a methodological overview of 17 different subfields or aligned fields of cultural studies, including cultural policy studies and political economy. McKee does not attempt to explain why an explication of methods is so often overlooked other than to conclude it makes the question of methods a “difficult one to address” (para. 2). McKee’s observation illustrates the relative absence of method in cultural policy scholarship grounded within cultural studies and extends to the broader study of culture within the cultural studies tradition. There is little doubt; cultural studies will never be accused of being too methodologically driven. McKee’s designated subfields of political economy and cultural policy studies represent the mutual origins of my theoretical and methodological approach in this research.

McKee's concerns are spot-on for a substantial portion of empirical scholarship in cultural studies, but there has been substantive, explicit scholarship focused on developing and illuminating method within cultural studies. Michael Pickering's (2009) edited collection, *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*, is one of the stronger recent examples. The collection features a variety of methodological frameworks to study an equally diverse range of cultural phenomena. Moreover, Pickering wisely has chosen research that also integrates qualitative and quantitative methods, which is less commonly recognized within contemporary cultural studies research. Pickering (2009) identifies method as a "missing dimension in cultural studies" (p. 2). He then contends that method is crucial to studying culture, especially its enduring emphasis on power, but that too often cultural studies research is singularly driven by cultural theory in an attempt at "constructing and refining theoretical models and templates" (p. 5). Lost somewhat in Pickering's defense of method, and his criticisms of an overreliance on theoretical presumptions, is that method and theory must be well-matched. Pertti Alasuutari (1995) puts it simply: "The method has to be in harmony with the theoretical framework of the study" (p. 42). For example, John Durham Peters (2006) maintains method is addressed in the foundational cultural studies work of Raymond Williams (a contention likely lost on many), most notably in the three major works discussed in the previous chapter: *Culture & Society* (1958), *The Long Revolution* (1961), and *The Country and the City* (1973,) which are often discussed only in reference to their cultural theory. Peters argues that *Culture & Society* fits within a larger methodological tradition, alongside the work of C. Wright Mills, Hannah Arendt, and Jürgen Habermas, in attempting to bring together methods of the social sciences and humanities (p. 61). In the most cogent chapter of *Culture & Society*, the conclusion, Williams (1983/1958) writes, "In every problem we need hard, detailed inquiry and negotiation," and the challenge of critical scholars

conducting cultural and social analysis is “to take a meaning from experience, and to try to make it active, is in fact our process of growth” (p. 338).

Within cultural policy more specifically, there are a wide range of reasons for the lack of much discussion of method. One fundamental reason is its development as a field. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the field of cultural policy can be seen as two “torn halves” (O. Bennett, 2004). The more interpretive and critical half of cultural policy research (less focused on method) originated within Australian and British departments of cultural studies and communication. The primary scholars developing policy at this time included Stuart Cunningham, Tony Bennett, Nicholas Garnham, and Tom O’Regan. As a field, critical cultural policy is therefore situated along similar lines to British cultural studies—a reformist project developed outside the dominant paradigm of social scientific inquiry. Similarly to British cultural studies, it is also less concerned with method, whereas more administrative iterations of cultural policy bear a closer resemblance to social science-based public policy. However, both “torn halves” of cultural policy struggle with issues of data collection as a result of the inherent difficulty of examining cultural matters in relation to policy administration. David Pankratz (2000) situates the problem in addressing cultural policies in the arts field:

Problems in data collection in the arts identified in the early 1990s continue. In a review of data collection systems by government agencies, public arts agencies, and arts service organizations, researchers concluded that “none of the data sources we reviewed met the standards of policy-relevant information— technical quality and reliability, comprehensiveness of coverage, comparability across disciplines and over time, and easy accessibility to researchers.” As a result, the testing and refinement of theories to explain and predict phenomena in the arts is

severely compromised, while special studies and surveys lose some of their value if they are not grounded in comprehensive data sets. (p. 9)

The necessity of data is addressed with specific regard to music by Elena Ostleitner (1981) in her research on musical life in Austria: “Cultural-policy makers are another group in need of precise information about contemporary musical life as a basis for their decisions...those responsible stand in ever more urgent need of data collections” (p. 35). Another reason contributing to a lack of discussion involving method in cultural policy is that research methods are often seen as implicit in the research frame and findings. Methods are often subsumed within approaches that are recognized by their practitioners to be interpretative and subjective, and not post-positivist “scientific,” such as the natural sciences. Cultural studies *must* continue to be interpretive and subjective, but that does not prevent it from being empirical.

In this chapter, the primary goal is to describe and explain the method, including research questions and methods, used in conducting this case study on cultural policy and the popular music industry in Canada. As discussed in the introduction, the case study research conducted consists of research methods made up of interviews and analysis of policy documents, but this chapter will expand on that multi-method approach and situate it in relation to broader questions of method and theory. My research questions were critical in developing an appropriate interview protocol and determining the individuals to interview. In the next section, two important book-length studies in cultural policy scholarship examining state-based popular music policies will be detailed. Although considerably different in research approach and theoretical orientation, both studies share a common ground that is essential to the methodological design of the case study in this research. After discussing these two studies, the method employed will be situated within a larger body of qualitative and case study research. Finally, expounding on the

research questions behind the method, the last section will detail the specific research methods employed, and examine how these research methods were driven by the theoretical framework.

### *Examples of Method in Popular Music Policy Research*

This section examines two key studies from cultural policy studies on popular music industries that have been substantially drawn from in developing a methodological framework. No matter the type of cultural policy research, research can include qualitative and quantitative data collection. The majority of researchers within critical cultural policy studies conduct primary research through qualitative methods, and then look to support or complement that research with secondary quantitative or documentary research. At the very least, an extensive cultural policy analysis, such as a dissertation, requires multiple methods of data gathering. Much like other fields that depend on multiple methods and draw from different disciplinary fields, it is imperative that cultural policy studies develop its own sophisticated interdisciplinary set of approaches, and not simply cobble together approaches from other fields in a “merely additive process” (Blaukopf, 1974, p. 231). Talcott Parsons (1947) argues all social science is by its very nature interdisciplinary: “every important empirical field of social science is a field of application for conceptual schemes of all relevant theoretical disciplines. No academic organization of the disciplines can overcome this inherent logical cross- and interpenetration” (as cited in Blaukopf, 1993, p. 2). Clifford Geertz (1983) would later call this development “genre blurring” (p. 19).

The most significant study in developing a method for this case study research, and the study my research most resembles, is one that *actually* does discuss method. *Media Policy and Music Activity* by Krister Malm and Roger Wallis (1992) remains one of the few book-length explorations of popular music and cultural policy, and it is commonly cited due to its

significance to the field. John Street (1997) calls the book an “exception” in cultural policy for its rare analysis of the tangible institutions and structures in which policy emerge (p. 78). Malm and Wallis explain how policy, in any context, impact musical availability and choice:

The net result of implemented media music policies is that certain music media with a certain music content become available. The presence of these media and their content influences the music culture in the geographical area concerned. The result of this influence manifests itself in the form of changes in ‘music activity’ [performance or non-performance], which is the second basic concept in our study. (p. 22)

Malm and Wallis’s study was a natural methodological resource in shaping this research design, as it is likewise concerned with the actual institutions and structures in which policies emerge. Developed out of a larger research initiative dubbed MISC, the Music Industry in Small Countries Project, the study is also distinctive for not developing out of the Australian and British cultural policy traditions dominant at the time. It is almost as if Malm, a Swedish professor of musicology, and Wallis, a BBC correspondent in Sweden, were not aware there was no implicit need to elaborate on their method based on the dominant paradigm at the time within critical cultural policy studies. Their discussion of method is not exceedingly lengthy, but is substantial enough to provide an overview of how their data was collected and the difficulties in employing such an approach. In their study, Malm and Wallis (1992) investigated the relationship between state policies and music activity in six nations: Jamaica, Trinidad, Kenya, Tanzania, Sweden, and Wales. Primarily consisting of interviews with musicians and policymakers, the research looked at whether enacted national policies aimed at protecting local music activity were implemented and, if so, whether they were successful.



Wallis and Malm devote the book's second chapter to detailing the study's "Concepts, postulates, constraints, and methods" (p. 21). They describe their principal method as "stocktaking"—"qualitative and quantitative studies of the extent of media and music industry operations and their relations to music activity...part of such research consists of simply watching, questioning and trying to understand the operations of music media production and policymaking processes (Wallis and Malm, 1992, p. 32; see Blaukopf, 1974; see Mark, 1981). They follow the research lead of Schlesinger (1987), in calling this multi-method approach the "free-for-all investigation of the animal," (p. xxxi) and see it as related to ethnography. Quantitative data is only used as secondary research, collected from various external bodies analyzing the popular music industry. Malm and Wallis conducted face-to-face interviews centered on a "significant incident method" to highlight "strains and tensions in relations between different sectors of the music industry" (pp. 34-35). This approach is unique, but it reflects their disparate studies of countries with little previous research and no singularly articulated cultural policy framework. Initial interviews were conducted during field research in each respective country, followed by additional interviews as necessary via telephone or mail. Informants were selected and broken up into the following primary categories (p. 35):

1. Direct policymakers

- Government (politicians, lobbyists, cultural bureaucrats)

- Media corporations (owners, producers, label staff)

- Music press (journalists)

2. Indirect policymakers

- Trade and interest organizations (board members, staff)

- Agents and their clients

Education-related (academic researchers)

### 3. Musicmakers and the audience

Particularly individuals who have demonstrated an interest in cultural policy and its potential impact on popular music.

Malm and Wallis also list five sets of key questions that were typically asked of informants.

These questions concern locating significant policy documents, the relationship between stated and applied policy, domestic/foreign composition of markets, popular music's relationship to the informant's domain, and the relationship of the informant's domain to cultural policy (p. 36). To supplement these interviews, the research includes as many "relevant documents" as possible (p. 36). Lastly, the authors identify the key methodological problems in such research, including an issue of reliability since interviews cannot be replicated under similar conditions. Interviews were recorded and transcribed to increase accuracy, especially because they were critical to research findings.

A more recent study of cultural policy and popular music is Marcus Breen's (2006) book *Rock Dogs: Politics and the Australian Music Industry*. Breen (2006) is working out of Australian cultural policy studies (although he does not following a Foucauldian approach) and directly connects his text to the call to put policy into cultural studies: "the book is intended to extend cultural policy studies within cultural studies" (p. xv). Breen's interest is in how policies put in place by the Australian Labor Party have impacted the music scene, youth culture, and national identity. Based on his data collection and analysis in Australia, Breen develops a theoretical model he labels the "popular music policy formation"—a model for reflecting how cultural policy impacts/mediates popular music. Breen's study is very detailed and is supplemented by his willingness to connect his findings to applicable cultural theory, something

rarely done in cultural policy. Unlike Malm and Wallis (1992), there is little explicit discussion of methods, and no discussion of even when his field research was conducted (it is only mentioned in his references). Instead, findings are presented as if their relationship to methods is implicit. Breen does situate his analytical approach within a broader field of study than cultural studies:

It analyses the development and implementation of the policies from a political economy perspective, bringing together two fields of investigation which are often considered to be antagonistic: the cultural and industrial. I have excavated sites at which the cultural and industrial converged around policy issues. I understood this take proposing an appropriate political economy which relies on the evolution theories of capitalist development outlined by Thorstein Veblin, known as institutional economics (pp. xiv-xv).

Some further methodological points can be gleaned from Breen's research. He does situate himself in relationship to his research. Breen is a former Australian policymaker and journalist. He was formerly Chairman of the Victorian Rock Foundation (at one time a government-funded popular music body, which is now privately-financed) and a music journalist for several publications, including *Billboard Magazine*, *The Hollywood Reporter*, and several Australian daily newspapers. His research reflects his attained insider position, built around case study research utilizing interviews and extensive use of documents.

Breen notes the importance of stakeholders to the cultural policy research process, in a similar vein to the work of Malm and Wallis (1992). Breen defines stakeholders as "those private and public individuals and institutions representing vested interests who enter into cooperative arrangements which are agreed to by private, profit-oriented firms and governments

and their agencies, to produce an economy under government control” (p. 18). Drawing from his list of resources, Breen conducted multiple-part interviews with fifteen stakeholders and relied heavily on documents, including the Australian Labor Party archives maintained at the State Library of Victoria. While Breen’s methods might be as valid as any academic researcher’s, his limited explanation of these processes is indicative of his journalistic background: “As the popular music policy initiatives unfolded, I collected vast swatches of material as a researcher and journalist. Sources such as undated and untitled press releases from the Federal and Victorian Governments...” (p. xii). Although Breen describes various findings, he is not able to make a conclusion regarding his larger research project: “My conclusion is that the scope of policy initiatives was inconclusive, due to a lack of singular focus resulting into much power remaining with the existing industry (p. xvi). Such findings are disappointing, but reflect the uncertainty of all research.

### Situating Method

Qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right. It crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matters. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p .1)

My methodological approach is located within the qualitative research tradition, which can include a range of knowledge-gathering techniques. Clearly much can be said regarding specific qualitative research approaches, but I want to locate my method within a broader field of inquiry. In the next section, I will more specifically address the qualitative methods I used. Qualitative research is an inquiry process based on a variety of methodological traditions with the common goal of building a multifaceted, holistic analysis through naturalistic, interpretive approaches (Creswell, 1998, p. 15). It developed out of various historical traditions, including

the Chicago School of sociology, early anthropological fieldwork, and education (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001, p. 1). These fields represented a positivist conception of the social sciences, seen in a similar light to the natural sciences “to be based on objective quantifiable data, with the prediction and control of the behavior of others as a goal” (Kvale, 1996, p.11). Although the early foundation of qualitative inquiry began in the positivist social sciences, the proliferation of postpositivist and critical points of view in hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotics, phenomenology, cultural studies, and feminism helped further solidify its spread across the social sciences and humanities (Kvale, 1996, p. 3). Empirical materials of qualitative inquiry can include “case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual text”—all aimed at interpreting phenomena and the meanings individuals bring to them (p. 3). Qualitative inquiry as a more interpretive science is often represented in narrative, constructive terms such as ethnography. The reasons for this representation are numerous, but it does assist in fully embracing and demonstrating subjectivity as compared to objectivity (Janesick, 2000).

My approach to popular music policy research roughly follows some of the primary methods of the two examples cited earlier. The reason for the similarities is mostly out of necessity, as interviews and documentary review present the most appropriate and attainable data to interpret the relationship between policy and the independent music industry. In approaching and developing my method I aimed to strike a balance between the “free spontaneity of a no-method approach and rigid structures of an all-method approach” (Kvale, 1996, p. 13). While the relationship of cultural policy to cultural studies has been established, I want to briefly situate the political economy of communication in its relationship and its importance to my research. While political economy and cultural studies can represent quite divergent concerns and focuses,

there are points of juncture that can bring the two into closer alignment. Very simplistically, political economy is more concerned with the act of production, while cultural studies is more interested in the cultural meaning-making at the point of reception/consumption. The policy process is conceptually more tied to political economy in many respects because of its increased concern with the regulation of the forces of production. If the field is broadened “Toward a Political Economy of Culture” (Calabrese, 2004) or the cultural political economy basis of my theoretical approach, then it shifts more in line with implicit cultural policy concerns. Because of the relationship between theory and method, my strong association with political economy has an obviously substantial impact in the way I approach methods. Critical political economy of communication methodology lies between abstract empiricism and pure interpretive science. In contrast to other theoretical and methodological approaches attempting to strike a balance between empiricism and interpretation, political economy differs, according to Graham Murdock, in “the way available research materials are contextualized theoretically and the way that explanations are constructed” (as cited in Bettig, 1996, p. 6). Contextualizing research is accomplished through the linkage of structures to practices, often drawing from Anthony Giddens’s structuration theory (Mosco, 2009; Bettig, 1996). Structuration theory argues that human agency embodies the core elements of structures, which must be understood as amalgamations of practicing agents—not as static, opaque edifices. Mosco (2009) states that political economy is grounded in a “realist, inclusive, constitutive and critical epistemology...*inclusive* in that it rejects essentialism, which would reduce all social practice to a single political economic explanation, in favor of an approach that views concepts as entry or starting points...”(p. 10).

### *Research Goals*

The earlier cited studies by Malm & Wallis (1992), Breen (2006), and for that matter, most extensive popular music policy analyses, are primarily interested in making sense of policy implications on a national level. Breen (2006) is one of the few exceptions who elaborates on many micro policy issues related to place, but his concern is still tilted toward the national through his focus (and subtitle) “Youth Culture and National Identity.” The goal of my research is to learn how the popular music subvention process operates in practice, following it through application to award and its impact on independent labels and artists through specific examples and analyses. While qualitative research is traditionally contraindicated for generalizability, my research goal is to shed considerable light on the national practice of Canadian popular music policy, by focusing on key independent labels and artists in significant cities of cultural production, including Toronto, Montreal, and, to a lesser extent, Vancouver. The desire to look at the micro level of funding stems partly from my previous research on independent labels, but it is more broadly grounded on the basis, as stated in the introductory chapter, that cultural policy studies must examine macro/national policies through micro/local contexts. If national policies cannot be realized at the level of the local, there is a real question of their legitimate impact on the market beyond conjecture. The Canadian government has conducted a wide-range of mixed-method policy reviews of its popular music and cultural industries policies using interviews and surveys, but these studies are explicitly national with little local context. For example, a 1990 report on the Sound Recording Development Program based its research on secondary statistical data, an international survey of marketing in the Canadian music industry, and “key informant interviews” (“Sound Recording, 1990, p. 7). The informant interviews were prioritized in the data collection process, but the concerns were not with processes—“Although it was not the

objective of this study to conduct a detailed review of program administration procedures, there are some findings that should be mentioned in this concluding section” (p. 129).

In any regard, there is a need to develop a critical, yet methodologically-sound analysis of the independent Canadian popular music industry vis-à-vis policy. With the international and domestic success of the Canadian independent music industry there are many misconceptions. For example, FACTOR is often portrayed as a government-run association that principally gives money to artists. By contrast, while the organization is majority-funded by the government with additional funding from radio broadcasters, it is independently run. Additionally, the majority of its funding actually goes to independent labels, not directly to artists, which is perhaps the most common misperception. It is true that FACTOR gives money directly to artists, but that support is relatively minimal compared to direct label-based support. Such widespread inaccuracies in popular media and trade press accounts demonstrate the need for first-hand interviews and primary documentary research.

Primary research question:

*What outcomes result from federal cultural policy inputs (subsidies of cultural production) instituted to support the Canadian independent music industry?*

Four sub-questions:

*What is the history and rationale behind federal cultural policies in support of the Canadian independent music industry?*

*What federal cultural policies are instituted in Canada to support independent popular music recording?*

*Who determines, and on what basis, the labels and artists who will benefit from federal Canadian cultural policies to support independent popular music recording?*



*How critical a role does federal Canadian cultural policy play in supporting independent record labels and musicians?*

Operational research question:

*How do the organizational practices between federal funding bodies, independent record labels, and the independent music industry trade association shape the application and outcomes of Canadian federal cultural policy inputs?*

These questions are addressed through interviews and documentary research, with special attention paid toward the differences between policy and practice. Policy can be conceptually evaluated in documents and the practical instrumentation through firsthand experiences of label executives and musicians. Once again, my interviewees were classified similarly to the stakeholder distinctions of Malm and Wallis (1992), with some applicable changes and distinctions. It is important to recognize that these categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, there are many direct policymakers that might also do work that would fall under the indirect policymaker categorization. The more individuals are involved in varying roles, the harder it is to categorize them.

1. Direct policymakers

Government (politicians, lobbyists, cultural bureaucrats)

Government-funded independent funding organizations (FACTOR/Musicaction)

Cultural industries (owners, producers, label staff)

2. Indirect policymakers

Trade and interest organizations (management and staff)

Agents/attorneys and their clients

Consultants, journalists

- Academic researchers, others
- 3. Musicians and others involved
  - Independent musicians/artist management
  - Misc. – artist policy consultants, journalists

### *Interviews*

Kvale (1996) states the purpose of the qualitative interview is to “understand the world from the subjects’ points of views...the interviewer digs nuggets of data or meanings out of a subject’s pure experiences, unpolluted by leading questions” (pp. 1-3). The subjective recognition of qualitative inquiry requires that leading questions be carefully guarded against in the interview process. This is especially the case because of my interest and general support of popular music policies at the state level. Before conducting interviews, it is a prerequisite to develop an initial design that coordinates stakeholder interviews, particular in relation to any applicable case studies, and their relationship to FACTOR, as the primary funding body in Canada (Stake, 1995, p. 64). Stake (1995) argues that interviews can successfully illustrate the multiple realities of analysis that cannot be attained through observation (p. 64).

In speaking with stakeholders, my questions combined approaches of both cultural and topical interviews, which is often the most practical approach in qualitative interviewing (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 11). Cultural interview questions were more broadly conceived, asking stakeholders to comment on the culture of popular music policy in Canada and the way in which popular music is connected to conceptualizations of culture. Topical interview questions were more concerned with specific processes of the subvention process in Canada and how funds are awarded. Rubin & Rubin (2005) explain with topical interviews, “the researcher sorts, balances,

and analyzes what he or she heard, creating his or her own narrative that can be as simple as the summary phrases, ‘the program works’ or ‘the program fails’” (p. 11).

### *Documentary Research*

One of the primary benefits of documentary research is its ability to locate contemporary research accounts within a historical context. This strength is notably true in the Canadian context because of a healthy historical body of policy reviews and recommendations conducted through government-supported empirical reports on the cultural industries. Canada’s expansive historical recognition of a “common culture,” such as articulated by Williams within cultural theory remains rare. The significant 1987 Canadian publication “Canadian Cultural Industries: Vital Links” opens with the following extolling of culture:

Culture is the very essence of our national identity. Nourishing that identity are the cultural industries, whose artists are more assured than ever but whose institutions face long odds against success. We want to shorten those odds.

“Culture” is a concept with many different meanings. It certainly refers to artistic and literary activity. But it also has sociological and anthropological connotations—groups communicate and, indeed, define themselves. Canadian culture encompasses all these things. Ultimately, it is the substance and reflection of who we are and what we form as a people. Our landscape is part of it; our tastes, our languages, our pastimes, the way we view the world, these all enter in....The health of our culture and our health as a country are interdependent (pp. 6-7).

Furthermore, a mixed-method that integrates interviews and documentary-based research allows for a degree of triangulation, which can “allow comparisons to be made between the observer’s

interpretations of events and those recorded in documents relating to those events” (May, 2001, p. 175). Triangulation is inherently less significant in the interviews with musicians and independent label executives, but becomes critical with regards to policymakers. Some critics of documentary research argue it in itself is not a method, since it requires *how* one will use documents. But, as Michel Foucault (1989) argues, “in our time, history is that which transforms *documents into monuments*” (p. 7). According to Foucault (1989)

...ever since a discipline such as history has existed, documents have been used, questioned, and have given rise to questions; scholars have asked not only what these documents meant, but also whether they were telling the truth, and by what right they could claim to be doing so, whether they were sincere or deliberately misleading, well informed or ignorant, authentic or tampered with. (p. 6)

In examining documents in a similar mode of analysis as articulated by Foucault, Tim May (2001) argues “the means for doing so is to utilize the idea of a constant that may, for example, be invoked to demonstrate the gradual unfolding of history in terms of progress” (p. 177). My concern is more with policy, and the language used to support that policy, than with the textual documents themselves. That is why I do not conduct a formal textual analysis, but an analysis in which policy can be exposed in relation to in-depth interviews with popular music and cultural policy stakeholders. In other words, events or supposed statements of fact must be contextualized with one another and situated in relation to their chronology and relation to policy development over time. The use and value of documentary research should continue to increase in qualitative research as more and more documentary information is digitized and preserved. Despite this fact, problems linger with regard to document preservation and continued access. Breen (2006) pleads in his study that the Australian government must more actively work to

preserve documents from the late 1980s and early 1990s that are simply being discarded. The same can be said of documents related to Canadian cultural policy. There are several instances of government-sponsored press releases that are either removed from the Internet, or purely located within expensive pay-based business industry databases.

### Methodological Design

In this section, I will detail the methodological steps taken when preparing and executing my field research in Canada. At first, I will discuss human research issues, my interview schedules, and recruitment. I will then detail the documents I reviewed and how they were obtained. Lastly, I will discuss how I approached the data analysis.

#### *Human Research*

This research and more specifically how it dealt with individuals was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Colorado at Boulder. A copy of the protocol is included in Appendix A and is on record with the IRB. The protocol number for the research is 0507.11. The research was conducted under the direction of Andrew Calabrese, my dissertation committee chair.

A relatively unique aspect of this research, compared to a large percentage of qualitative research involving human research, is that I explicitly did not allow anonymity in my research design. I wrote the following in my IRB protocol:

I am speaking to public officials, musicians, and label representatives regarding their public involvement with popular music policies. Therefore, no anonymity will be granted and it certainly will not be expected, in the same sense that it would not be for a journalistic article on popular music policy.

While IRB had no issue with my lack of participant confidentiality, I was denied the review category of “exempt” in my original protocol submission and instead was classified as “expedited.” This additional level of review was primarily because I was conducting and recording interviews, which required a participant informed consent form. This form explained my overall research agenda, the procedures I was undertaking, the lack of any risks and discomforts to participants, the lack of explicit benefits to participants, and ability to withdraw at any time. The form also encouraged participants to ask any questions or concerns they had about the study. Additionally, the consent form allowed participants to explicitly consent to whether the interview would be recorded. All participants agreed to be recorded. In practical terms, while I recognize the need to have a consent form, I found the required length of the consent form to occasionally be a legitimate hindrance, particularly with musicians. Musicians were more likely to talk when the setting was much less formal and the research appeared to be more journalistic than academic. I believe some musicians were worried to say something that might be misconstrued by their management or record label.

### *Interview Schedules*

I had three primary interview schedules that were submitted to IRB under a “general interview schedule” broken into three sections: public officials/policymakers, label representatives, and musicians. The interview schedules are in Appendix B and the informed consent form is in Appendix C. In broad terms, these questions can be divided into the following categories related to cultural policy: 1.) historical knowledge; 2.) Canadian culture & identity; 2.) personal, professional involvement; 3.) organizational involvement; and 4.) balance between national and local policy. For example, one of my first questions for policymakers was an explicit question about the role of culture in Canada in light of cultural policy and its stated and

unstated intentions. For musicians, I was interested in how they first learned of popular music policies and then how they utilized them in their musical careers and the importance the politics had on their careers. For label representatives, many of the questions dealt with applying for FACTOR and other policy-related applications. These questions were highly tailored to interview participants based on my knowledge and historical understanding of the individual participant's involvement with Canadian popular music. Moreover, each of these interview schedules evolved over time. For example, the explicit cultural questions ended up often better fitting in toward the end of the interview after more topical concerns were discussed and I had built some rapport with the interviewee.

Most interviews lasted approximately one hour. There were several exceptions. Jeffrey Remedios, founder of Arts & Crafts Productions (a record label and one stop shop for other musician-related services), was an vital interview and he was difficult to contact and get to agree to an interview—it took several e-mails and calls over much of my stay in Toronto. His administrative assistant finally relented and said he would give me 20 minutes. I interviewed him for nearly 26 minutes, but was able to ask him most of my interview schedule at a rapid interview pace. The interview went much more smoothly than the initial contact attempts. Donald Tarlton, a very prominent concert promoter and label founder in Montreal, stated he could speak for approximately 30 minutes, but we ended up speaking nearly an hour. Also, Al Mair, a key interview due to his longstanding involvement in Canadian music, was easy to contact and more than willing to spend nearly one and a half hours speaking at a Toronto coffee shop.

### *Recruitment*

Before my summer of research in Canada, I attended the Future of Music Policy Summit in Montreal from October 5-7 in 2006. The conference was purposely scheduled to coincide with the POP Montreal International Music Festival, an annual “not-for-profit curated cultural event that champions independence in the arts by presenting emerging and celebrated artistic talents from around the world” (“About POP Montreal,” para. 1). The Future of Music Coalition is the leading education, research and advocacy organization focused on the “intersection of music, law, technology, and policy” (“Future of Music,” para. 1). It was the first time that the Future of Music Coalition had organized a policy summit outside of its headquarters in Washington, D.C. The conference was hosted by McGill University’s Schulich School of Music. At the conference, many participants remarked that the greater importance popular music is given in Canada was reflected in the conference being hosted by a School of Music—an occurrence that would be much less likely in the United States. The Schulich School of Music’s Dean, Don McLean, said on the eve of the conference:

As Canada's largest and most renowned higher educational institution for the training of professional musicians and for research on music, the Schulich School feels uniquely positioned to help drive the future of music, both in terms of artistic content and technological means. We are particularly pleased that FMC decided to bring its 'state of the nation' discussion to Canada, and specifically to Quebec. (para. 3)

The conference was tremendously fruitful because there were several policy-oriented conference sessions in which I was able to speak with some individuals I wanted to interview when I returned. I briefly met Heather Ostertag, Jeffrey Remedios, Chris Taylor, and members of various musical groups including Stars and Arcade Fire. Even though I conducted no recorded



interviews during the conference, the networking was an important step in my recruitment strategy.

All of the stakeholders I interviewed formally were originally contacted via e-mail, except one. The single exception was Tim Baker, lead singer of the critically-acclaimed Canadian band Hey Rosetta!. I interviewed Baker after introducing myself following one of the band's shows in Atlanta, Georgia. In the e-mails I sent first contacting my potential interviewees, I asked for recommendations for other individuals I could interview and that strategy proved very helpful. For example, Joni Daniels is an independent consultant employed either by recording labels or directly by musicians to complete their FACTOR applications. She is known for her high success rate in procuring funding awards, and therefore knows a lot about the process and how decisions are made. Before contacting Canadian record labels, I had no idea there were full-time, consultant positions to help musicians market themselves in funding applications. I learned of Daniels from e-mailing with Dead Daisy, a small Toronto-based label that hires Daniels to work with their artists interested in applying for funding. There were a few stakeholders I exchanged e-mails with to set up interviews that never happened due to various circumstances. There was no systematic method to acquire names—the majority of the individuals came from preexisting knowledge as a follower and fan of Canadian independent music and others came from early research I conducted once I arrived in Toronto. For example, at the Future of Music Policy Summit, I attended a panel with Chris Taylor, a Canadian entertainment lawyer and music industry executive, and he was further recommended by several individuals as a resource. He was another crucial interview because of his involvement at various different levels in the music industry. He is the founder of a prominent independent label and artist management firm, Last Gang Entertainment, which was started to launch the

careers of the members of Metric, a successful Canadian independent group. He is also recognized for discovering the mainstream commercial successes Nelly Furtado and Sum 41. He is also one of the most prominent lawyers in Canadian entertainment representing musical artists such as Avril Lavigne, Three Days Grace, Gogol Bordello, Sam Roberts, and Billy Talent, as well as leading media personalities, such as George Stroumboulopoulos (host of CBC's "The Hour") and Jian Ghomeshi (host of CBC Radio One's "Q").

*Living (and Interviewing) in Toronto, Visiting Montreal*

During my spring 2007 semester, I was awarded a \$2,500 Summer Research Fellowship through the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Colorado at Boulder. The research fellowship was invaluable in allowing me to live in Toronto for six weeks to conduct my fieldwork and visit Ottawa (for two days) and later Montreal (for three days) during my last week in Canada. Through an "apartment wanted" post I made on Craigslist, I found a place to live in the Yonge-Eglinton neighborhood of Toronto, which is considered Midtown Toronto. It is an area known for being the home of young professionals, residential towers, restaurants, retail, and various other businesses. Also, most importantly, the apartment offered easy access to the TTC subway, which I often used traveling to interviews in the city. I had previously met Alan Stanbridge, a professor at the University of Toronto, at a joint U.S./Canada IASPM conference in Boston. I touched base with him once I arrived and he was able to provide me with access to the University of Toronto library system as a visiting scholar, which proved helpful in secondary research and online access to Canadian academic databases. The living conditions were optimal, since I had a roommate from Switzerland who was in Canada working as part of an apprenticeship-exchange in information technology. He was

primarily around during the weekends, but we were able to split Internet, television, and rent costs.

I drove to Toronto from Colorado in the beginning of June and stayed in Toronto June 10 through July 23. Having a car proved important in Toronto, since the city is not as accessible via public transportation as I would have hoped. My formal, recorded interviews were with the following individuals in Toronto, Montreal. Some, as noted below, were at a later time via telephone or in-person.

*Independent Label Executives:*

**Enrique Soissa**, co-founder/owner, Paper Bag Records (2002-August 2009) (interviewed June 21, 2007).

**Chris Taylor**, Founder & CEO, Last Gang Entertainment (interviewed July 6, 2007).

**Don Wilkie**, Co-Owner & Co-Founder, Constellation Records (interviewed July 25, 2007).

**Jeffrey Remedios**, Co-Founder & CEO, Arts & Crafts Productions (interviewed July 19, 2007).

**Donald K. Tarlton**, Co-Founder, Aquarius Records; longtime concert promoter with major artists including The Rolling Stones, Céline Dion, David Bowie, Bob Dylan, and others (interviewed July 26, 2007).

**Kevin Beesley**, Co-Owner, Mint Records (interviewed via phone October 5, 2007).

*Direct policymakers:*

**Al Mair**, label Co-Founder of Attic Records (1974); Publisher of *Applaud!* Magazine (2002-present); Former Director at FACTOR and the Radio Starmaker Fund, Co-Founder

of the Canadian Independent Records Producers Association (CIRPA) (interviewed June 27, 2007).

**Duncan McKie**, President, CIRPA (at time of interview), later became President & CEO of FACTOR (interviewed July 12, 2007).

**Heather Ostertag**, President and CEO, FACTOR (interviewed July 16, 2007).

*Indirect policymakers:*

**Carl Wilson**, music journalist, *The Globe and Mail* (interviewed via phone July 13, 2007).

*Musicians:*

**Eric Chenaux**, Toronto-based singer-songwriter (interviewed July 17, 2007).

**Sandro Perri**, Toronto-based singer-songwriter (interviewed July 18, 2007).

**Jaan Kittask**, Toronto-based lead singer, The I Spies (interviewed via phone March 11, 2008).

**Tim Baker**, St. John's, Newfoundland-based lead singer/songwriter, Hey Rosetta! (interviewed August 31, 2010).

*Consultants to Artists/Labels:*

**Joni Daniels** (interviewed June 25, 2007).

*Documentary Research*

As I discussed in the introduction, one of my primary sets of documentary research are FACTOR Reports for the years 2001-2007. However, in terms of becoming more familiar with the history of Canadian cultural policy, my documentary research extended to key documents in Canadian cultural policy with regard to popular music. I have already discussed the Massey

report, published in 1951. Additional reports I have obtained and examined include the following:

*Sound Recording Development Program Evaluation Final Report*, September 10, 1990, Ekos Research Associates Inc.

*A Time for Action: Report of the Task Force on the Future of the Canadian Music Industry*, March 1996.

*Canadian Culture in a Global World: New Strategies for Culture and Trade*, February 1999, The Culture Industries Sectoral Advisory Group on International Trade.

*A Sense of Place, A Sense of Being: The Evolving Role of the Federal Government in Support of Culture in Canada*, June 1999, Report of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage.

*Connecting to the Canadian Experience: Diversity, Creativity and Choice*, November 1999, Government of Canada.

*Evaluation of the Sound Recording Development Program: Final Report*, April 2000, Department of Canadian Heritage.

In addition to these key documents, there were numerous press reports issued by the Canadian Department of Heritage and others to announce funding awards, along with government websites detailing different funding apparatuses and agencies. While much of this documentary research assisted in the writing of my chapter on Canadian cultural policy history, it also served to find points of convergence or divergence with my stakeholder interviews.

### *Data Analysis*

All of the interview data was transcribed so the interviews could be analyzed. With cultural analysis, Williams argues, “it is with the discovery of patterns of a characteristic kind

that any useful cultural analysis begins...” (p. 63). This point is echoed by Rubin & Rubin (2005) in their discussion of analyzing interview data: “Analysis entails classifying, comparing, weighing, and combining material from the interviews to extract the meaning and implications, to reveal patterns, or to stitch together descriptions of events into a coherent narrative” (p. 201). While conducting the interviews, listening later to the recordings, or during transcription, memos were kept to record thoughts and analysis. These memos were later used to help identify key themes that were discussed across interviews (see McCormack 2000a; McCormack, 2000b). Eventually, a notable quote file was developed to aid in the analysis and write-up of data.

The documentary research I conducted often looked for policy patterns explicitly related to some of my interviewees, and occasionally I would be able to integrate a finding into a question asked of a stakeholder. For example, I asked Kevin Beesley of Mint Records specifically about a quote from a news release announcing the MEC funding of Mint Records, issued by the Canadian Department of Heritage. In the new release, the Minister, Beverly J. Oda states, “Our government is proud to support Canadian high-quality musical products...I encourage Mint Records to continue showcasing our Canadian songwriters, composers, and performers.” I used that quote to ask about the relationship between Mint as a recording label and its stated policy goal of “showcasing Canadian high-quality musical products.” I also looked for broad patterns of funding and the type of artists who received funding from FACTOR and other bodies.

Lastly, as I stated earlier, this research was not ethnographic. However, as Malm and Wallis (1992) discuss with regard to stocktaking, notably in research involving sometimes quantitative documentary research such as policy documents and reports, and in-person qualitative interviews, the information gained on the ground is still important: “An important part

of such research consists of simply watching, questioning, and trying to understand the operations of the music media production and policymaking processes” (p. 32). I would argue this point is similar to Raymond Williams’s concept of “structure of feeling,” which throughout his work is described in general terms as the culture of a moment. Williams in *Marxism and Literature* (1978) concludes the following about structures of feeling:

It is that we are concerned with meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt, and the relations. We are talking about characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and inter-relating continuity. (p.132)

This type of reasoning is why actually witnessing the “music scene” in Toronto was so critical. In fact, doing so allows recognition that policy is only one aspect that shapes the creation of music. During my time in Toronto, on the suggestion of my committee chair Andrew Calabrese, I spent a day with Alan O’Connor, a professor of cultural studies at Trent University in Peterborough, Canada. O’Connor lives in Toronto and has been especially involved with the local punk music scene. He immediately took me to Sneaky Dee’s, a bar in downtown Toronto and told me about the Wavelength Music Arts Projects, a weekly independent music series started in 2000 that is seen as an important part of the local music scene (weekly Wavelength series events ended in 2010, after a 500-week run). Wavelength also freely distributed a local zine between 2000-2005 about the local music scene at record stores, cafes, and other locations throughout the city (“About Wavelength,” para. 9). Despite moving to quarterly events in 2010, Wavelength is now financially supported partly through the Ontario Arts Council, Toronto Arts Council, and the SOCAN Foundation. The SOCAN Foundation is the foundational arm of

SOCAN: the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada. SOCAN is a not-for-profit performance rights organization similar to ASCAP and BMI, which also run similar foundations in the United States.

I had never read about the Wavelength series in any articles about the Toronto scene. However, I later learned that several important independent bands, most notably Broken Social Scene, played their earliest shows as part of the Wavelength series at Sneaky Dee's. The first time the "Broken Social Scene" name was employed was December 17, 2000 at Sneaky Dee's as "John Tesh Jr. & The Broken Social Scene." Three months later the earliest incarnation of the band released its first album *Feel Good Lost*, featuring Kevin Drew and Brendan Canning, with guest vocals by Leslie Feist. Kevin Drew would go on to become the co-founder of Arts & Crafts with Jeffrey Remedios and Broken Social Scene has since won two Juno Awards and been nominated for three more.

### Conclusion

While cultural policy studies might not often explicate methods, this chapter has reflected the continuing effort to focus on methodological concerns within cultural studies. Most often, methodological work in cultural studies has developed directly out of the qualitative research tradition. While method can always be further refined and developed, especially with additional experience, method does not have to be lengthy and rigid, as it is often depicted. The key in developing a method, at least in terms of this research in popular music policy, is finding balance. Therefore, I strongly concur that a balance must be struck, as identified by Kvale (1996), between the "free spontaneity of a no-method approach and rigid structures of an all-method approach" (Kvale, 1996, p. 13). Creating a basic methodological framework allows



research findings to be more easily articulated and supported. In bringing together some of the methodological foundation of Malm & Wallis's (1992) pioneering work on media and music activity with cultural studies and qualitative methodology, I expect this methodological approach can be refined further beyond this research. My case study research and subsequent research will all serve to strengthen the methodological foundation of critical cultural policy studies.

## CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS

### Introduction

Hey, you know what? You go to Las Vegas. Las Vegas! The bastion of free enterprise, the biggest shows that are in Vegas are the four or five Cirque du Soleil shows. It all began because of government funding. The whole Cirque du Soleil have big government funding programs up the ying-yang. And they were able to create and experiment, and stay the course as they grew their enterprise, and developed their enterprise. And now, they're a monster of a successful free enterprise corporation, working in America. They build hotels to host their shows. You know? So it's like for anyone to say that you create a monolithic cultural program with no wheels on it or wings on it, it's an incorrect statement. (Tarlton, personal communication, 26 July 2007)

Tim Baker, lead singer and songwriter for the St. John's, Newfoundland-based band, Hey Rosetta!, had just finished performing the song, "Tired Eyes," with his bandmates during the 2009 Polaris Music Prize Gala in Toronto when he was asked by the host whether there was "anything he would like to say" (MuchMusic, 2009). Baker, still out of breath, began with the usual acknowledgements—commenting that there were so many people to thank and that it was great to be in such company. He then exclaimed,

Most of all, I would like to thank the bodies, any funding body that lobbies and then fights to raise money to support music that isn't easily digestible and radio friendly, that isn't made just to sell. You know, for the freedom, as an artist, to create music just to express yourself. (MuchMusic, 2009)

Baker ended his statement by proclaiming, “it’s a great example of how the marketplace, the invisible hand, what have you, can’t always give you what you want and what you need” (MuchMusic, 2009). Considering the audience and the purpose of the evening—awarding the Polaris Music Prize, conferred annually to the popular music album believed by its jury to be the best full-length Canadian album of the year—the comments, not surprisingly, were met with enthusiastic applause. The Polaris jury, primarily composed of journalists and other designated experts in Canadian music, is tasked each year with selecting nominees (and the eventual winner) strictly on artistic merit, with no concern for genre, sales, or institutional relationships. For the first time in the short four-year history of the Polaris Music Prize, the 2009 gala event featured performances by all ten short-listed nominees during the evening with an hour-long, edited special of the event eventually airing on MuchMusic, the MTV-owned Canadian music video channel.

Baker’s comments were not an aberration, although he pushed the declaration further than usual by directly commenting on the market’s inability to meet the needs of the Canadian listening public, the difficulty of getting radio airplay, and creating music for purposes more than just sales volume. Moreover, his comments were not said to just a music journalist, but were made in a public setting being filmed for national broadcast on MuchMusic. In one crystalline moment, at an industry event co-sponsored by the Canadian government and the primary funding agencies in Canadian cultural policy, a lead singer of an up-and-coming independent band was summing up and justifying decades of Canadian popular music policies. His comments were surely appreciated by longtime observers of and stakeholders in Canadian popular music, who concur by and large that the free market fails to give consumers what they need or want. Many Canadian independent musicians have sang the praises of the popular music

funding available through various outlets for recording, distributing, marketing, and touring. And, there's a reason they will continue to do so—FACTOR and government-sponsored financial support is an essential source of funding. In the case of Hey Rosetta!, based on FACTOR's online approvals database, the band has received C\$133,048 from 15 awards through FACTOR-affiliated programs since December 2007.

In this chapter, based on stakeholder interviews conducted from 2007-2010 and documentary research, significant issues related to contemporary popular music policy in Canada will be described, analyzed, and critiqued. Once again, my research questions are as follows:

Primary research question:

*What outcomes result from federal cultural policy inputs (subsidies of cultural production) instituted to support the Canadian independent music industry?*

Four sub-questions:

*What is the history and rationale behind federal cultural policies in support of the Canadian independent music industry?*

*What federal cultural policies are instituted in Canada to support independent popular music recording?*

*Who determines, and on what basis, the labels and artists who will benefit from federal Canadian cultural policies to support independent popular music recording?*

*How critical a role does federal Canadian cultural policy play in supporting independent record labels and musicians?*

Operational research question:

*How do the organizational practices between federal funding bodies, independent record labels, and independent music trade association shape the application and outcomes of Canadian federal cultural policy inputs?*

This chapter will be divided into four thematic sections to address these questions and likely raise new questions based on stakeholder interviews and documentary research. Throughout the chapter, stakeholders will also be fully introduced to situate their relationship and position relative to Canadian popular music. The first section “Mapping Canadian Culture and Music” considers the contemporary rationales for government-funded support of Canadian popular music and culture. With those rationales in mind, the potential or perceived competitive advantages for Canadian independent recording labels are discussed in relation to American independent recording labels. At the end of this section, the often antagonistic relationship between the independent music recording industry and the broadcasting industry is explored and the impact it has on policy considerations.

The next section, “‘We’re all Friends’: The Fraternal Order of Canadian Independent Music Support” looks more deeply at the two principle organizations connected to funding and support for Canadian independent music, FACTOR and the Canadian Independent Music Association (CIMA). CIMA was formerly known as the Canadian Independent Record Production Association (CIRPA) for three decades but changed its name in August 2009 to better reflect the evolving music business model, changes in membership, and an increased focus on business and trade in Canada and internationally.

The third section, “Musicians without MBAs: Navigating the Funding Divide” reflects on the complexity of the current application process for funding awards through the FACTOR system and other granting organizations. A cottage industry has been created in the Canadian

music industry, consisting of a handful of consultants whose primary job is helping artists market themselves to successfully attain funding awards. is explained through stakeholder examples, and the emphasis placed on marketing and business plans over creative-based justifications. Lastly, I will look at some musicians who represent a group of musicians who find themselves stuck between the more commercial impulses of FACTOR and the other end of the funding spectrum, mostly provincial and federal/local arts councils.

Because the first three sections of this chapter focus on identifying the successes and problems within the current funding system for Canadian independent music, the last section, “Looking Ahead: Civil Discourse, Diversity, and Popular Music,” offers a series of proposals to improve education and transparency, minimize real or perceived conflicts of interest, and reflects on an alternative model for Canadian content legislation. These proposals respectively would provide empowerment in the policy process, a greater level of discourse in the funding process, and increased diversity in Canadian radio broadcasting.

### Mapping Canadian Culture and Independent Music

This section seeks to explain and map Canadian culture and the independent music industry in connection to three primary factors: geography and culture in relation to American media influence, the interplay between Canadian and American independent labels concerning Canadian government support, and the animosity between Canada’s independent music industry and the country’s broadcasting industry. Each of these points of discussion strongly influences the framing and discussion of popular music policy in Canada and impacts the scope, size, and potential of the independent music industry.

*Vast Territory, Small (Border) Population: Funding Canadian Popular Music*

Canada's geography plays a critical role in its cultural industries, both in terms of helping necessitate the need for policies and the logistical difficulties of touring for Canadian popular music performers. By land mass, Canada is the second largest country in the world behind Russia, and is just slightly larger than China. Canada's population is approximately 33 million, making it just 10 percent the population of the United States and about five million less than the state of California. Additionally, while estimates vary greatly, anywhere between 70 to 90 percent of the Canadian population lives within 100 miles of the American border—well within range of American radio and television signals. Despite its vastness to the north, Canadian professor Norman Hillmer asserts the border is central to Canadian identity: “We are a border people. The border is our livelihood. The border is our identity” (as cited in Chambers, 2006, p. 7). There was widespread consensus among stakeholders I interviewed about the vital role government support has played and must continue to play in carving out a space for Canadian-owned cultural industries, with direct reference often made to American media and the shared border.

Chris Taylor wears many hats in the Canadian music industry, within both its mainstream and independent industries. A former musician and member of the reggae band One, who signed to Virgin Records in 1994. After remaining in the band and touring for a year, he decided to leave his career as a musician and finish law school. Once “called to the Bar,” Taylor was able to expeditiously tap into his previous contacts as a musician and quickly establish himself as one of the foremost entertainment lawyers in Canada, credited as discovering Nelly Furtado, Sum 41, and working closely with many other major artists, including current Canadian rap phenom Drake. As a side project, with the initial hopes of releasing an album by Toronto-based band

Metric, who he had unsuccessfully shopped to recording labels, he started Last Gang Records in 1993, later adding publishing and management divisions over the next two years. Originally from Windsor, across the river from Detroit, he spoke at length about growing up on the border and what it meant for Canadian culture:

But, yeah, it [cultural governance] plays a vital role, you know, and does have a role, and there's a real protectionist slant to a lot of it here just because we're next to Big Brother, and we're trying to hold back being inundated by American culture and the rest of it. It was something—I mean, living in a border—I grew up in a border town in Windsor, so it was a little bit different there, where you feel like it's almost inevitable. That, I mean, America's not in your backyard, they're in your house. You know, you have—it's U.S. radio, U.S. TV, U.S. media, you know, completely. (personal communication, 6 July 2007)

Even though Taylor's experience might have seemed heightened growing up closer to the U.S. border, the saturation of American media in Canada is a common experience for Canadians of his generation and so is his social spatialization of the American border.

In recent years, Canadian music industry veteran Al Mair has published *Applaud! Canadian Music on the World Stage*, a 6,000 circulation trade magazine distributed mostly outside of Canada to consulates and music industry professionals in more than 120 countries ("Music directory," n.d.). Mair, who has worked in the Canadian music industry for more than four decades, was named by *Toronto Life* magazine in 2004 a "Canadian music legend" (Hayes, para. 19). Just a sampling of his past positions reflect the broad influence he continues to have on the industry's development, often at the intersection of industry and cultural policy—he was co-founder of legendary Attic Records (1974), director of FACTOR (1986-1990), president of



SOCAN (the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada), president of the Radio Starmaker Fund, co-founder of CIPRA, and president of the Canadian Music Publishers Association. In discussing his background and personal narrative in Canadian music, Mair (2007) was quick to frame his early and influential relationship to popular media:

You know the first television set my family got when I was 12, we got one channel from Buffalo, then we got two channels from Buffalo, then we got three channels from Buffalo and then we got a channel from Toronto. So we're flooded with American culture of all kinds, but particularly pop culture. (personal communication, 27 June)

Based on demographics alone, establishing a self-reliant cultural industries in Canada would be a hard row to hoe. In speaking to Canadian stakeholders about their remembrances of a time before Canadian cultural industries, the sentiment is stark, powerful, and articulated from a vantage point capturing both a love and pride of homeland. Even today, despite decades of policy assistance, financial support, and many undisputable cultural successes—American cultural dominance is profound. The statistics bear out this American cultural influence through sales and market shares, especially in the heavily funded film industry, which has never attempted to directly challenge American commercial dominance to the same extent as the music industry.

**Table 3: The percentage of foreign media in the Canadian cultural industries (2004)**

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| Film        | 95% of cinematic theatre box office revenues (86% U.S. and 9% other).   |
| Books       | 46.6% of the industry's total domestic revenue (there is currently no accurate figure available for the market share of foreign books in Canada.) Instead, traditionally used is the revenue share of foreign publishers in Canada. |
| Periodicals | 41% of sales (the vast majority of foreign titles circulating in Canada are U.S. titles).   |

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Sound recordings | 75% of all sound recordings sold in Canada in 2004 by foreign artists (the basis of the calculations the top 2000 sales chart for the year). Only Canadian artists are identified. Foreign artists are not distinguished by country of origin.   |
| Television       | 52% viewing share of Anglophone programming and 34% of Francophone programming. For drama and comedy, the viewing shares of non-Canadian Anglophone and Francophone drama and comedy are 80% and 65% respectively (country of origin in data is identified as Canadian or non-Canadian). |

Source: *CRTC Broadcasting Monitoring Report* (2007).

Donald Tarlton, a Montreal-based concert producer, is a colorful study of contrasts, especially to someone like myself, raised with the dominant American mythology that the proper and just form of capitalism is unfettered. He is passionate about Canadian music, a strong advocate of Canadian cultural policies, and speaks unapologetically about his love of Canada. Yet, Tarlton is equally passionate about the bottom line, as he assuredly remarked more than once, “I am a businessman” (personal communication, 26 July 2007). He has also done extremely well as a businessman, operating occasionally under the corporate pseudonym Donald K. Donald, he has served as Céline Dion’s international concert producer, and has worked with numerous major artists on their international tours in Canada, most notably The Rolling Stones, who he has been the Canadian concert producer of record for since 1972. That was the year he legendarily flew in replacement loud speakers for a show in Montreal after a bomb destroyed the band’s loud speakers a day earlier (Rioux, 2012, para. 1; personal communication, 26 July 2007). More recently, he has made investments in more than a dozen Canadian music recording labels, including the commercial rock record label he co-founded in 1969 and remains connected to, Aquarius Records. Tarlton (2007) explicitly linked the existence of an industry in Canada to policy created in response to Canadian demographics and geography:

There’s no way the music industry in this country could exist without the broadcaster and government support programs, because our population differential and the exposure of

our—of the American culture to the Canadian person—is just overwhelming. I mean, it’s one thing to live in Australia. You can develop a cultural situation in Australia because you’re not—you don’t turn on the TV—and have 500 American channels to choose against nine Canadian channels. (personal communication, 26 July)

While the stark contrast in media representation is no longer quite as severe as Tarleton identifies, the influence of American television programming and formatting prevails.

*“Bewildered Amazement”: Being Canadian Has its Advantages*

The degree of Canadian financing to support and insulate its music industry from the United States has led to a somewhat strange contradiction in the independent music industry: American independent labels argue they are at a competitive disadvantage. In 2006, after attending the Future of Music Coalition (FMC) conference at McGill University in Montreal, I struck up a conversation with the founder of a relatively prominent American independent label. It is also a label that has had substantial success in signing bands from Canada. When I casually mentioned my academic research area, I was struck by the response. I was told Canadian policies funding independent labels were entirely unfair to American independent labels, who must make it on their own in the cutthroat independent music industry. At one point, the co-founder became animated; explaining that he cannot rely on an infusion of capital from the government and that Canadian artists are limited to touring support from the Canadian government if they sign principally with a U.S. recording label. There is nothing technically untrue about his complaints at a base level (there might be favorable small business tax incentives in the U.S.). However, based on the geography and demographics cited above, it also struck me at the time that there were also some clear innate advantages for an American label—namely direct access to the largest popular music market in the world. The comment was still

striking, and it was not something I expected to directly come up on their own in separate Canadian stakeholder interviews.

Chris Taylor was asked about whether the Canadian system of funding should be held up and examined comparatively, just as scholars look at the popular music policies in the Netherlands, Sweden, or Scotland:

It definitely—I mean, the fact that it’s not prevalent in the U.S. gives us a competitive advantage, so I like that. I mean, at Last Gang, we’ve established ourselves in the U.S. now. We have a distribution pipeline through Fontana Universal. We’ve put out the Metric record, and every record we put out in Canada now we release it in the U.S. as well. And we enter the U.S. marketplace with a competitive advantage because we—‘cause like I said, we—we haven’t paid for—we get money for our videos; maybe not 100 percent all the time. We get money for tour support, which allows us to tour in the U.S. We get—at least we get cash flow on the records. (personal communication, 6 July 2007)

I followed up by asking if there was ever criticism from U.S. counterparts he knew in the industry, perhaps stating it was competitively unfair, remembering my conversation at the Montreal airport the year before.

A little bit. I mean, it’s always sort of joking. And, I mean, there is definitely. Yeah, I’ve been going—as an attorney—I’ve been going to New York and Los Angeles for eleven or ten years, pretty solid, going down to a meeting, shopping bands, helping bands get record deals and, you know, it’s always bewildered amazement at the funding when I walk people through how it works. (Taylor, personal communication)

That comment made sense, as there was likewise universal “bewildered amazement” from American industry personnel attending the Montreal FMC conference the year previously. It was one of the primary reasons why there were panels devoted to Canadian government-based music policy and support at a conference hosted by a U.S.-based advocacy organization. Taylor continued speaking about the government financial support:

And I know even talking to our U.S. distributor that was a part of the sales pitch. It was like, ‘First of all, we’ve got great groups, but also look at how it kind of works here.’ Because I think the suspicion would be, ‘Well, you’re up in Toronto. Maybe you should go through a label that goes through us as opposed to going through us directly.’ It’s like, ‘Well, no. Actually, we have—we have the cash flow. We have the personnel. We have the means to sort of really be an effective label even though we’re running out of Toronto and Montreal.’ The extra cash flow allows us to hire the third parties in the U.S. that will help with publicity in radio and some of the things that all the other independent labels in America use.

I verified with Taylor what he was saying to the U.S. distributor that essentially “we’re government-backed.” It was impossible to not again think back to my previous conversation with the American independent label owner. Not only are there at least some advantages, but one Canadian label is using some of these advantages as part of a sales pitch to attain American distribution.

Despite the potential competitive advantages, this issue is more complex and arbitrary than the assertion that Canadian independent labels actually have a legitimate market advantage. For a long time, the exact opposite was argued. Back in 2005, there was industry discussion about the failure of Canadian-owned labels to sign the country’s rising independent music stars.

Carl Wilson (2005), longtime music critic for *The Globe and Mail*, wrote an article that discussed the many Canadian independent artists who were leaving Canada, primarily due to the Canadian radio industry and the U.S.-controlled major label influence in the country:

... Canadian radio and our U.S.-branch-plant major record labels remain timid, lumbering beasts...Most [independent artists] aren't even tempted to sign in Canada...The damage is to the national culture. If you haven't heard these artists, it's because no one is promoting them on Canadian radio. After decades of radio regulation and industry sponsorship, Canada still lets Americans sell our culture back to us, as in Neil Young's or Joni Mitchell's day. (p. R.5)

Wilson's article is mostly focused on Arcade Fire. And, because of the band's immense success, a lot continued to be made about Arcade Fire signing with North Carolina-based label Merge Records and not a Canadian label in 2004. Even though it was years before the band's 2011 riches—the Grammy Award for Album of the Year, the Juno Award for Album of the Year, the Brit Award for Best International Album, and the Polaris Music Prize—the band's debut album still sold nearly half a million albums in North America. Al Mair remarked in 2007 that the band had not played in Montreal much, and he knew many of the major Canadian independent labels were never approached by the band (personal communication, 27 June). He chalked it up as a miss for the Canadian independent industry. Years later, in a book on the history of Merge Records, a more detailed story emerged (Cook, McCaughan, and Ballance, 2009). Arcade Fire lead singer Win Butler had approached the band's producer, Howard Bilerman, about his interest in Merge Records because he thought highly of Merge's artist roster and he knew Bilerman was friends with the label founder, Mac McCaughan. Bilerman agreed to make an initial inquiry and sent an unsolicited e-mail about the band's interest (p. 249). A period of time passed after music

was passed along and the Arcade Fire camp assumed Merge was not interested, so the band went ahead and signed with Alien8 Recordings, a small Montreal-based independent label. The day after signing with Alien8, McCaughan called Bilterman and said Merge wanted to release the band's debut album. Arcade Fire reconsidered its earlier decision, eventually visited Merge in North Carolina, returned to Canada, and finally decided to switch and sign with Merge. Butler explained the decision:

Once we met everyone it was a very, very easy decision to make. It felt very comfortable. There was no, 'We're going to make you big; we know what to do.' It was, 'We like the record, we want to put it out.' It was kind of a bummer to tell the Alien8 guys that we weren't going with them. But they later told me if they had put our record out, it would have killed them. (Cook, McCaughan, and Ballance, 2009, p. 251)

While Alien8 would have been too small to handle Arcade Fire's success long-term, it is clear the circumstances of Arcade Fire leaving for the U.S. were much less dire than much of the early speculation, but amazingly the story refuses to completely die. Several popular music publications speculated more recently about why the band signed to Merge and supposedly abandoned Canadian indies, referencing a podcast "Food is the New Rock," which features rock guests discussing food. In a brilliant piece of publicity, a June 2012 podcast featuring McCaughan included the rhetorical question: "But did you also know that he is married to a James Beard award-winning chef, and one of the guys [Richard Reed Perry] from Arcade Fire says her restaurant is the reason the band signed to Merge?" Many Canadians still feel there has to be someone to blame for the band's move to an American indie.

Even though Canadian independent labels undoubtedly benefit from funding made available through government support, allowing them to sign more Canadian artists, facilitate

better production qualities and marketing, it is not leading to Canadians stealing American musicians or weakening American independent labels. Canadian labels overwhelmingly sign Canadian artists. Moreover, plenty of prominent Canadian independent acts other than Arcade Fire have signed with American independent labels, including Tokyo Police Club (Saddle Creek Records), The Besnard Lakes (Jagjaguwar), and Tegan and Sara (Vapor Records), due to better access to the American market and the cachet of each label. Other artists, such as Hey Rosetta!, are signed to an independent label for exclusive distribution in each country (Sonic Records, Canada; ATO Records, United States). Toronto-based Tokyo Police Club left the band's hometown Paper Bag Records in early 2008 to sign with the Omaha-based independent label Saddle Creek Records, for the purpose of better marketing the band to the larger American commercial market. However, the band formed its own label in Canada for exclusive distribution at home: "There's a pride in being a Canadian band, like when you explain to others, 'Yeah, our government helps us make music and music videos. And we're not even communists!' It's mind-blowing for Americans to hear that. It's such a privilege to be Canadian. Keeping a Canadian team intact is important..." (as cited in Lindsay, 2008, p. 27).

Discussing related issues about American-Canadian policy differences, Tarlton remarked that most European and Western countries like Canada support their cultural endeavors—it is the United States that is the prominent exception. Additionally, he offered a characterization of the resentment many Canadian popular music stakeholders continue to face from Americans:

It's hard talking to an American because America is so different. 'If you get government subsidy, you're persona non grata with us. We don't want to compete with you. You've got the government helping you, right?' I mean, we experience that as Canadian artists, as Canadian record companies. We have a reaction from radio stations and from the



music industry in the United States. ‘What [are you] doing sending records that were paid for by tax dollars, when we have to pay for records on our own?’ But it wasn't a well-thought-out thing. It was just American protectionism, because they have this big ability to be able to release a record and sell a million copies. (personal communication, 26 July 2007)

*The Barons of Broadcasting: “There’s no regulation, so there’s no compulsion.”*

In Chapter 3, reviewing the broadcasting section in *Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies, Institutions*, the conflicted relationship between the music recording industry and broadcasting industry is discussed. Wilson (2005) is quoted earlier referring to radio broadcasters (and major labels) in Canada as, “timid, lumbering beasts” (p. R.5). Even though the broadcasting industry is responsible for sharing much of the costs of funding Canadian music with the government, it is only accomplished through contentious regulations enacted through the CRTC and regulatory debates. In speaking with stakeholders, there was a near consensus of condemnation and frustration directed at Canadian broadcasters (and here I was thinking it was just an American sentiment). The discontent and strained relationship between the music and broadcasting industries is an important consideration when mapping the popular music industry landscape. The broadcasting industry is particularly fundamental to popular music policy, because it forms the principal financial underwriting. On the other hand, the popular music industry is central also to the continuing focus on the worsening concerns of media ownership concentration (or convergence) in Canadian broadcasting. Basically, in exchange for the music industry not standing in the way of radio ownership mergers in hearings before the CRTC, the broadcasting industry agreed to contribute more money to the Canadian music industry funding pool that finances policy programs. Tarlton (2007), takes the good with the bad: “Now it was a

tough trade, because what it basically did, when radio stations got converged, and formed into groups... now they have five different formats [in each market]. So, there was no competition” (personal communication, 26 July). Tarlton pacifies himself by arguing that radio is being pushed to the media background enough that it was an acceptable trade, because radio’s relative significance continues to weaken compared to the growing digital media market.

The trade came at a serious price. Following a period of stagnation in terms of increasing concentration, there was a substantial increase between 2007 and 2010 and the Canadian market’s trajectory resembles the U.S. market now more than ever with heightened concentration (Winseck, n.d.). As of 2011, the four largest commercial television stations control 68 percent of the market (Winseck). Even though radio remains less concentrated than television or newspapers, the overall Canadian media system is one of the most concentrated in the Western world (Lithgow, 2008). In response to the growing concentration in media, the CRTC issued a new regulatory policy in early 2008, Broadcasting Public Notice CRTC 2008-04, deemed “Diversity of Voices.” The most significant development from the report is it prohibited cross media ownership within the same market between among radio, television, and newspapers outlets (Lithgow). There have been no additional rules instituted strictly concerning content.

When I interviewed Duncan McKie he had only just become the President of CIRPA, the government-supported trade association for Canadian independent music. He is currently the President and CEO of FACTOR. In the blunt 2007 interview, McKie immediately began by discussing a recent document from the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), explaining, “[CAB] came up with this extraordinary document which said essentially that, ‘radio is not in the business of selling music, it’s in the business of promoting music’” (personal communication, 12 July). CIRPA collectively considered what that statement meant and McKie provided what the

association finally concluded: "...from a practical point of view and what that means in terms of their responsibility... what they interpret it to mean, is they don't have any responsibilities with respect to new artists and this has been a fight for some time" (personal communication).

CIRPA's primary concern and the concern of most in the independent music sector is access to the airwaves for emerging artists—internal figures shared from CIRPA revealed 80-85 percent duplication, with upper-tier artists such as Bryan Adams, Nelly, and Avril Lavigne making up 80 percent of total songs (personal communication). Summing up his thoughts, McKie was clear: "Frankly it's a sad state of affairs because all the creativity is gone out of the [radio] business" (personal communication). CIRPA routinely conducts internal research, especially in making recommendations to the CRTC that it review radio content based on the broadcasters' conditions of license. Radio stations are expected to be playing new, emerging artists based on good faith, but as McKie noted, "There's no regulation, so there's no compulsion" (personal communication). In early 2008, the CRTC released its own study addressing the diversity of radio. The study found that only 2.5 percent of songs played in the morning peak period were of "emerging artists," based on nine different categorizations of an emerging artist (Thompson, 2008, para. 3). During the afternoon peaks, the emergent artists' percentage increased slightly to 3.9 percent.

In conversations with independent labels, the frustration with radio is common and immense. Kevin Beesley, one of the three label owners at Vancouver's celebrated Mint Records, said there is simple resignation about the state of radio for the label's artists: "The radio doesn't do much for us only because we're not on it. If we were on it, I'm sure it would increase our sales dramatically..." (personal communication, 5 October 2007). Enrique Soissa, co-founder and former president at Paper Bag Records until leaving in August 2009, likewise painted a

bleak picture for his artists by radio: “So we kind of have to almost ignore the fact that radio’s out there and kind of do it every other way, which is grass roots marketing or just getting on the road and touring and whatnot, just playing on stage and trying to get into the U.S. (personal communication, 21 June 2007).

### “We’re all Friends”: The Fraternal Order of Canadian Independent Music Support

This section analyzes the tight-knit, financially integrated, and at times questionable interconnections between a larger number of the integral entities in Canadian independent music and policy. The organizations to be discussed include the principal funding organization (FACTOR), the independent music trade association (CIMA), influential independent labels (Arts & Crafts, Last Gang Records, and Paper Bag Records), policy funding boards, and the financial relationship between private independent recording firms. During the last decade it is undeniable that FACTOR has successfully helped many artists succeed or take the next step in their careers. Speaking with artists, ranging from Tony Dekker of Great Lake Swimmers to Halifax-based band Wintersleep, it is apparent that important Canadian musical contributions have been made possible through the public-private financing that supports FACTOR under the auspices of the Department of Canadian Heritage’s Canada Music Fund. It is abundantly clear that the Canadian independent music industry requires government-supported assistance to remain a viable market and option for Canadian musicians in North America. A goal of FACTOR has always been to keep musicians in Canada and it has by and large succeeded at that goal. Nevertheless, despite the numerous successes, especially the international acclaim of Canadian independent artists, the parties involved must more directly address some of the common criticisms this section of the chapter addresses, instead of dismissing them out of hand.

To set the stage, the beginning of this section will explain the close working relationship and industry foundation established through FACTOR and CIMA. Secondly, the role of a cabal of independent labels and individuals will be discussed and the ways in which FACTOR is designed as an industrial funding board to support independent Canadian recording firms, especially those with an eye toward the international market. Lastly, the collaborative capitalist elements of the music industry will be discussed in relationship to government funding.

*Doing the Two Step: FACTOR and CIMA*

The first administrator of FACTOR in 1982 was CIRPA (CIMA); the relationship between the two organizations has remained inextricably linked over the last 30 years. CIMA is the official trade association of record, i.e. lobbying group, for the Canadian independent music industry, so therefore a primary lobbying goal of CIMA is increased support for FACTOR. In an April 2011 magazine interview, current FACTOR president/CEO Duncan McKie was asked why he left CIMA after serving as president for only three years:

I don't see it as a job change, but rather as a 'transfer.' The Canadian music industry is really quite small, so I just feel I made a move to yet another area and not really a job change. I was truthfully looking for a challenge, and FACTOR presented that to me at this time. (as cited in Graham, 2005, para. 11)

McKie is right: the Canadian music industry is quite small. The Canadian independent music industry is even smaller. McKie's comment reflects the close relationship between FACTOR and CIMA in all aspects of contemporary independent music in Canada. FACTOR and CIMA ostensibly share the task of setting the agenda and determining priorities. The close relationship reveals FACTOR's shared primary responsibility with CIMA is building and supporting the Canadian industry—*FACTOR primarily serves an industrial policy purpose, artists and*

*musicians are not the principal priority, and cultural policy is in the end a secondary concern.*

The former longtime president and CEO of FACTOR, Heather Ostertag, worked at FACTOR for more than three decades, serving as president and/or CEO for the last 20 years until retiring in June 2010. She was remarkably clear about the organization's relationship to the industry:

I think that having policy that allows there to be the funding support and letting the industry itself manage the programs—because we're not a government agency—[helps independent music scenes]. We are a private, not-for-profit, and *we're of the industry, by the industry, and for the industry*, so it allows us to very strategic. (personal communication, 16 July 2007, emphasis added).

FACTOR is technically private, an arms-length funding organization, but it is majority-funded by the Canadian government and the government could effectively shut it down by withdrawing funding. When asked directly about whether FACTOR was more directly part of an industrial or cultural policy, Ostertag's response was telling:

And with it all being Canadian monies, you essentially are recording in Canada, using Canadian musicians and facilities, and all the rest of it. So by default, in supporting the creation of the music, you're supporting the industry. When we're supporting a tour, you're supporting them going out there. And everyone from the restaurants, to the bus drivers, to the hotel are all—that's very industrial. It's like they go hand-in-hand. You can't separate the two. (personal communication)

Separating the two is difficult, yet Ostertag was quick to describe the elements of an industrial policy with respect to FACTOR, while only making a fleeting mention of "supporting the creation of the music." When asked directly about the international market, the response was

again illuminating: “We support and encourage those artists that are *market-ready* to be out there” (personal communication, emphasis added).

In many respects, FACTOR has always been institutionalized in part as an industrial policy, but under the Department of Canadian Heritage’s Canada Music Fund, policies are framed and discussed in terms of aiding Canadian creativity and preserving Canadian heritage. Moreover, the overarching basis for the creation of cultural policies, as previously discussed, is for the protection of Canadian culture from American cultural imperialism. The majority of popular music stakeholders interviewed asserted FACTOR was a blended cultural and industrial policy. That is the case, especially historically, but it is an important designation that reforms made to FACTOR during the course of the 2000s continually pushed FACTOR more toward being a primarily industrial policy about creating a space for Canadian-owned music industries.

In the same respect, CIMA is direct about its goal of building the Canadian independent music industry into a sounder and more economically valuable sector of the economy. For example, when asked about the importance of exporting music, McKie (2007) was direct and unequivocal:

If we really want an industry which can continue to reproduce itself, you got have to have the export revenues. There’s no other way. It’s the only way to create value. Otherwise, you’re just turning the money over. (personal communication, 12 July)

Carl Wilson (2007) at *The Globe and Mail* also spoke of what he perceived as an evolution in FACTOR:

FACTOR is an industrial policy and, like the Canadian Television Fund is an industrial policy, they may have started out with sort of a more cultural nationalist kind of position, but I’d say that they are definitely sort of industry-oriented things. The rest of the

Canada Council and a lot of the other arts-oriented things that the government does are clearly much more cultural policy, so it sort of depends. I think that overall the vision is probably shifting to an idea...where it's less about sort of cultural politics and more of the idea that the cultural sector can be kind of a leading sector of the economy. (personal communication 13 July 2007)

*The Independent Label as Curator: DBS, MEC, and Beyond*

In spite of the widespread successes of FACTOR, there have been prevalent and public critiques against the way in which the funding system operates or appears to operate on the surface. The most notorious of these critiques, posted online by music aggregator service *The Daily Swarm*, was written as an open letter to the Canadian music industry by Greg Ipp, the head of Vancouver-based recording label Unfamiliar Records. In response to Ipp's criticisms including specific remarks regarding the band Metric, the band's manager, Mathieu Drouin, responded with a more than 6,100 word rejoinder. It is fairly common for critiques to be met with similarly strong retorts either from FACTOR, independent labels, or artists/managers who have received government funding. Ipp's original letter suffers from an abundance of superfluous ad hominem attacks in which he bemoans the "well-funded mediocrity" of bands such as Metric and MSTRKRFT (as cited in Hughes, 2009, para. 15). In terms of substantive criticisms, he asserts that too many of FACTOR's awards go to artists who are already supported by labels with plenty of money and cash to spare. The problem is that Ipp needed to critique the criteria more directly and not pass judgment on the financials of other independent labels (as cited in Hughes, 2009b). Ipp also claims that industry insiders have told him over the years he needs to get to know the jurists deciding grants, which he dismisses as pandering. The reply from Metric's manager covers many topics, including Canada's profound strength in total



international record sales and FACTOR's willingness to listen to anyone and make revisions to programs if there are substantial issues communicated (as cited in Hughes, 2009a). This incident is just one of several over the last decade, often including the same fundamental concerns about the way FACTOR decides awards.

Jeffrey Remedios is the co-founder and president of Toronto-based Arts & Crafts Management, a full-service independent music firm integrating several functions under one corporate structure, including a recording label, artist management firm, publishing company, and merchandiser. The record company is one of the most successful independent labels in Canada (a branch office was opened in Mexico City in 2008 to target the Mexican independent music scene) and Remedios is the unmistakable captain at the controls—he sits on the board of both FACTOR and CIMA, and is lauded by industry veterans for his active engagement with policymaking and his forward-thinking industry prospective. In 2009, *Rolling Stone* identified Remedios as one of nine insiders who are most shaping the future of the music business, because of his all-inclusive business model designed for the independent musician (Braiker, Hiatt, Knopper, Levine, & Serpick, 2009). When asked about public criticisms about FACTOR and the bands awarded funds, in reference to yet another article critiquing the organization mostly about its bureaucracy, Remedios (2007) was forthright in his response:

Yeah. I think it's a complete farce. I think that's an ignorant lazy attitude. Someone wants to give you money and in exchange for that money, you have to tell them why they're giving it to you and you have to show them what they're getting for their money. Like, we don't enjoy doing two inches worth of paperwork. But I understand what's behind that. When you're combining government with a DIY spirit you get this disconnect. (personal communication, 19 July)

Remedios is correct in several ways—far too many of the critiques of FACTOR are off-basis in some important ways and often hyperbolic. But, there is also a modicum of truth in many of the issues artists and music industry personnel have raised.

In an unexpected moment of frankness, Duncan McKie while still at CIRPA, spoke at length about some of the concerns he had about FACTOR, ironically a few years before he would leave to take over as FACTOR's new president and CEO:

There's some questions about how FACTOR was spending its money, probably legitimate ones. I don't know how transparent they are in terms of their governance. I think they may have some issues there. Some of their decisions sometimes seem capricious and you have to be careful. You've got an entrenched sort of management and it's an old story half the time. I worked in a consulting company for 20 years, so I look at these organizations and I ask myself how they could have possibly existed this long because they don't govern themselves in a contemporary sort of way. When you think about it, how is it that the people who receive the money can sit on the board that gives the money? (personal communication, 12 July 2007)

McKie's critique was surprisingly caustic. I doubt he would have spoken with such candor if he had not been new to CIRPA and correspondingly more assimilated into the culture. Just a moment earlier in the interview, McKie was discussing Remedios and his tremendous contributions to the industry, but then he was talking about someone sitting on a board that gives the money. Remedios continues to sit on the board of both FACTOR and CIMA, even though his record label, based on FACTOR's online awards database, has received C\$1.61 million in FACTOR awards since June 2005 (the amount paid back by labels is not public). Remedios is not alone—the 11-member FACTOR Board of Directors includes six music industry personnel

and five broadcasting industry personnel. In an effort to somewhat address the stagnate appearance of the board, in 2007 a three-term limit was instituted to encourage a continual cycling of representation. Technically, Arts & Crafts has moved beyond the financial ceiling to receive FACTOR funding at an institutional level (based on cumulative sales over a three-year period), and has been jettisoned to the Music Entrepreneur Component (MEC), a purely government-funded program now administered directly by the Department of Canadian Heritage (previously administered by Telefilm Canada). However, Arts & Crafts still has artists regularly receiving FACTOR grants and loans from the Emergent Artist Sound Recording Program. That program was instituted in December 2007 specifically so that FACTOR funding would now be available to “emergent artists,” even if their recording label had transitioned to the MEC program, which would typically disqualify them from FACTOR funding. The requirements to qualify for the Emergent Artist program are a textbook example of FACTOR’s loosey-goosey language at times:

Artists who have had a Gold album (sales over 40,000 units) in Canada at any time in their career are not eligible to apply; however, the Board of Directors may allow an Application from a former gold-selling Artist on a special, case-by-case basis.

(“Emerging Artist,” 2012, p. 2)

Therefore, for all practical purposes, if an artist meets the minimum threshold requirements, of more than 1500-3500 albums dependent on genre (and/or a Top 40 radio song), the Emergent Artist program is potentially open to anyone. Reviewing the last five years of funding, it is clear the program is often used to allow the highest-selling independent labels’ “smaller” artists access to FACTOR, even though the label is technically supposed to have transitioned to another program. Arts & Crafts is prominently represented, with even an award of \$25,000 going to

Kevin Drew, a prominent member of Broken Social Scene, one of the top-selling independent bands in Canada (and co-founder of Arts & Crafts with Remedios). Remedios is honest that he is aggressive in pursuing funding, whether it's to compete with American labels or support his artists in Canada: "We do have support. And we're aggressive in taking full advantage of all the support we can get so that we can posture and give our bands as large a presentation as possible (personal communication, 19 July 2007). Remedios is commonly upfront in interviews with media that he runs his label essentially as a business and believes you can be financially successful and still operate an artist-focused independent label.

On the other end of the spectrum is Don Wilke, co-founder and co-owner of Montreal-based Constellation Records, home of the politically charged band Godspeed You! Black Emperor. Constellation's early mission statement explained what the recording label sought:

to enact a mode of cultural production that critiques the worst tendencies of the music industry, artistic commodification, and perhaps in some tiny way, the world at large...to hold fast to the beautiful promise of independent rock as a perpetually nascent musical form capable of uncertain, unstable, unassimilable [sic], untarnished transmission. (as cited in Barclay, Jack, Schneider, 2011/2001, pp. 636-637)

Wilke (2007) was quick to offer his assessment of Canadian music funding, capturing many of the criticisms articulated by artists and others:

I'm sure you're pretty well aware at this point of the various streams of government funding. And it tends to be divided into the arts councils, which are funding things that almost by definition could never survive commercially. Then there are things like FACTOR, which should be understood as export development corporations that are only concerned with the commercial, couldn't care less about the aesthetic side of it. They

have really sort of morphed as well in the last few years, where now they're funding the sure things or the things that have already sort of established themselves and trying to grow them bigger. Therefore they're funding a lot fewer projects and they're throwing a lot more money at the things that they do fund. (personal communication, 25 July 2007)

Sandro Perri, a musician for Constellation Records, recognizes the limitations of FACTOR, but also believes the organization is straightforward about some of its practices:

You can see the yearly reports and the list of recipients and it's always people that you know get massive amounts of publicity, a lot of promotion, a lot of money behind them. And it really seems more like sort of boosting the entertainment sector of Canadian culture in the eyes, within the rest of the world, as opposed to developing sort of a more, from the ground up, cultural base that could be strengthened through arts funding. (personal communication 18 July 2007)

FACTOR's sound recording programs are split basically into three broad categories, the Direct Board Approval Sound Recording Program ("DBS Program"), the Emergent Musician program, and the Juried program. The first two are more focused or open to successful label-based applications, especially DBS. However, the Emergent Musician program captures many labels that are MEC-financed and not eligible for other FACTOR programs. The DBS Program is designed to privilege "those Canadian owned or controlled record labels that have FACTOR recognized distribution and have a proven successful track record" ("FACTOR Activity Report," 2007, p. 16). The funding available through the DBS program is a forgivable loan (payback is based on sales after two years) to pay up to half the cost of recording, producing, and licensing a sound recording and/or music DVD ("FACTOR: Direct Board," 2012, p 2.). Additionally, DBS-supported recording projects are eligible for additional funds through the Marketing &

Promotion's FACTOR-Funded Sound Recordings Program. There are five levels to the DBA programs, DBA Level 1/2/3, DBA Classical, and DBA Urbana/Electronic.

Table 4:

| All Currency is C\$ <sup>2</sup> | Sound Recording | Marketing & Promotion (1 <sup>st</sup> round) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| DBA Level 1                      | 30,000          | 50,000  |
| DBA Level 2                      | 25,000          | 35,000  |
| DBA Level 3                      | 20,000          | 30,000  |
| DBA Classical                    | 20,000          | 30,000  |
| DBA Urban/Electronic             | 20,000          | 30,000  |

In a question about the arguments that FACTOR has shifted from funding more through recording labels than with artists, Heather Ostertag was quick to point out that the money still essentially ends up with artists. So, plainly stated FACTOR clearly funds more artists than labels. However, that is not the full story, since it is unmistakably advantageous to come to FACTOR already signed to a recording label—and a prominent one at that. In fact, in many ways it is essential because of the status it assigns the artist—outside recognition that an important label recognized marketability in the music. FACTOR clearly desires to promote musicians who will be successful in the commercial market.

The 2008 Activity Report demonstrates the significant funding difference directed at the two programs that are both more heavily focused on established recording labels. The DBS program awarded total funds of C\$1.63 million, while the Emergent Artist program provided funds totaling C\$1.48 million. Moreover, the combined total from those programs went to 129

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<sup>2</sup> At the time of writing, U.S. dollars and Canadian dollars are approximately equal.

artists/labels out of 196 applications (66 percent acceptance rate). Taken together, DBS and Emerging Artist programs represent 75 percent of the total sound recording funds. The remaining 25 percent are all Juried programs and was awarded to only 227 awards out of 1522 applications (15 percent acceptance rate). These are two different worlds. Furthermore, the 2003 Annual Report just five years earlier had 25 percent of applications to the Juried programs approved. It is much clearer to see why some artists believe FACTOR funding is relatively easy to attain while entire other groups believe it is hopeless they will receive an award. I had one musician tell me at a concert (he asked for anonymity) that he had repeatedly been rejected for every FACTOR request early in his career—through several albums. However, after signing with a significantly larger recording label and one definitely tapped more into policy, the FACTOR door suddenly swung open. There have been few, if any, rejections since that time.

One other program reflecting the fraternal and interconnected nature of more heavily recording label-dependent funding is the MEC program. The MEC program operates purely as an industrial policy—it is direct government support only for recording labels to help fund its operations based on its past 3-year sales history, which must exceed 150,000 albums (Beesley, personal communication, 5 October 2007). Mint Records entered the program in 2007 and received C\$316,167—the amount cannot exceed more than half of all expenditures. Again, this program is not tied to FACTOR but is administered directly by the Department of Canadian Heritage. In a Department of Canadian Heritage press release (2007) announcing the funding, titled “Canada’s New Government Supports Mint Records,” Minister of Canadian Heritage and Status of Women, Beverly J. Oda, declares, “Our government is proud to support Canadian high-quality musical products. I encourage Mint Records to continue showcasing our Canadian songwriters, composers, and performers.” With that statement, the federal cultural policy

makeover of an industrial policy is brought visibly to the surface. Tracking down hard statistics on the MEC program, because it operates outside of FACTOR, and directly under the Department of Canadian Heritage, has proven difficult. The only Anglophone labels confirmed to definitely be MEC labels are Mint Records, Arts & Crafts, and Last Gang. Two Francophone labels, Tacca Musique and Indica Music are both MEC labels—Donald Tarlton owns Tacca Musique and is an investor in Indica Music (personal communication, 27 July 2007).

*Eh, I'll Have Collaborative Capitalism with a Side of Government Funding*

The last part of this section continues the theme of the tight interconnections within this comparably small sector of Canadian independent music. One would think Tarlton operates well outside the world of Toronto-based independent music. First of all, he is based in Montreal. When not running Aquarius Records, he is operating DKD Events, which promotes events ranging from the new Robin Williams comedy show to major commercial artists performing at the Montreal Forum. Aquarius is best known as being the label home for acts such as April Wine, Corey Hart, and The Guess Who. However, Tarlton knows a good investment when he sees one.

First, he identified Chris Taylor. According to Tarlton (2007), Taylor was working long hours for what he believed was little financial reward, essentially lawyer's fees, even though he was working with some of the largest recording stars in Canada:

And I would say to him....Why are you doing this? I mean, you're working your brains out. You're giving them the best. You're setting them up with more information and talent and skill and opportunity than anyone could imagine, and you're billing on an hourly fee. And you walk away from the project, and they become—they and the people



you sell them to become multi-millionaires, and you continue just to be an affluent lawyer. (personal communication, 27 July 2007)

After discussing other plans, including opening a management company for producers, Tarlton and Taylor started discussing making use of Taylor's connectedness to the music scene in Toronto and his legal expertise:

And so I offered him a joint venture label deal that would be his vision, his sign and sale skills, his ears, his talent. Right? I put the infrastructure behind him. Put up the initial bridge funding. Brought my government programs to the table. And did—provided all the backroom service. And we created Last Gang [in Fall 2003], which was his vision. I'm just a businessman. (personal communication)

So, there it is, the disconcerting birth of one of Toronto's supposedly hippest indie labels, first home to Metric, and later home to some of the most successful independent artists in Canada, including Death From Above 1979, Crystal Castles, MSTRKRFT, Mother Mother, and The New Pornographers. In 2004, Taylor would add Last Gang Management and Last Gang Publishing to his umbrella of companies. Tarlton's partnership with Remedios appears not much different at first:

Whereas Arts & Crafts—we call our joint venture Arts & Crafts International, but there's Arts & Crafts Productions, which he owns 100 percent of. Arts & Crafts International, which he owns 50 percent of with me, is a specific niche, left of center, indie art rock bands of a particular ilk that have to be marketed specifically and carefully. And you know, we have to say there's only so many cool people in Canada. So when they started those labels, they would sell 10,000 copies, had great success. Then they went to 20,000 copies and great success. (personal communication)

Tarleton details the growth of the joint venture:

Well, the cool factor increased. And now, groups like Metric and Stars, etc., sell 100,000 copies in Canada. And so—but they are still of that particular niche, and follow the rules of being an indie band, and—which means no big hype, but this means, you know, no glitter and gloss. No down-your-throat type marketing. It's very mature and it's matter of fact and it's semi-educational, and it's artistic and, you know, pretentious. Some people might call it pretentious. But they wouldn't. Both Chris and [Jeffrey Remedios] would call it legitimacy. (personal communication)

Next, Tarleton explains the name, the “international” aspect of Arts & Crafts International:

The international means nothing. It's just a deviation of the name. It could have been Arts & Crafts Productions and Arts & Crafts Coordinators. It could have been anything. The international aspect was just a name that we added to it...I think Jeffrey wanted the confusion factor because he had a particular culture he was selling as Arts & Crafts. And he thought it was a brand that was great, and he didn't want to develop another brand. So we found a way that he could use his brand within the framework of a business he was doing with me. Why was I involved in that business? I brought money to the table. I brought money to the table. I brought opportunity. I was well connected with funding programs. I had a good situation on a MEC label, well-financed on government programs. And I had a lot of my own money. He didn't identify me as some genius he wanted to do business with. He looked at me as someone that had success, knows what he's doing, and could provide the background services to his vision. (personal communication)

The reason for quoting so much of this conversation is that it is outrageously revealing—the collaborative capitalism interspersed with government funding is so purposefully articulated. Once again, most musicians on smaller independent labels, without such connections, would not be receiving the tremendous infusion of capital that Last Gang and ACI were able to through their financial arrangements with Tarlton, not just because he could bring his own capital to the table, but because he could bring his government funding to the table as well. In fact, Aquarius Records employs two full-time employees in governmental affairs whose primary job is simply applying for funding.

#### Musicians Without MBAs: Navigating the Funding Divide

The music industry can be complicated. It becomes even more complicated once musicians begin attempting to learn when, if ever (and how much), they are going to be paid. The online African-American news site, *The Root*, started by Henry Louis Gates Jr. in 2008, published an analysis in 2010 of how much money an average musician earns for every \$1,000 in music sold. The average is \$23.40 after everyone else is paid (Jefferson). Scholar Rob Bowman (1997) published an article, “So You Want to Be a Rock ‘n’ Roll Scholar—Well You Need to Get an MBA,” in which he uses Stax Records and its distribution agreement with CBS Records (1972-1975) as a case study to highlight the shortcoming of macro-political economic research of popular music because of the need to also understand the complexities of the business workings of popular music.

Before proceeding to proposals to improve popular music policy in Canada based on my case study research, this section will explore the conflicting claims of whether artists are often in an adequate position to competitively apply for FACTOR funding and fill out applications on

their own, without the backing of specialists or a commercial enterprise. Ostensibly, many of the programs that FACTOR promotes itself as having—open to any Canadian musician in the country—require a reasonable and equitable process. This section will first address the recent phenomena of funding consultants, the unwavering commitment to marketing, and the artists often left in the middle of a funding divide.

*There's a Consultant for That*

It was surprising in the first week of my research in Canada that one small independent label I contacted, Dead Daisy Records, referred me to a consultant they often hire to assist on funding applications. I met with Joni Daniels, a former producer and director for MuchMusic. Due to hearing problems, she left MuchMusic and soon realized she needed something she could do independently in front of a computer and not over the phone because of her hearing and that led to doing consulting work for bands applying for funding. She considers FACTOR applications her “bread and butter,” and she works strictly on commission. As she explains, “They don’t have any money. Bands don’t have any money. So there would be no business if I didn’t do it that way” (Daniels, personal communication, 25 June 2007). Even though she works on commission, she said about 80 percent of her applications are turned down—approximately the average in the juried programs. She first advertised her business on MySpace and was shocked by the response—“people wanted the service” (Daniels). As she further explained,

The whole reason I exist is because it’s bureaucratic, mountains of red tape. But people don’t like to deal with—artists don’t like to deal with that stuff. But then they hire me to do it, which kind of shows them how the music business works because you have to hire people to do the business part.

Daniels remarked too that most young bands, always a large population in the music industry, know very little about funding. After about a year in the industry many musicians become more knowledgeable that funding is available and what they can do to seek it out. One relatively recent policy change made at the end of 2007 by FACTOR was moving away from requiring Juried program awards to be made by a unanimous decision of a jury. Daniels explains a very similar situation to what I heard from others:

You get feedback [when rejected by a jury], but the feedback is almost 100 percent useless. The jury system I think is the thing that needs most improvement in FACTOR because it's very arbitrary. I used to sit on juries when I could hear, and if there's one DJ who's cranky that day and wants to show off in front of the other kids—which happens all the time—they'll just say, 'No, I hated it,' for no reason at all. (Daniels)

*It's the Marketing, Stupid*

FACTOR is currently excessively concerned with marketing. There are good reasons for the application to be marketing-dependent, as artists do need to seriously consider their marketing early on in the process. One successful independent (not connected to a recording label) FACTOR applicant, Jaan Kittask, commented on his band's application:

We had just done some asking around, and we had some friends working with some smaller labels in the city and just people in other bands who had been successful, and we did take a look at, you know, what these marketing plans looked like and what the paperwork looked like, and we certainly based our own sort of marketing plan and sort of structure around a lot of that stuff and just, you know, prettied it up and, you know, put it on slick paper and handed it in. (personal communication 11 March 2008)

Marketing is important, but FACTOR and its musicians should reconsider the long-term consequences when there are perceived short-term benefits of printing applications on “slick paper.” Tim Baker of Hey Rosetta! discussed his personal involvement with funding applications before they had managers to apply for the federal programs. His involvement was limited to provincial and local funding systems, but he believed there was an equal emphasis on both the marketing and the music. Such a balance is ideal:

It is heavily based on marketing, I think, when you are writing the grant. You want to make it perfect. But I think it ultimately comes down to the music. I mean you need to have your shit together to write like introductory remarks that are legible and well-said and give your intentions and make sure that you're doing something with your music.

And you plan to really do something with it and use the money for good things and that you're working hard. (personal communication, 31 August 2010).

Toronto-based musician Eric Chenaux (2007) also spoke about the importance of marketing, but also seemed to believe once again there was something different with applying through the Ontario Arts Council, despite its increasing focus on marketability, than with FACTOR:

Ontario Arts Council is getting closer and closer to FACTOR all the time. That's becoming a pretty scary application to look at...marketing makes a big difference...and your game plan, your marketing game plan. And, I mean it's not quite like FACTOR, in the sense that I think that [with] FACTOR, you have to sell a certain amount of inventory or you have to pay it back, maybe. (personal communication, 17 July)

*What About Us?*

Sandro Perri (2007), explains the consistent perception of many independent performers working outside the mainstream of independent music:

The FACTOR thing I find to be quite narrow-minded in how they choose to support and essentially I think it comes down to record sales. You see a lot of people who are already selling a lot of records getting support from them, but that's their mandate. They never tried to hide that. (personal communication, 18 July)

While many musicians worry they will be perceived as too commercially inclined for arts councils, others believe that no matter what, their music cannot fit the FACTOR box.

Improvisational musician Chenaux discusses how FACTOR appears to work to him and the problem of trying to make improvisation sexy:

It's all just basically, well it's a lot of your friends and if you have enough of them on there, you'll get the grant or it's how sexy you can make a certain project. And a lot of interesting stuff doesn't get (the grant). In my opinion, it can't be, like an improvised music record. You know a genius couldn't make that sexy. It's like we improvise. Let's say you have a duo with a violin and drums and we've been improvising together for four years. We've made three records. We've toured Hungary and we want to make another record. It's really all you can say. You can't really say much more. I mean you can say a lot more than that but you can't talk about songs. You have to talk about how this stuff is socially relevant in terms of not just the action but like the actual content. And then you're getting into some pretty strange territory. I think that doesn't help. (personal communication, 17 July)

### Looking Ahead: Civil/Communicative, Diversity, and the Popular Music Policy

This last section of the chapter is a set of progressive revisions for Canadian popular music policy that would substantially strengthen and redefine its purpose. Canada has built a unique and vibrant cultural system designed to protect, strengthen, and affirm its artistic and cultural industries. The system is as rich as it is because it has been systematically strengthened consistently over the last 26 years—starting with FACTOR’s beginning in 1982 as a radio-funded administered project of CIRPA. There is no reason now that the system cannot continue to be transformed. First, I will address empowering the policy process through education, streamlining, and improved transparency. Artists need to become more educated about the FACTOR system to better discern fact from fiction. Two recommendations I had expected to write have recently been addressed by the new FACTOR management: FACTOR relocated in June 2012 to downtown Toronto to be more easily accessible to musicians and FACTOR now makes public its DBS-eligible labels on its webpage. Secondly, just because FACTOR and its related popular music policies are heavily industrial and not straight, arts-based cultural policy programs, does not mean they cannot achieve a more democratic, civil discourse framework than currently. Lastly, echoing the sentiments of many in Canadian culture, I propose putting forth an already proposed modification to Canadian content legislation to demonstrate how the system can once again become a strengthening force and not an Achilles heel of Canadian independent musicians. Despite what pundits might say, radio still matters.

#### *Empowering Policy through Education, Streamlining, and Transparency*

Daniels commented that most Canadian musicians begin to learn about Canadian funding for popular music a year or so into their careers. FACTOR and the Canada Music Fund should



both seek to reach music listeners at an earlier age, even before they might be exploring a career as a musician. It should not take a year bouncing around the industry to recognize, “oh, there’s funding available.” Additionally, some musicians were unaware to what extent, if any, FACTOR was funded through government support. This situation would immediately change if FACTOR were more openly associated and marketed alongside the Canada Music Fund, instead of attempting to project a completely private, industry-based facade. If the program looks only for “the industry,” it is only going to continue to be critiqued and constructed as an agency of the private industry. Moreover, FACTOR should be more publically up-front about the share of contributions it receives from the broadcasting industry and Canada Music Fund—it was surprising during my research the degree to which different stakeholders in policymaking did not seem comfortable being upfront that the Canadian government is the majority contributor. FACTOR should more embrace and market itself as a co-financed collaboration between diverse constituents. The lack of education about the organization is somewhat emblematic of there still being confusion among the public and some musicians whether FACTOR is connected to VideoFACT/MuchFACT (a private program funding through MuchMusic).

Programs need to continue to be better streamlined, something FACTOR has already begun addressing. When a full-time consultant, whose job is to complete funding applications, states the following, there is a problem:

The whole reason I exist is because it’s bureaucratic, mountains of red tape. But people don’t like to deal with – artists don’t like to deal with that stuff. But then they hire me to do it, which kind of shows them how the music business works because you have to hire people to do the business part. (Daniels, personal communication, 25 June 2007)

As part of the streamlining process the purposes of FACTOR's reliance on marketing materials needs to be better explained. Right now, it comes across as a rejection of any aesthetic values or differentiation in forms. If elements of marketing can better be combined with the aesthetic value of the music it would further clarify the intent. Moreover, FACTOR needs to articulate why it is important for its artists to be commercially viable (so they remain funded by the government).

Transparency must continue to improve for both FACTOR and MEC. It should be very easy to locate MEC recording labels online. It is either not possible or made to seem that way. Additionally, FACTOR must improve its online awards database search. It should be completely customizable by search fields and automatically generate totals for all the values of each search. The current system purports to have everything cataloged back until 2000, but all searches only go as far back as 2005. The best way to actually determine funding totals based on keyword searches under the current online system is to cut and paste results into an Excel database to add them up relatively quickly. Moreover, all of the overall numbers of FACTOR should be integrated into an even more extensive funding database—FACTOR's financials should all be publically available and searchable.

*From Conflicts of Interest to a Discourse of Civil/Communicative Policy*

As McKie commented himself back in 2007, from the outside looking in, there are clearly some perceived conflicts of interest within FACTOR and CIMA. Jeffrey Remedios not only heads one of the largest single benefactors of FACTOR funding over the last 8 years, Arts & Crafts, but he also serves on the board of both FACTOR and CIMA. That is not acceptable. Other music industry personnel often serve as jurists. The juries and the Board of Directors both need to be democratically strengthened beyond the world of the broadcasting and music

industries—what about a media/cultural critic position, or a “citizen’s representative,” an Ombudsman, or a Canadian academic policy expert? Until FACTOR is 100 percent privately financed, it should not be 100 percent privately operated. There needs to be public oversight due to the use of public funds. In many respects, especially after speaking with some in the industry, the system appears to occasionally serve as the sandbox for the connected and well-off to become better connected and even more well-off. Employing McGuigan’s (2001) three discourses of cultural policy—state, market, and civil/communicative—FACTOR could eschew its “of the industry” mantra and aim to serve as a space for democratic communication, in effect operating as an intermediary body within civil society. It would not take a major effort to make the process much more democratic and much less prone to allegations of conflicts of interest. There can be a new horizon.

### *Redefining the Purpose of Cancon and Maybe More*

As it was originally conceived and is still largely practiced, Cancon is outmoded to address the challenges facing the Canadian independent music industry. In its first few decades, Cancon succeeded by helping to create a space for the Canadian music industry and helped establish a Canadian popular music star system, which benefited and was often driven through radio listenership—from Bryan Adams, to Rush and Sarah McLachlan, up and through present benefactors such as Avril Lavigne. Popular music policies must continue to evolve toward encouraging creativity and content creation from the ground-up, a critical component of civil discourse within policy. In its current practice, Cancon encourages a reliance on the existing star system, and does little to help the majority of emerging musicians reach a broader audience. In many ways, Cancon actually stifles the market by causing radio broadcasters, more concerned with efficiency and meeting Canadian content requirements, to not think long-term about the

benefits to the industry of helping to bring together new artists with new fans. Soissa at Paper Bag Records, comments, “They’re not looking to break a hundred new Canadian bands; they just want to know the one or two proven acts—the Avril Lavignes, or the Sum 41s and play those, the Billy Talents—that will cover the 35 percent regulation (personal communication, 21 June 2007). Al Mair (2007) echoes the same sentiments:

The average record played in a radio station in Canada now is 16 years old. The most played artist in Canada is Bryan Adams who hasn’t had a hit record in 10 years. And when you look at the international charts, most Canadian radio stations can fill (because they have short play lists) a majority of their Cancon with internationally-successful Canadian artists, the Avril Lavignes of the world. So the diversity of programming is reduced and what the indie labels have been turning out, in most cases, has not been of the appeal. (personal communication, 26 June 2007)

Mair’s sentiments regarding the current failure of Cancon to encourage new musical creation were found throughout my case study research in Canada. There was near-universal condemnation for the current state of radio and more recent federal studies have supported why there is such distaste.

One step in this development is to strongly overhaul Cancon legislation to encourage the airplay of new Canadian independent artists within current requirements, a policy change that would make Cancon a more supportive and content-building policy for the music industry. Such initiatives were at one time being pushed by CIRAA, the Canadian Independent Recording Artists’ Association, a newer trade association intended to focus on independent musicians defined as those unsigned to *any* label. Even though CIRAA abandoned its proposed Cancon

Pro (Progressive) model and requested a straight 33 percent “new music” quota—Cancon Pro is still the preferred option that should be further explored through open discussion.

Cancon Pro (Progressive) is still the subject of a several-year-old petition drive at [letsfixcancon.ca](http://letsfixcancon.ca), which persuasively argues for the merits of the program. Cancon Pro would classify artists into four distinct categories—international (level 1), established (level 2), national (level 3), and developing (level 4). International artists are those that are internationally known for their record sales and success. Established artists would be required to have already attained substantial name recognition in Canada, with final determination being based on radio airplay. National artists would be nationally distributed through a FACTOR-recognized distributor. Developing artists would be the remainder, the thousands of musicians and groups who do not fall into one of the other three categories. The system would basically work by providing additional credits for promoting artists of less public awareness. Canon Pro, or an approach like it, would once again recognize the need to spur new talent, and would truly help to lessen pure market forces—the original aim of Cancon and its development goals during the 1970s. Instead of merely supporting Canadian content, it would promote Canadian artist development.

### Conclusion

At a record label level, I would say Nettwerk Records is the biggest success story. When FACTOR started working with them, they were running a small label with three partners out of Terry McBride’s living room—one-bedroom apartment, and now they’re the biggest employer in [the]Canada[ian music industry], and they’re a multinational record label. So from the label side—from the creative and artistic side, it’s easier to list who we didn’t find than those that we did. We’re

constantly seeing new success stories that are coming out through the system, and it's very clear that we are the backbone of the Canadian independent music industry (Ostertag, personal communication, 17 July 2007).

This chapter has illuminated significant light on the funding programs focused on the Canadian independent music industry, particularly FACTOR and MEC, in light of the industry's tremendous international success and media attention over the last decade. Canada had an independent sector well before this period, but it did not have an independent industry that was the talk of so many other nations. This research, particularly the interviews, exposed substantial concerns in the interconnected relationships between FACTOR, CIMA, and leading independent labels. In essence, some labels seem to have mastered gaming the system, and it is unclear why that appears to be more the case at this time—with sundry stakeholders speaking to the same observations. It is unclear whether these are purposely designed changes (decided behind closed doors) in the funding focus or whether that focus is more a consequence of the policy formation process and subsequent development over the last approximately 25 years.

This chapter began by situating issues related to Canadian culture and music, notably the creation of Canadian content laws, to geography and population. Canada's population is just 1/10<sup>th</sup> the population of the United States and that fact continues to serve as a key motivation to cultural policies of all stripes. Furthermore, the curious relationship that has developed amid the growth of Canadian independent music between American and Canadian independent labels was examined and critiqued from multiple perspectives. For example, Arcade Fire's decision to sign in the United States with an independent label, even though it more than likely meant nothing more, continues to draw attention today. Even though Canadian independent companies are situated as potentially having a competitive advantage as a result of Canadian federal funding,

such arguments ignore the downside of being situated in the much smaller and less densely populated market of Canada, compared to the United States. The band's home market size is a significant factor when contrasting competitive advantages. The co-founder of Paper Bag Records, Soissa (2007), made an interesting remark concerning the tact he thinks many Canadian recording labels take toward the border and its North American sales focus:

I wouldn't say all the labels, but I'd say a good percentage of the labels, the majority, feel that they want to kind of erase the fact that there's a border there, knowing that, well, a market ten times the size of ours is hours away for bands say that are going on tour and whatnot. So why not try to compete on that level I think. (personal communication, 21 June)

The heart of this chapter is the discussion about the close relationship between many of the central actors in both popular music funding and the independent music industry. The degree to which industry personnel interlock on various boards and the disproportionate amount of sound recording funds set aside for either the DBS program or Emergent Artist program reflects the exorbitantly unfair advantage given to artists already on an established label. While such thinking might be a perfectly valid reason to select one band over another, the system is skewed enough that the rejection rate for the Juried programs is exponentially higher. At one time, based on the annual reports, the data suggests FACTOR previously made funds available at a much higher rate to the Juried applicants not on an upper-tier independent recording label. It must again be asked whether this change was a fully intentional decision or whether resources were only shifted to something that has more naturally taken shape and grown over the decade. FACTOR's application process, bureaucracy, and red tape have helped spur employment opportunities in the independent music industry for consultants willing to work on commission

and navigate the funding waters. Once again, FACTOR promotes itself as open to all Canadians (unlike the private Radio Starmaker Fund, which is clearly marketed as only being intended for top-selling artists), but the increasing complexity, non-streamlined application process, and the voluminous programs need to be reconsidered for clarity.

Lastly, and most importantly, there is a critical need to reexamine ways in which the popular music policy process and industry can be made more available to *all Canadians*—in terms of access to policy formation, to funding agencies, to radio, and to democratic institutional transparency.



## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

In the conclusion of my master's thesis on the relationship between major and independent record labels, I stated that a future potential area of research could be about how Canadian independent labels receive financial support from their government. At that time, after months of studying the political economy of the U.S. recording industry, the notion of a country financially supporting independent labels seemed foreign and extraordinary. When the topic did in fact become my dissertation topic, explaining what I was researching to friends and family was never easy. I think many of them thought, other than health care (it is free, right?), no other practice in Canada could appear so utterly strange. Explaining the practice as a cultural policy did little to help the situation, as the next assumption seemed to fall along the lines of: "The countries that have cultural policies are, of course, totalitarian countries..." (Adams & Goldbard, 1995, Plausible Deniability section, para. 1).<sup>3</sup>

The inverse of these reactions came in conversations with stakeholders in Canadian independent music, policy, and culture. In fact, at several points, the stakeholders I interviewed actually did compare their feelings toward cultural funding to that of health care. They are both givens. The comments and reason for such cultural funding was exceedingly consistent. There were common explanations, often related to geography (a border country with the United States), demographics (a small and diverse country), and that conversation often led to recalling growing up and being inundated with American culture. There was little fiery rhetoric and no self-conscious defensiveness. Musician Eric Chenaux reflected, "I see the [United] States romanticizes Canada and then we romanticize Holland" (personal communications, 17 July

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<sup>3</sup> Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstein restated this supposition in a policy roundtable on culture and democracy hosted by "The Week in Review" section of *The New York Times* in 1981.

2007). There were mostly statements about how funding in Canada could be improved. This reality, the reality of cultural funding being as accepted a practice as taxes, became my new reality. With this shift in my reality, there were slowly changes in how I approached the research, honed the focus of the research, and eventually resulted in fundamentally different research questions. My dissertation became no longer as much about unraveling the distinctiveness of funding popular music in Canada; it morphed into considering how the formation of cultural policy in Canada could be reimagined to be more transformative, aspirational, and impactful.

In this conclusion, I first want to take a step back to reflectively consider my research method and the reason it took the fundamental shape it did. After that initial reflection, I will return directly to my study and provide a summary of my research findings in relation to my research questions, theoretical and methodological contributions, and the limitations of the work. Lastly, I will again take a step back but this time to look forward—to implications of the research, the possibility of future research on this topic, and other topics of potential inquiry.

### *Reflecting on Method*

In my methodology chapter, I compared Raymond Williams's concept of "structure of feeling" to a statement on methodology from Malm and Wallis (1992) in their book *Media Policy & Music Activity*: "An important part of such research consists of simply watching, questioning, and trying to understand the operations of the music media production and policymaking processes" (p. 32). My case study research was presented with the aim of best capturing the institutional organizations and relations through "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" (Williams, 1978, p. 132). As Rubin & Rubin (2005) explain with a clearer purpose toward analyzing interviewing data: "Analysis entails classifying, comparing,

weighting, and combining material from the interviews to extract the meaning and implications, to reveal patterns, or to stitch together descriptions of events into a coherent narrative” (p. 201).

There was a relatively tight schedule early on in this research. Over the course of a few months, I took comprehensive exams, defended my prospectus, planned my travel to Canada, gained Human Research & Institutional Review Board approval, and, rather suddenly, I was in Toronto and making contacts. In hindsight, one of the most fortunate events toward preparing for my research was attending the Future of Music Coalition Conference at McGill University in Montreal about eight months before arriving in Toronto. Even though I had done a lot of research on the topic of Canadian cultural policy, notably in my graduate coursework, some of the most helpful preparation came through what I observed and experienced at the conference over just a few days. I was able to identify and meet some of the stakeholders I would later interview, and I attended panels about Canadian popular music policies. For example, at one point, I struck up a conversation with someone only to realize shortly later he was Win Butler, not only a member of Arcade Fire, but the lead singer. The conference was so thought-provoking that it motivated me to quickly return so I could begin my research.

On the other hand, the downside with this short time frame at the outset of my research was that it was coupled with limited time in Canada, due to the noteworthy expenses involved living in the country’s largest city. My research would have benefited from having more time in Canada to reflect on what I was hearing in interviews to strategize toward future needs. I did listen to audio recordings of the interviews afterward, but the transcriptions took longer to complete. Therefore, my interviews and analysis were somewhat divorced from each other, which I would have preferred to have not been the case. The primary way in which this issue influenced my research is that I was not able to sufficiently narrow my topic until much later. If

I had been able to narrow sooner, I think my questions could have been more fine-tuned to a more fully developed and specific research topic. I had originally thought very macro—that I could research *every* organization involved in the funding of popular music in Canada—whether it was situated at the provincial, city, or federal level. Still, despite the limited time, I did come to a point in my interviews in which it seemed I had reached a saturation point. That fact was very reassuring. Of course, there were a handful of industry personnel I wish I had been able to interview, but I finally came to the decision it was not worth the additional time or potential expenses to further attempt tracking them down. In retrospect, many of the potential interviews that never happened would have likely been mostly for historical perspective and I think that need became less important as my topic evolved. One last fascinating influence on my research was that I increasingly found musicians to not be incredibly helpful, especially as my research began to focus more on FACTOR, CIRPA, and the independent record labels. I also started to learn how little involvement many of them had in the actual application process—it was often their record labels handling the entire process.

### *Summary and Reflection of Research Findings*

Primary research question: *What outcomes result from federal cultural policy inputs (subsidies of cultural production) instituted to support the Canadian independent music industry?*

My primary research question is an inherent characteristic throughout all of my research findings. In broad terms, the outcomes of these policies have included several critical elements:

- 1.) An industrial space for the Canadian music industry has been carved out and maintained within the Canadian industrial economy. In particular, this development

- has helped to establish a successful independent music industry with successful and marketable musicians.
- 2.) All of the stakeholders in the Canadian independent music industry are inextricably linked through federal cultural policies, the small size of the industry, and the close institutional connections. There are also significant private partnerships, often between unlikely partners, and disturbingly cozy relationships between independent music industry executives and policymakers.
  - 3.) Independent recording labels and artists have come to significantly rely on government funding as an important part of their budgets. In addition to essential financial support, in many cases the additional funds can go toward increased budgets for higher quality recording and more expansive marketing.
  - 4.) Despite MEC operationally being enacted and heralded as an industrial policy by government, this financial support, earmarked for the most successful labels of the independent music industry, has had significant cultural outcomes. The policy formation prerogative of creating bipolarities of “cultural” and “industrial” policies is specious and such distinctions are better considered holistically along a spectrum.<sup>4</sup>
  - 5.) As FACTOR support has helped build and strengthen the Canadian independent music industry, the priorities of the program and its political salience must be reimagined and freshly theorized.

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<sup>4</sup> My argument mirrors similar positions presented by Kenny and Stevenson (1998) in detailing their version of cultural political economy as an approach to cultural policy and by Marcus Breen (2006) in his book on Australian popular music policy. Breen argues that culture, unlike it is often treated in policy formation, must be considered within an “organic totality” that prevents “bouncing back and forth between the cultural, the economic, and the industrial” (p. 217).

My primary research question was operationalized in the research in terms of the organizational practices that exist between federal funding bodies, independent record labels, independent artists, and independent music trade associations. I will now more closely review material from my findings chapter and provide additional analysis and observations.

In the section “Mapping Canadian Culture and Independent Music” I discuss the geography and demographics of Canada, the interplay between American and independent labels related to Canadian funding, and the contested relationship between the independent record industry and Canadian broadcasting. Canada has a unique cultural history that I did not attempt to fully delve into completely in this research, beyond the overview of Canadian cultural policy history. Lacking a unifying “revolution” (and subsequent mythologizing) in the American sense, the country looked toward building national identity instead through explicit policies framed as part of a cultural nationalism movement. Cultural nationalism was seen as how best to develop Canadian culture, identity, and, ultimately, better establish a collective sense of nation. Another critical issue I discuss is Canada’s construction as a border country. The steadfastness of bounded spaces evident in Canada challenges theories of a borderless world. Another clear evident research finding from my case study is theorized by Paasi (2009), “borders not only separate but also mediate contacts and constitute and symbolize institutional practices that ‘channel’ and order interactions between members of social groups” (p. 217). Canadian cultural policy is one example of an institutional practice that that is constituted and mediated through its border, which also imparts on the collective construction of identity (see Albert, Jacobson, Lapid, 2001).

Almost every Canadian I spoke to, even outside of my research, would point to their experience growing up near the border, usually in reference to the heavy media influence

emanating from a nearby American city, such as Buffalo, Detroit, or Seattle. The border as a bounded space is critical to the maintenance of Canadian culture and the mediation of Canadian identity. Of course, due to the vastness of Canada and other factors there are exceptions to this border character as it is bounded nationally. The language of Quebec helps insulate it from American media; Newfoundland's remote island location isolates it from both mainland Canada and the United States. Not surprisingly, due to the power of bounded spaces and spatial socialization, both Quebec and Newfoundland have had to confront separatist movements. Still, estimates range between 70 to 90 percent of the Canadian population lives within 100 miles of the American border.

Although I do not explicitly discuss this point in my findings regarding the power of American media, a more specific aspect of media and cultural influence and its subsequent impact on Canadian cultural policy is professional sport. With the exception of the National Football League, every major American sports league (NHL, MLB, and the NBA) has teams based in Canada. There is substantial concern in Canada about the NFL wanting to expand to Toronto. The issue is gaining new traction of late because the Buffalo Bills have started playing preseason games in Toronto, prompting one Canadian senator to propose a bill essentially outlawing NFL franchises in Canada. Not surprisingly, Canada has been down this road before. When Pierre Trudeau was in office—a high point in cultural nationalism—he threatened to pass a bill dubbed the Canadian Football Act because a startup American football league was considering placing a team in Toronto. The Canadian Football League is a purposefully protected entity intended to help create, maintain, and protect Canadian distinctiveness and culture.

In addition to the American cultural influence along the border impact on cultural policy formation, there is the issue of Canada's low population. Canadians identify as being from a small country—just a small country with lots of (uninhabitable) territory. With just 1/10<sup>th</sup> the population of the United States, there is little doubt that early protectionist policies and industry funding were necessities to create and sustain the country's cultural industries. One thing I also attempted to make clear in my research is the important linkage between Canadian content legislation and input policies supporting cultural production. Each is mutually dependent on the other—and Canadian content legislation, even if it is technically considered protectionist, continues to necessitate the affirmative policy funding of its independent music industry. One conclusion from this research is that labeling a policy as “protectionist” or “affirmative” is only accurate in the first instant. Protectionist policies often lead to the creation and need for more affirmative policies. In practice, the distinction becomes less important.

The Canadian independent music industry's identity is also constructed heavily in its contrast to American independent labels and their own broadcasting industry. When discussing these issues in my findings, I wanted to stress the degree to which Canadian cultural funding is seen as integral to Canadian cultural identity. Canadian musicians set themselves and their music apart from others because of the financial support provided from their government. Government support was further held up as necessary due to the precarious border relationship with American cultural power and the country's vast landscape requiring additional assistance for touring and marketing. Moreover, there were no qualms about whether such policies might give Canadian independent labels a leg up on their American counterparts, since Canadian only saw any advantage as leveling the playing field. The political economy nature of the



contemporary independent recording industry and label system means Canadian independent labels exist to support Canadian artists at home, abroad, *and* in the United States.

Many of the research findings pivot on the next section from my findings chapter, “‘We’re all Friends’: The Fraternal Order of Canadian Independent Music.” As my title is intended to convey, the various constituencies in Canada’s independent music have grown exceedingly close. I remarked earlier on my discussion with one artist who said his funding success completely changed overnight when he signed with a prominent Canadian independent label. Donald Tarlton, discussing his joint venture with Chris Taylor in starting Last Gang Records, consistently refers to the government funding he could bring to the table (personal communication, 26 July 2007). The transparent and privileged access to independent popular music subventions awarded to certain groups through FACTOR and MEC resemble country club memberships. Yes, if you are not a member of the club you might be able to have some access, perhaps dine at the club restaurant or putt on the practice green, but if you want consistent access with all the perks—you will need a current member to sponsor your membership. The fraternal relations between the different stakeholders is so ubiquitous, it seems quite difficult for its entrenched members to step far enough back to gain proper perspective. Why else would Duncan McKie, just months after joining CIRPA from the consulting world, be so candid in offering a surprisingly strong rebuke of how FACTOR had been operating and disbursing funds? He had new eyes and fresh perspective. The only way for this issue to improve is for there to be a consistent and enduring role for outsiders who can offer greater perspective and imaginative input on the value of different creative works. Such a policy change could take the form of rotating outside experts, such as scholars, media representatives, policy advocates, and others.

Such a shift would lead to transformative and increasingly democratic priorities in cultural policy's push to help sustain an aspirational cultural environment.

The third section, "Musicians without MBAs: Navigating the Funding Divide" addresses the bureaucracy, complexity, and FACTOR's increasingly commercial bent toward more established artists. Musicians often have a lot on their plates. There are legitimate reasons that touring musicians at all stages of their career trajectories often have a tour manager attempting to maintain some order out of the chaos. Many musicians also simply do not want to be heavily involved with the business side, which is why there are so many self-help books on the business issues involved with a career as a musician. These issues are exacerbated when it comes to making sense of the myriad FACTOR programs and putting your best foot forward in applications. As statistics and many of my stakeholder comments bear out, FACTOR is increasingly giving a smaller number of artists a larger slice of the funding pie. Juried program applications have a significantly lower acceptance rate than programs that require label representation and no juries. As the music industry continues to evolve and the role of record labels continues to weaken, FACTOR must be pushed to address this growing chasm in their funding system, which is fundamentally undemocratic.

The final content section includes the three most critical proposals developed through this research for dramatically shifting the government-supported funding of Canadian independent popular music. As I discussed in Chapter 5, McGuigan (2001) elaborates on three discourses of cultural policy: state, market, and civil/communicative. Whereas the state and market approaches are often in conflict—or in the case of Canada too closely coalescing—the civil/communicative discourse moves beyond the state-market dichotomy to highlight the importance of creating a space for democratic participation in the cultural sphere, often through

intermediary bodies within civil society. As Heather Ostertag stated in her previous role at the president and CEO of FACTOR: “We are a private, not-for-profit, and *we’re of the industry, by the industry, and for the industry...*” (personal communication, 16 July 2007, emphasis added). I wholeheartedly agree with Ostertag and that fact is fundamental to FACTOR’s problems and limitations. FACTOR and other institutional practices of Canadian popular music policy must operate more democratically in its organizational structure and practices, while correspondingly democratizing access for independent popular music musicians.

### *Theoretical and Methodological Contributions*

My theoretical arguments bring together a diverse group theorization to present a unique perspective on cultural policy and its relationship to cultural studies, potentially serving in the future as a major foundation to either a book or a series of articles. I did not approach my research with my entire theoretical framework fleshed out (if such material is ever really fleshed out), instead it was born out of my academic work from my M.A. program and from this case study research in Canada. The research in Canada crystalized the theory and it would be exceedingly rewarding to begin a smaller research study built on the theoretical foundation I now have. I also fully anticipate continuing to work with my data in Canada—the extensive interview material I have could be “stich[ed] together” to form new narratives (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 201).

As far as my methodological considerations, I do think it is important to conduct original research with a stated methodology. While I clearly was greatly influenced by Malm & Wallis (1992), I hope the overall field of cultural policy and cultural industries research is beginning to more closely consider methodology. I was immensely heartened that a new edited collection on Canada’s cultural industries edited by Ira Wagman and Peter Urquhart (2012), *Cultural*

*Industries.ca: Making Sense of Canadian Media in the Digital Age*, includes an article titled “Beyond Policy Analysis: Methods for Qualitative Research” (Shtern). The article is a step-by-step methodology to doing a research study similar to what I have just done, with the following sections: “Policy Document Analysis,” “Investigating the Policy Development Process: Actors, Issues, and Institutions,” “Method and Time: History vs. Emergent Policy Research,” “Data Collection Techniques,” and “Beyond Policy Analysis: Reflections on This Method.” In the article, Jeremy Shtern (2012) correctly argues, “Indeed while many scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds do analysis of the policies that shape the regulated cultural industries there are few published accounts that tell the reader how they did it” (p. 168). This point alone shows the potential values of my methodological approach and its further development.

### *Limitations of Research*

The most significant study-specific limitation was the inability to conduct research on the ground in Canada beyond Toronto and Montreal. Without a doubt, the center of the Anglophone music industry in Canada is Toronto. While Vancouver is noteworthy in many ways, it is significantly more isolated from the industrial center of Toronto (it is not like comparing Los Angeles and New York). Moreover, the fraternal order of the industry I witnessed between Toronto and Montreal would likely change in important ways moving west to cities such as Winnipeg, Calgary, and Vancouver. All Canadian provinces have local funding agencies that interface with FACTOR, and that is an organizational system I have not yet fully researched. Secondly, as with a great deal of cultural research in Canada, I focused solely on the Anglophone music industry and culture. The funding system in Quebec is extensive with both the Francophone equivalent to FACTOR called Musicaction and countless provincial funding

agencies. Yet, without being able to speak and read French, it would be difficult to study the provincial system established there beyond the surface.

In terms of common limitations, more interviews and more data would have likely improved the analysis to an extent. I had wanted to interview some of the music industry personnel at record labels that work in departments like “government affairs” and whose primary job responsibility is filling out funding applications. Arts & Crafts had previously had such responsibilities entrusted to only a few employees, but had recently decentralized the task across the entire record label. There were two employees at Aquarius Records who worked on all government funding applications, but my time in Montreal was too limited to set up an interview after only learning of them during my interview with Donald Tarlton. An interview with someone whose sole job is governmental affairs would likely not have helped with the big picture, but aided more in understanding the procedural processes of the application process.

### *Implications of Research*

As I wrote in the introduction, my research is most unique for the fact that I approached policy through qualitative interviews with stakeholders involved in policymaking and the Canadian independent music industry. I interviewed many of the most significant figures in Canadian policymaking and independent music. There was just one additional stakeholder in Toronto, Bernie Finkelstein, who I very much wanted to interview. He would have been most helpful for his historical involvement in the creation of popular music policies in the mid-1980s to the present. Finkelstein is a prominent record label founder (True North Records), policymaker, and artist manager. He recently published his autobiography, *True North: A Life Inside the Music Business* (2012), and it will provide likely new adventures for future research.

I also will consider publishing some of my research in the form of a popular press article in an appropriate Toronto-based publication. I interviewed Carl Wilson of *The Globe and Mail*, who provides some of the best local/national music coverage, and I think he might be an interesting person to speak to as I consider different outlets for publication.

### *Future Directions*

I have already discussed many of the future directions for this immediate research on Canada. Outside of Canada, I would like to take a condensed version of this research framework and apply it to look at some new developments in Icelandic policy. One of the breakout independent artists of 2012, Of Monsters and Men, were supported through a funding initiative called the Kraumur Music Fund, which sounds all-to-familiar: “Kraumur Music Fund is a not-for-profit music office and fund based in Reykjavik, Iceland. Its primary aim is to enhance and strengthen the musical life in Iceland and support Icelandic artists in performing and presenting their work within and outside of Iceland” (“About Kraumur,” 2012). If I am unable to make it to Reykjavik, based on my Canadian research, I think the best preparation for future research would be to e-mail some of the policymakers and supported record labels in Finland. Additionally, it is likely some of the Icelandic policymakers or independent music industry personnel will likely attend future music industry events in the United States, such as SXSW, and be available for interviews. Icelandic popular music policy would also function well in a comparative study. As I pointed to in my literature review, comparative studies represent a significant gap in the literature. At this point in time, research in popular music policy suffers not just from being framed discreetly, but is also done with quite dissimilar methodological approaches. Comparative research based up a common methodology would make it possible to generate a set of best practices in policymaking, develop more refined policy models, and better understand the

global impact of state policies. Lastly, I was recently contacted by Bryce Merrill, the Senior Associate Director of the Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF). WESTAF has recently created a popular music arts program dubbed “Independent Music on Tour.” The grantmaking program is designed in part from a range of similar Canadian touring initiatives for independent popular musicians. WESTAF has consulted with FACTOR in the initial design and wants to gather additional input. Merrill learned of a recent book chapter I wrote and wants to hear my thoughts. I am more than happy to oblige.

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**University of Colorado at Boulder**  
**Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research**  
**Office of Research Integrity**  
**Human Research Committee**  
**FWA00003492**

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL: RENEWAL

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|   |                                     |   |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| <b>INVESTIGATOR:</b><br>Mr. Joseph Terry  | <b>PROTOCOL NUMBER:</b><br>0507.11  | <b>ADDRESS:</b><br><b>School of Journalism and Mass Communication</b><br>Armory Building, 1511 University Ave,<br>UCB 478 |
| <b>PROTOCOL TITLE:</b><br>Policy for Culture's Sake? Cultural Theory, Popular Music, and the Canadian State |                                     |   |
| <b>APPROVAL DATE:</b><br>11/13/09   | <b>EXPIRATION DATE:</b><br>11/12/10 | <b>REVIEW CYCLE (months):</b><br>12   |
| <b>RISK LEVEL:</b><br>Minimal   | <b>REVIEW TYPE:</b><br>Expedited    | <b>TOTAL NUMBER OF SUBJECTS APPROVED:</b><br>35   |

The Human Research Committee (HRC) has approved this protocol renewal in accordance with Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46. A copy of the HRC approved consent form has been included with this notification. Copies of the HRC approved consent form must be used when documenting consent of human subjects for participation in this protocol.

Regulations require that this protocol be renewed prior to the above expiration date. If this fails to occur, the HRC is required to close your protocol. The HRC will provide a reminder prior to the expiration date, but it is your responsibility to ensure that your request for renewal is received in sufficient time to be reviewed prior to the expiration date.

Changes to your protocol must be submitted to the HRC for review and approval prior to their implementation. This includes changes to the consent form, principal investigator, protocol, etc.

You are required to report any unexpected problems (UPs) or serious adverse events (SAEs), either physical or mental, to the HRC that occur during the course of your research. UPs must be reported within 5 days and SAEs must be reported within 24 hours. For more information and the necessary forms, see <http://www.colorado.edu/VCRsearchHRC/forms.html>.

Our Assurance with the federal government specifies that all signed consent documents be retained for at least 3 years past completion of the research activity.

The Human Research Committee has approved this protocol in accordance with federal regulations, university policies and ethical standards for the protection of human subjects. In accordance with federal regulation at 45 CFR 46.112, research that has been approved by the HRC may be subject to further appropriate review and approval or disapproval by officials of the institution. The investigator is responsible for knowing and complying with all applicable research regulations and policies including, but not limited to, Environmental Health and Safety, Scientific Advisory Committee, Clinical and Translational Research Center, and Wardenburg Health Center and Pharmacy policies. Approval by the HRC does not imply approval by any other entity.

**University of Colorado at Boulder**  
**Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research**

**Office of Research Integrity**  
**Human Research Committee**  
**FWA00003492**

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Please feel free to contact me at 303-492-1940 or by email at amanda.whitson@colorado.edu if you have any questions about this approval or about HRC procedures.

Thank you for your concern for human subjects.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Amanda Whitson', enclosed within a large, stylized circular flourish.

Amanda Whitson,  
Enclosure

Date: 11/17/09

## Appendix B

Protocol: 0507.11-01

### *Policy for Culture's Sake? Cultural Theory, Popular Music, and the Canadian State*

Joseph L. Terry, University of Colorado at Boulder

#### **General Interview Schedule**

These interviews will obviously range from more formal interviews arranged at the offices of officials to less formally arranged interviews with musicians and label representatives. I notified several potential interviewees of my pending research last October while attending a popular music conference in Montreal and everyone I spoke to was very willing and actually eager to reflect on the often discussed role of Canadian government in the development of the Canadian independent popular music recording industry.

#### *Public Officials, i.e. funding agency members, government officials, think tank representatives*

- Before I ask about your involvement with cultural policy in Canada, can you broadly speak to the conception of culture in Canada?
  - What is Canadian culture? What are its boundaries and constraints?
  - What about “culture” in Canada or elsewhere makes it something that should or should not involve the government and explicit policymaking? What about letting the market operate as it will?
  - Should this government involvement, through cultural policies, aim to help create a solidified Canadian national culture or be simply concerned with helping to provide support to Canadian cultural producers? What are the regional dynamic of funding?
  - Amid budget cuts and globalization, do you see cultural policy as becoming a relic of the past or a beacon of the future?
- Can you describe your current professional involvement with cultural policy in

Canada?

- How long have you worked in your current position and have you held other related positions?
- What do you see as your stake in the policy process?
- Have you been solely involved with popular music policy or have you also worked on policy within other cultural fields, such as film and traditional arts?
- Based on your own professional and personal experience, what is the role of Canadian popular music policy or cultural policy writ large?
  - How has it succeeded or not succeeded?
  - Is the role of policy to promote culture aimed at the domestic market or the global, export market?
- What do you see as the involvement of cultural policy in the current success of Canadian independent music globally?
- Can you explain your organization's role within the broader structure of government-funded cultural policy?
  - How does your organization work within the larger funding apparatuses and government programs to fund or address culture?
  - What is the role of privately-supported cultural organizations in shaping policy and helped to nourish culture?

*Label Representatives, Artist Management/Agents*

- Please describe your current job function and any other previous experience in the music industry.
- How significant is FACTOR (the Foundation to Assist Canadian Talent on Recordings) and other government-funded programs to your organization or clients?
- Can you walk me through the process of applying for a FACTOR or related grant application?
  - Is the process transparent and logical? Are expectations fairly well understood?



- What do grants typically help in the most? Touring? Recording? Promotion?
- How beneficial are grants and other such aids? Are they simply a bonus or are they seen as something your clients must rely?
- How aware do you believe musicians are about the funding opportunities made possible through government-funded programs?
- Do you ever see conflicts of interest, whether artistically or politically, between popular musicians and the support function of cultural policies, often dictated by government?
- What makes a band “Canadian,” and eligible to receive funding? For example, what of a band with half of its members from the United States and half from Canada?
- How does cultural policy impact the more organic, regional music scenes (Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, etc.)?

### Musicians

- When did you first become aware of Canadian cultural policies aimed at supporting popular musicians?
  - Did the existence of such policies appear logical and natural?
  - Why did you think they existed?
  - Was it ever discussed?
- Is it often stated that historically those videos indicating FACTOR funding played on Much Music were seen typically as artists who were not well-liked or “popular.” Do you agree with this sentiment? Have attitudes toward projects receiving such government support shifted?
- How have you or your band benefitted or not from government funding?
  - Can you walk me through the process of applying for a FACTOR grant?
  - Is the process transparent? How involved have you been directly?
  - Are there any potential conflicts of interests, artistically or politically, between your role as a musician and receiving support from the government?

- Do you see such support in theory and practice as intrinsically supporting a Canadian agenda?
  - What makes music “Canadian” or representative of Canadian culture?
  - Does policy strive for a national “culture,” is that the ultimate aim? Should it?
  - Does policy aim to support your endeavors more in the domestic market or international market?
- How does cultural policy impact the more organic, regional music scenes (Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, etc.)?

## Appendix C

### *Policy for Culture's Sake? Cultural Theory, Popular Music, and the Canadian State*

Principal Investigator: **Joseph L. Terry**

#### PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

**February 7, 2011**

*Please read the following material that explains this research study. Signing this form will indicate that you have been informed about the study and that you want to participate. I want you to understand what you are being asked to do and what risks and benefits—if any—are associated with the study. This should help you decide whether or not you want to participate in the study.*

This research is being conducted by:

Joseph L. Terry, Doctoral Candidate  
University of Colorado at Boulder  
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(303) 492-5374  
[Andrew.Calabrese@colorado.edu](mailto:Andrew.Calabrese@colorado.edu)

#### **Project Description:**

This research study is about Canadian cultural policy and its relationship to the Canadian independent popular music industry. You are being asked to be in this study because you are involved in the

Canadian independent popular music industry in some capacity. Participation in this study is entirely your choice.

**Procedures:**

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be interviewed by me, the interviewer. I will be asking you questions about your involvement with Canadian cultural policy and the music industry. Participation will take approximately one hour at your office or selected location.

The interviews will be audio taped, but only with your consent. If you do not wish to be audio taped, I, the interviewer, will use hand written notes only.

Please provide your initials on whether you agree or do not agree to be audio taped below.

I agree \_\_\_\_\_ do not agree \_\_\_\_\_ to be audio taped (please initial)

**Risks and Discomforts:**

There are no risks participating in this study.

**Benefits:**

There are no benefits attributable to participating in this study.

**Study Withdrawal:**

You have the right to withdraw your consent or stop participating at any time. You have the right to refuse to answer any question(s) or participate in any procedure for any reason.

**Invitation for Questions:**

If you have questions about this study, you should ask the researcher before you sign this consent form.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant, any concerns regarding this project or any dissatisfaction with any aspect of this study, you may report them -- confidentially, if you wish -- to the Executive Secretary, Human Research Committee, 26 UCB, Regent Administrative Center 308, University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309-0026 or by telephone to (303) 735-3702.

**Authorization:**

initials \_\_\_\_\_

I have read this paper about the study or it was read to me. I know the possible risks and benefits. I know that being in this study is voluntary. I choose to be in this study. I know that I can withdraw at any time. I have received, on the date signed, a copy of this document containing 2 pages.

Name of Participant (printed) \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Participant \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

(Also initial all previous pages of the consent form.)

initials \_\_\_\_\_